AN

# Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

## Earliest Account of Time, to the Present:

COMPILED from

## ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. II.

The SECOND EDITION.

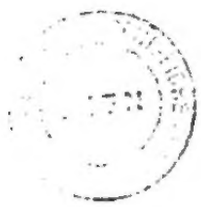
Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανοεῖ· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.


LONDON:

Printed for S. RICHARDSON; T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's Inn*; J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*; A. MILLAR, over-against *Catharine-street* in the *Strand*; and J. HINTON, in *St. Paul's* Church-yard.

M.DCC.XLIV.



To His GRACE

# *The Duke of* BEDFORD.

WE do not prefix Your GRACE's Name to this ſecond Volume, from a vain Preſumption, that your Knowledge in antient Hiſtory can receive any Improvement, being very ſenſible, that Your GRACE has already gone through this and all other Branches of polite Learning, the inſeparable Companions of true Nobility: But Patrons of avowed Merit and Diſcernment are ſo neceſſary to Works of this immenſe Labour and Charge, that it would be an unpardonable Temerity in us to ſend ours abroad, without One of ſuch diſtinguiſhed Abilities.

THIS, My LORD, is the powerful Motive which has encouraged us to addreſs ourſelves to Your GRACE: For nothing can more effectually recommend our Labours to this, or to thoſe other Nations into whoſe Language our former Volume has been tranſlated, than the Conſideration, that the Authors would never have dared to have publiſhed them under the Protection of a Perſonage ſo eminent for his Quality and refined Taſte, but from a Conſciouſneſs of their having ſpared neither Pains nor Time to render the Performance worthy of Your GRACE'S and the World's Acceptance.

IN This, My LORD, You will have the Pleaſure of promoting a Deſign, which, we hope, will prove of the

greateſt

greateſt Advantage to this and future Generations, who will be furniſhed with a complete Body of Hiſtory, without the irkſome Task of conſulting that vaſt Variety of Authors of all Ages and Countries, out of which it is compiled; and the Reader at the ſame time directed by the Marginal Notes where to recur to the Originals; ſo that to doubt of Your GRACE's approving of an Undertaking ſo univerſally uſeful, ſo long wiſhed-for by the Learned of moſt Nations, and never till now attempted, at leaſt in this extenſive Way, were to call in Queſtion the moſt conſpicuous Part of Your GRACE's Character.

AND here, My LORD, whilſt we ſhelter this Volume under Your Illuſtrious Name, how gladly ſhould we embrace this Opportunity of paying that Tribute, which is but a juſt Debt from every honeſt Heart, to a Nobleman whoſe exalted Birth and Merit ſhine with ſo equal a Luſtre! But this Subject, grateful as it would be to us, and indeed to all that know Your GRACE, we muſt be forced to decline, being convinced, that Your GRACE's Actions will more infallibly tranſmit it to Poſterity, than the Pens of the ableſt Panegyriſts.

PERMIT us only to add, That it is from a true Senſe of this, we have taken the Liberty of inſcribing the following Sheets to Your GRACE; being, with the profoundeſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

A. M.DCC.XXXVII. *your Grace's*

*Moſt Obedient,*

*Moſt Devoted,*

*Humble Servants,*

The Authors.

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AN

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# UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

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## CHAP. X.

### *The History of the* MEDES.

### SECT. I.

#### *The Description of* MEDIA.

*Name, situation, &c.*

a THE country before us, once the seat of a potent empire, derives its name from *Madai* the third son of *Japhet*, as is plain from scripture, where the *Medes* are constantly call'd *Madai* [a] (A). It was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by part of the *Caspian* sea; on the south by *Persis*, *Susiana*, and *Assyria*; on the east by *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*; and on the west by *Armenia Major*. It was in ancient times divided into several provinces, namely *Tropatene*, *Charomithrene*, *Darites*, *Marciane*, *Amariace*, and *Syro-Media*: All these were by a later division reduced to two only, the one called *Media Magna*, the other *Media Atropatia*, or simply *Atropatene* [b].

*Atropatene* was that part which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caspian* sea,
b and is supposed to have been so called from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of this province in the time of *Darius*, the last *Persian* monarch, withstood *Alexander the Great*, and upon the downfal of the *Persian* monarchy seized on this part of *Media*, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to *Strabo*'s time [c]. This was a cold, barren, and unhospitable country, and on that very account allotted by *Shalmaneser* for the abode of many captive *Israelites* after the conquest of that kingdom.

CITIES of note in this part of *Media* were *Gaza* or *Gazæ*, the metropolis of the province, and situated, according to *Pliny*, in a spacious plain between *Ecbatan* and *Artaxata*, and equally distant from both. *Sanina* seated between the *Araxes* and
c the *Cambyses*; *Fazina* between the *Cambyses* and the *Cyrus*; and *Cyropolis* between the

[a] DAN. v. 28. ibid. vi. 8, 12, 15. ibid. viii. 20. ESTH. i. 3, 14, 18, 19. ibid. x. 2. See before vol. I. p. 163. b. c. [b] STRAB. l. 11. p. 360. & 363. [c] STRAB. l. 11. p. 523.

(A) Among profane authors, some derive the name of *Media* from one *Medus*, the son of *Medea* and *Jason*; others from a city here call'd *Media*; whence, say they, the whole country borrow'd its name (1). *Sextus Rufus* tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of *Medena* (2); and from others we learn (3), that it was also called *Aria*. But to enquire farther into the origin of these various appellations, would prove both a laborious and fruitless task.

(1) *Strab. l. 11. p. 526.* (2) *Ortel. Thes. Geogr. ad vocem Media.* (3) *Ortel. ibid.*

*Cyrus* and the *Amardus*. This tract was inhabited by the *Cadusians* and *Caspians*, a barbarous and inhuman race, originally sprung from the *Scythians*. a

*Media Magna* was bounded by *Persis*, *Parthia*, *Hyrcania*, the *Hyrcanian* Sea, and *Atropatene*. The most remarkable cities in this part of *Media* were *Ecbatan*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Rageia*, *Arsacia*, &c. *Ecbatan*, the metropolis of all *Media*, and the seat both of the *Median* and *Persian* monarchs, was built by *Dejoces*, the first that reign'd in *Media* after the inhabitants had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke [d]. The walls of this city are said, in the book of *Judith*, to have been built by *Arphaxad*, who is generally supposed to be the same with *Phraartes*, the successor of *Dejoces*. † They are much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely described by *Herodotus* [e]: they were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other b by the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design of building them, and perhaps first suggested it. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost circle of the seven. The first of these walls was equal in circumference to the city of *Athens*, that is, according to *Thucydides* [*], 178 furlongs; and had white battlements, the second black, the third of a purple colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange; but the two innermost, as serving more immediately for a fence to the royal person of the king, were embellish'd above the others, the one being done over with silver, and the other with gold [f]. This description of *Herodotus* savours, we must own, somewhat of romance; but nevertheless, that *Ecbatan* was a great and powerful city, and c perhaps no ways inferior either to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, is confirmed by far better authorities. In the book of *Judith* [g] we read, that the walls of this stately metropolis were seventy cubits high, and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were a hundred cubits in height, the breadth in the foundation sixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and polished stone, each stone being six cubits in length, and three in breadth. This city is by the ancients constantly call'd *Ecbatan* of *Media*, to distinguish it from another in *Syria* bearing the same name [h], where the unfortunate *Cambyses* died, as we read in *Herodotus* [i] (B).

*Laodicea*, of which appellation there were many towns, so call'd either from the mother of *Nicator* or the wife of *Antiochus*, is counted by *Strabo* [k] among the cities d of *Media*, and placed by *Pliny* [**] near the confines of *Persia*. *Apamea* is by *Strabo* sometimes adjudged to *Media*, and sometimes to *Parthia* [l]. *Raga*, *Rageia*, or *Ragea*, is call'd by *Isidorus* [m] the greatest city of *Media*: it was repair'd by *Nicator*, who call'd it *Europus*, and by that name it was known to *Ptolemy*; but in the book of *Tobit* it is call'd *Rages*, and placed in the neighbourhood of *Ecbatan* ††. In pro-

[d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 98. † Judith i. 2. [e] Herodot. ubi supra. [*] lib. 1. [f] Herodot. ibid. [g] Judith. c. i. 2, 4. [h] Herodot. l. 3. c. 64. Diodor. l. 14. c. 23. Plin. l. 6. c. 27. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 704. Tacit. l. 15. c. 31. &c. [i] Herodot. l. 3. [k] Strab. l. xi. p. 361. [**] l. 6. c. 26. [l] Strab. l. xi. p. 354, & 361. [m] Isidor. p. 361. †† ch. v. & seq. pass.

(B) *Pliny* (4) tells us, that *Ecbatan* was built by *Seleucus*; an unaccountable oversight, since he must have read an account of it not only in *Herodotus*, but likewise in *Demosthenes* (5), who calls it the ordinary residence of the *Persian* monarchs. On the other hand, *Diodorus* (6) carries the building of this town back to the fabulous times of *Semiramis*, and speaks of mountains levelled, vallies raised, waters convey'd through rocky mountains, and other astonishing works performed by his heroine for the embellishment of the city, and convenience of the inhabitants. This great city was situate on a rising ground, according to *Ptolemy* and *Diodorus*, about twelve stades distance from mount *Orontes*, and not at the foot of mount *Jasanius* on the southern confines of *Media* and *Persia*, where *Ammianus Marcellinus* is pleased to place it (7). Here *Daniel* is said by *Josephus* to have built a stately palace, which afterwards served as a mausoleum of the kings of *Media*. Some of the beams, says this author, were of silver, and the rest of cedar, but plated with gold. There are now no monuments remaining, either of this magnificent building, or of the proud palace, where the monarchs of *Asia* were wont to pass their summer; nay, there is a great disagreement among our modern travellers about the place where that stately metropolis stood. The opinion of *Molet*, who translated and wrote a commentary upon *Ptolemy*, seems to Sir *John Chardin* the most probable, *viz.* that *Tauris* is the ancient and famous *Ecbatan* (8); and this opinion is confirmed by *Ortelius*, *Golnits*, *Teixera*, *Andrea della valle*, &c. *Josephus* assures us (9), that the palace built by *Daniel* was entire in his time; but at present not even the ruins of any magnificent building are to be seen either at *Tauris*, or in that neighbourhood; for in all the ruins there the materials, as our traveller judiciously observes (10), are only earth, brick, and pebbles, which in ancient times were never used in *Media* for the building of palaces. Some writers confound *Ecbatan* with *Batana*, which is evidently *Ptolemy's Batina*, and placed by him to the north of mount *Orontes*, near the river *Straton*.

(4) *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 14. (5) *Demosth. Philip.* 4. *p.* 100. (6) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* 2. *c.* 12. (7) *Ammian. Marcell. l.* 23. *c.* 23. (8) *Chardin. voy. en Perf. vol.* 1. *p.* 181. (9) *Joseph. Antiquitat. l.* 10. (10) *Chardin ubi supra.*

cess

a cess of time it became the seat of the *Parthian* kings, who gave it the name of *Arsacia* or *Arsace*, as we shall see in the history of that people. Other cities of *Media* are mention'd by *Pliny*, *Stephanus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Isidorus*, viz. *Zombis*, *Patigran*, *Gazaca*, *Margasis*, &c. but these were all built in after-ages by the *Macedonians*, and are therefore call'd by *Strabo* [n] *Greek* cities. This part of *Media* was inhabited by the *Carduchians*, *Marandæans*, *Gelians*, *Syromedians*, *Margasians*, &c.

*Mountains and rivers.*

THE mountains of this country, such as may be proper to take notice of, are, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* [o], *Choatra* parting *Media* from *Assyria*, and branching out from the *Gordyean* mountains on the confines of *Assyria* and *Armenia*; *Zagrus* dividing it from the same *Assyria* on the east, a mountain, if *Polybius* [p] is to be b credited, one hundred cubits high. *Paracboatra* placed by *Ptolemy* on the borders towards *Persia*, and by *Strabo* [q] on the confines of *Media*, *Hyrcania*, and *Parthia*. These are the boundaries between *Media* and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be said as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the *Orontes*, the *Jansonius*, and the *Caronus* are in the strictest sense mountains of *Media*, as arising in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to *Ptolemy*, the *Straton*, the *Amardus*, the *Cyrus*, and the *Cambyses*. But these rivers, as they are represented to disembogue themselves into the most southern part of the *Caspian*, must by their position have belonged to the provinces of *Ghilan* and *Mazandaran*, as they are now call'd, and consequently could not belong to *Media* proper, as it is described c to us by the ancients.

WE cannot help taking notice here of a considerable mistake, which many of the ancients have been guilty of with respect to the situation of the *Caspian Straits*, called by the *Latins Portæ Caspiæ*, *Claustra Caspia*, and *Pylæ Caspiæ*. *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Arrian*, *Isidorus*, *Characenus*, and *Dionysius Periegeta* [r], place them on the confines of *Media* and *Parthia*, or on the eastern borders of *Media*. But *Pliny*, not liking this situation, carries them quite cross the country; and after having been some time at a loss how to dispose of so heavy a load, drops it at last on the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*, that is, on the most western borders of *Media* [s]. *Suetonius* [t] and *Tacitus* [u] confound them with the *Iberian* straits, which are a narrow passage through the d mountains dividing *Iberia* from *Sarmatia*. Some of our modern geographers place them in *Media Atropatia*, between the *Caspian* mountains and the *Caspian* sea, confounding them with what the present inhabitants call *Demir-can*, or *Iron-gate*, which is a narrow passage out of *Tartary* into *Persia*.

*Soil.*

THE northern parts of *Media*, lying between the *Caspian* mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren: the present inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the snow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year [w]. But the southern parts are productive of all sorts of grain, and necessaries for life, and withal so pleasant, that the country adjoining to *Tauris*, probably the ancient *Ecbatan*, is call'd the garden of *Persia*. There are here e large plains, among which that of *Nysa* is famous for the numerous studs of horses that were kept in it for the use of the *Persian* monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the ancients. Where this plain of *Nysa* was situated, is no easy matter to determine (C).

[n] STRAB. l. xi. p. 361. [o] Idem. ibid. p. 363. [p] POLYB. l. v. c. 44. [q] STRAB. ubi supra. [r] STRABO. l. xi. p. 362. ARRIAN. l. 3. ISIDOR. Characenus. p. 6. DYONYS. Perieget. versu. 1039. [s] PLIN. l. 6. c. 15. [t] SUETON. c. 19. [u] TACIT. l. 1. Hist. c. 6. [w] CHARDIN. voy. en Pers. vol. I. p. 524.

(C) The ancients place the *Nysean* plain in the easternmost parts of what they call *Media*, and far beyond the limits of what is now supposed to have been properly this country. We have a traveller, who thinks he has seen this fertile pasture; but if he did, we must place it quite differently from what the ancients seem to insinuate it ought to be, and several degrees nearer us. His words are, "We continued "our way (from *Tauris* towards *Persia*) upon the "most beautiful and fertile plains cover'd with vil- "lages. These plains afford the most excellent pas- "ture of all *Media*, and, I dare say, of the whole "world; and the best horses of the country were "there at grass.—I ask'd a young nobleman in com- "pany with us, *If there were any other plains in* "Media *so fine and so extensive?* He told me, *He* "*had seen some as fine about* Derbent, *but none more* "*extensive*; so that 'tis reasonable enough to be- "lieve, that these plains are the *Hyppobaton* of the "ancients, and where they say the kings of *Media* "had a stud of fifty thousand horses, and that here "it is also we must look for the *Nysean* plain, so fa- "mous for the horses of that name. *Stephanus* the "geographer says, that *Nysa* was in the country of "the *Medes*. I told this same nobleman some parti- "culars which historians relate concerning these "horses, particularly *Phavorinus*, who says, all the "*Nysean* horses were light duns; he answer'd, that "*he had never read or heard any thing of the kind.* I "afterwards enquired of several gentlemen of learn- "ing, but could never understand that there was any "place either in *Persia* or *Media* that produced "horses of that colour (11)."

(11) *Chardin. ubi supra, p.* 185.

THE

*Climate.* The climate is very unequal; that part which lies between the mountains and the a
sea is exceeding cold, and the earth swampy, and full of marshes, where innumerable swarms of venomous insects are bred (D), which, together with the vapours rising from the *Caspian*, render that part very unhospitable. The provinces that are more remote from the sea enjoy a very wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially in the spring and autumn [x]. Besides the cattle and game of all sorts, which the *Mediterranean* provinces abound with, some of them have been for many ages remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wines they produce, especially the neighbourhood of *Tauris*, where no fewer than sixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, are to be tasted at this day [y]. From its productions in the present state, we may judge what it must have been in b
better times.

*The Caspian sea.* We cannot dismiss this subject without some observations on the *Caspian* sea, which is the northern boundary of *Media*. This large body of waters was by the ancients called indifferently the *Caspian* and the *Hyrcanian* sea, from the *Caspians* and *Hyrcanians*, whose shores it washed [z]. However *Pliny* [a] makes some difference between these two appellations, telling us, that on the *Caspian* coasts it bears the former denomination, and on those of *Hyrcania* the latter. The ancient, and likewise the modern geographers, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true situation, extent, coasts, and bays of this sea, before the discoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (E); and therefore what has been said by others is only c
to be relied on so far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. *Ptolemy*, and even *Herodotus*, knew that the *Caspian* was surrounded on all sides by land, without any communication with other seas or visible efflux; whence some thought that it ought to be call'd a lake rather than a sea. However *Strabo* [b], *Pliny* [c], *Pomponius Mela* [d], and *Arrian* [e] wrote that it was join'd either to the *Indian* or northern ocean; but we are well assured by experience that they were mistaken. They were perhaps led into this error by such as had made their observations when the *Wolga* had overflown its banks, at which time it appears more like a sea than a river, covering with its waters, as a modern traveller informs us [f], the whole country to the extent of sixty miles: This they might easily have mistaken for a strait joining the *Caspian* to the d
ocean. *Ptolemy*, though here in the right, was greatly mistaken as to its extent from east to west; for supposing it, as is rightly judged, to have extended, or rather to have been the same with the *Aral* or *Salt Sea*, at 10 degrees distant from it, he reckons it to have been about twenty-three degrees and a half; whereas it does not exceed, where widest, three degrees forty-two minutes, and where narrowest, one degree twenty-two minutes. He likewise places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. These mistakes were observed, and in some degree redressed, by *Albufeda* an *Arabian* prince and able geographer, who in 1320 discovered the true situation of the *Caspian*, and abridged its extent by a third of what *Ptolemy* had allow'd it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as *Ptolemy* had placed e
it, but in latitude, as it truly is. *Albufeda*'s observations were greatly improved by *Bourrous*, *Olearius*, and *Jenkinson*; but the true dimensions of this sea were not ascertain'd till the late observations abovemention'd; since which, the ingenious *Basil Batatzi* has given the world an accurate map of it, and of its adjacent countries, ann. 1732, printed in *Greek* and *Latin* by *John Senex*. By all which we are assured, that it lies between the thirty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty-two minutes in its greatest longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is represented to have in the maps of *Ptolemy*, and in the writings of other ancient geographers.

The *Persians* call this sea *Kulsum*, or the sea of *Astracan*; the *Russians*, the sea of f
*Gualenskoi*; the *Georgians Sowa*; the *Armenians Soof*. It receives the river *Wolga*, which itself is like a sea, and near two hundred others into its bosom, and yet is never

[x] Chardin. ubi supra. [y] Chardin. vol. I. p. 185. [z] Strabo l. xi. p. 83. Diodor. l. 7. c. 75. [a] Plin. l. 6. c. 13. & 16. [b] Strabo l. x. p. 83. [c] Plin. l. 6. c. 13. [d] Pompon. Mel. l. 3. c. 5. [e] Arrian. l. 7. p. 477. [f] Le Bruyin voy. par la Moscov. Tom. 3. p. 465.

(D) *Ælian* tells us (12), that these parts of *Media* were greatly infested by scorpions; and that while the king of *Persia* was on his progress into *Media*, the inhabitants were employ'd for three days before his arrival on the confines in clearing the country of these venomous insects.

(E) M. *Vanverden*, who by orders of the late *Czar* formed a very exact chart of the *Caspian* from observations made by him on the spot in 1710, 1721, 1722. These observations, together with M. *Vanverden*'s new chart, were by the *Czar*'s orders communicated to the royal academy of sciences at *Paris*.

(12) *Ælian. de Animal. l. 15. c. 26.*

increased

a increased or diminished, nor observed to ebb or flow. This constant plenitude has given rise to many speculations, and some have imagined that it must necessarily have some subterraneous communication either with the *Black* sea, though a hundred leagues distant, or with the *Persian* gulf, which is near two hundred leagues distant from it. Father *Avril*, a modern traveller, seems to favour the latter opinion, and alledges this proof to confirm it, *viz.* that over-against the province of *Xilan* in *Persia* there are two immense whirlpools, which with an incredible rapidity and frightful noise suck in and swallow whatever comes near them, and are consequently caused by some great cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year about the latter end of the autumn a great quantity of willow leaves are observed floating on the water by b those who inhabit the coasts of the *Persian* gulf; and as this tree is no where to be found near the *Persian* gulf, and on the other hand the coasts of the *Caspian* towards the province of *Xilan* are covered with them, he rightly concludes that there must be some subterraneous intercourse between these two seas. This observation, if true, is a strong proof of some secret communication between these two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through subterraneous fissures from the one to the other. But since the opinion, asserting a communication between the *Caspian* and other seas, has been taken up chiefly on this consideration, that as so many and so large rivers disembogue themselves into it, and are constantly pouring in their waters, in process of time the channel would be filled, and c run over, unless there were subterraneous fissures and meatus's, through which it might evacuate its superfluous waters into the *Ocean*; as the opinion, I say, of the *Caspian's* being joined either immediately, or by means of some other sea, to the ocean, is chiefly founded on this, it will be worth while to consider how the *Caspian* or any other sea comes to lose so much water as it receives either from rain or rivers flowing into it (F). The water of this sea is salt like that of other seas, notwithstanding

(F) There are two hypotheses among philosophers, one is, that the waters of the sea are conveyed by subterraneous conduits to the springs of rivers, and that in draining through the fissures they lose their saltness: the other is, that it happens by the vapours that are drawn up from its surface. The former is now rejected by most, it being next to impossible to explain how the water of the ocean, being more depressed than the very mouths of the rivers, can come up to their springs, which are mostly on high mountains. But in the latter hypothesis we have no occasion to explain this, nor to prevent the increase of the seas, by supplying the springs with their waters.

The quantity of vapours drawn up from the sea was tried by Dr. *Halley*, who made the following computation (13). By an experiment made with great care he found that water, salted to the same degree as common sea-water, and heated to the same degree of the air in our hottest summers, exhales the thickness of a sixtieth part of an inch in two hours. Whence it appears, that a bulk of water a tenth part of an inch high, will be exhaled into vapours in twelve hours. So that if the superficies of the whole ocean, or part of it, be known, it may also be known how much water arises from it in vapours every day, supposing the water to be equally hot with the air in summer. According to what has been laid down, a superficies of ten square inches emits daily a cubic inch of water; one square foot, half a pint; a square, whose sides are four feet, one gallon; a square mile 6914 tuns; and one degree square (consisting, as we may suppose, of 69 *English* miles) 33 millions of tuns. The same author supposes the *Mediterranean* to be about forty degrees long, and four broad, allowances being made for the places where it is broader by those where it is narrower, so that its whole superficies may be accounted 160 square degrees; and consequently the whole *Mediterranean* must lose in vapours, according to the forestated proportion, in a summer's day, at least 5280 millions of tuns. What quantity of water is dried off the surface by the winds cannot possibly be reduced to any rule; but we may venture to say, that it sometimes exceeds even what is evaporated by the heat of the sun.

Now to compare this quantity of water with that which is carried daily into the sea, the above mentioned writer observes, that the *Mediterranean*, for instance, receives these nine considerable rivers, the *Iberus*, the *Rhone*, the *Tiber*, the *Po*, the *Danube*, the *Neister*, the *Borysthenes*, the *Tanais*, and the *Nile*, all the rest being of no great note. Each of these rivers he supposes to be ten times greater than the *Thames*, not that any of them is near so great, but to comprehend with them all the small rivulets that fall into the same sea.

He likewise supposes the river *Thames* at *Kingston-bridge*, where the tide seldom reaches, to be in breadth about a hundred yards, and in depth three; and the water to run two miles an hour. If therefore the breadth of the water a hundred yards, be multiplied by three, the depth, and the product three hundred square yards by forty eight miles, or 84480 yards, which the water runs every day, the product will be 25344000 cubic yards of water, or 20300000 tuns, that are carried every day into the sea.

Now, if each of the aforesaid rivers yield ten times as much water as the *Thames*, it will follow, that each of them carries every day into the sea 303 millions of tuns, and the whole nine 1827 millions of tuns in a day.

However this is but little more than one third of what is proved to be raised in vapours out of the *Mediterranean* in twelve hours time. Hence it appears that the *Mediterranean*, the *Caspian*, or any other sea, is so far from increasing or overflowing by the rivers it receives, that in a short time it would rather be evaporated and drained, unless the vapours that it exhales returned upon it in dew or rain.

*Scaliger* and others were of opinion that the *Caspian* is joined by some subterraneous intercourse with

(13) *Philos. Transact.* N° 189. p. 366.

the opinion of the ancients to the contrary; and its freshness in some parts near the shore, only owing to the rivers that discharge themselves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other seas, nor without various sorts of fish, as *Olearius*, an eye-witness, assures us, and thereby disproves the opinion of the ancients, who believed it to be of a blackish colour, and to have but one kind of fish, and that of a monstrous form. We shall conclude this section with observing, that the ignorance of the ancients, with relation to this sea, or lake, as some are pleased to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowledge they had of these northern parts of the *Persian* empire, and at the same time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unless vouched by the testimonies of modern travellers, who have with far greater care and better success surveyed those remote regions.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the* Medes.

*Their origin.* We have already derived the *Medes* [g] from *Madai*, the third son of *Japhet*, and thereby put them upon the level with the most ancient nations (G). In process of time several colonies from the adjacent countries settled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulness of the soil, which gave rise to the various tribes into which that people was anciently divided. The *Greek* writers will have them to be originally *Persians* [h]; and *Herodotus* tells us that they were called *Arians* till the time of *Medus*, the son of *Medea*, from whom they took the name of *Medians*. But our etymology is far more natural, and confirmed by the authority of all the ancient interpreters, who by *Madai* in scripture constantly understand the *Medes* [i].

*Government.* Their government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they seem to have had kings of their own in the earliest times. Some are of opinion, that one of the four kings who in the days of *Abraham* invaded the southern coasts of *Canaan*, reigned in *Media*. *Lactantius* mentions one *Hydaspes*, who, according to him, reigned long before the *Medes* were conquered by the *Assyrians*. And *Diodorus* tells us, that *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, was with his seven sons defeated and taken prisoner by *Ninus* in the very beginning of the *Assyrian* empire [k]. But his accounts of those early times are no ways to be relied on, it being plain both from scripture, and from the authority of the most judicious

[g] Vide supra, vol. I. p. 168. b. c. [h] Cedren. p. 18. [i] Vide Hieronym. in cap. 13. Esaiæ, & in quæstion. Hebraic. [k] Diodor. Sic. l. 5. c. 5.

with the *Euxine*, but he alledges no reason to prove his opinion; however this may be urged for it, that the *Euxine* sea, as Mr. *Dugdale* observes (14), is continually disgorging a large quantity of water thro' the *Bosphorus*, and some think that it is more than the rivers pour into it; wherefore it may, for aught we know, be supplied from the *Caspian*.

(G) Some will have *Madai* to have been the progenitor of the *Macedonians*, and not of the *Medes*, grounding their opinion upon the two following reasons: 1. That the *Madai*, or *Medes*, are not mentioned in scripture till the latter ages. 2. That this situation removes *Medai* too far from the rest of his brethren, and takes him out of his general lot, which was the isles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Shem*. But to the first it may be answered, that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain they made use of it as soon as they had occasion: To the second, that according to our hypothesis the plantations of the sons of *Japhet* were contiguous; for the western *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros* or *Aras*; to which, as we have elsewhere observed (15), the dominion of *Magog* extended. However, it cannot be denied but some of *Madai*'s descendants may have carried their progenitors name thither, if we will not suppose him or his immediate successors to have peopled it, since we find several of the prophets (16) calling that country by his name. A modern writer (17) produces several authorities to shew, that there were a people in *Macedonia* called *Medi*, or *Mædi*, and a tract called the *Medic* regions in the borders of *Pæonia*; but this can only prove the *Macedonians* to be a later colony of *Madai*. To say that the *Macedonians* are the off-spring of *Madai*, because the word *Macedonia* is compounded of *Madai* and *Cettim*, is relying too much, as every one must allow, on the authority of a forced etymology; and we may as well adopt the etymology of those who derive the *Tartars* from an ancient tribe among the *Medes* called *Tapuri*, which they change into *Taturi*, and that into *Tartari* (18).

(14) *Dugdale's compleat system of Gen. Geography*, p. 290. (15) *Vol. I. p.* 167. d. e. (16) *Isai.* xiii. 17, & *seq. Jerem.* xxv. 25. *Esther & Dan. ubi sup. Vid. & 2 King* xviii. 11. (17) *See Mede's works.* (18) *Vide Reinecc. hist. jul. par. secund. p.* 2.

among

a among the ancient and modern chronologers, that the *Assyrian* empire did not begin till the days of *Pul*, as has been fully shewn in some preceding chapters †. Whereas *Ctesias* and his copist *Diodorus* have made this empire as old as the flood, and given us the names of all the *Assyrian* kings from *Belus* and his feigned son *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*. According to the successions of *Assyrian* kings, as stated by them, that empire continued about 1360 years; whereas *Herodotus* tells us that it lasted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were first brought under the *Assyrian* yoke by *Pul*, according to us the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate successor *Tiglath-pileser*. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ, the neighbouring na-
b tions (H). In the reign of *Sennacherib* they shook off the *Assyrian* yoke, and fell into an anarchy, which lasted till the reign of *Dejoces*, as we shall see in the following section. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite absolute, and controuled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal respect with the gods themselves; the custom of adoring kings, which afterwards prevailed in *Persia*, having first taken rise among the *Medes* [l].

*Manners and customs.*

THE *Medes* were once a very warlike race, as will appear from their history; but in process of time became one of the most effeminate nations of *Asia*, especially after they were reduced by *Cyrus*. In war they used the same armour as the *Persians*, whom they are said to have taught the art of war, especially to handle with dexterity the bow; and likewise to have been the first that introduced luxury into *Persia*, which
c at last occasioned the downfal of that empire, as it had before been the ruin of the *Medes* [m]. *Polygamy* was so far from being disreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at least seven wives, and those women were looked upon with contempt who maintained fewer than five husbands. These are the words of *Strabo* [n], which, considering the equality, as to number, of both sexes, can only be meant of the richer sort, *viz.* that such among the men should be obliged to have that number of wives; and that rich women were esteemed according to the number of husbands they maintained. In war they poisoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called *Naphta*, whereof there was great plenty in *Media*, *Persia*, and *Assyria*. The arrow being steeped in it, and shot from a slack bow (for a swift and violent mo-
d tion took off from its virtue) burnt the flesh with such violence, that water rather increased than extinguished the malignant flame; dust alone could put a stop to it, and in some degree allay the unspeakable pain it occasioned. They are likewise said to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they used to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it as dishonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground [o].

SOME writers charge the *Medes* with being the first authors of making eunuchs [p]; but others impute this execrable practice to the *Persians*, and even name the place where it first took rise [q] (I). The custom of confirming alliances with the blood of the

† See vol. I. p. 126. c. 888, & seq. (W) [l] ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. x. p. 525. [m] STRABO l. xi. XENOPH. cyropæd. l. 1. p. 7. [n] STRABO l. xi. p. 526. [o] BARDESAN. apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 8. [p] ATHENÆUS, l. 12. [q] STEPHAN. de urbib.

(H) In the time of the judges of *Israel*, *Mesopotamia* was under its own king (19); the king of *Zobah* reigned on both sides of the *Euphrates* till he was conquered by *David* (20). The kingdoms of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Philistia*, *Zidon*, *Damascus*, and *Hamath the Great*, were governed by their own princes; and so were those of *Haran* or *Carrhæ*, and *Sepharvaim* in *Mesopotamia*, and *Calneh* near *Bagdad*. As these petty kingdoms were ruled by their own princes, so was *Media* till the time of *Pul*, who subdued most of the above-mentioned nations. *Media* may have been subdued by *Nimrod*, who was a great warrior; but his empire, if he founded any, was of short continuance, it being the custom in those early times for every father to divide his territories amongst his sons.

(I) *Stephanus* tells us, that this custom was first introduced in a city of *Persia* called *Spada*, whence he derives the *Latin* word *Spado*, signifying an eunuch. But both he, and those who charge the *Medes* with introducing such an unnatural practice, are certainly mistaken, since we find eunuchs in vogue among the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians* long before such a piece of wanton luxury can be supposed to have been known either to the *Medes* or *Persians*. *Josephus* (21) acquaints us, that *Nabuchadonosor* commanded the most comely youths among the captive *Jews* to be made eunuchs. And *Hierom* is of opinion, that the prophet *Daniel* and his three companions were eunuchs (22). *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have *Semiramis* to be the first contriver of eunuchism (23). What prompted them thus to maim and deform nature, *Petronius Arbiter* will tell us:

*Persarum ritu male pubescentibus annis*
*Subripuere viros; exsectaque viscera ferro*
*In venerem fregere: atque ut fuga mobilis ævi,*
*Circumscripta mora, properantes differat annos* (24).

And *Claudian*,

*Seu Persica ferro*
*Luxuries vetuit nasci lanuginis umbram* (25).

Eunuchs

(19) *Jud.* iii. 8. (20) 2 *Samuel* viii. *and* x. (21) *Joseph. antiquit. l. x. c.* 16. (22) *Hieronym. in cap. prim. Daniel.* (23) *Ammian. Marcel. in. l.* 14. (24) *Petron. Arb. satyr.* (25) *Claudian. in Eutrop. l.* 1.

the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eastern nations, even in the *Roman* times, was originally peculiar to the *Medes* [r]. When they were to strike alliances they used to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood starting to the extremities was by a slight cut discharged. This they mutually sucked, and a league thus confirmed was esteemed most awful, as mysteriously solemnized with the blood of the parties [s]. a

*Laws, religion, &c.*

THE laws and religion of the *Medes* were much the same with those of the *Persians*; wherefore, we shall defer what may be said of them till we come to the history of the *Persians*, from the oriental writers. We shall only observe here, that when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it or to reverse a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the *Medes* are in holy writ called unchangeable [t]. A modern writer tells us that those only were admitted to the crown, who were remarkable above others for their strength or stature [u]. But that there was no such law is plain from the regular succession of father and son, without regard to any personal quality whatsoever. Some law of this nature may perhaps have obtained among them before they were conquered by the *Assyrians*; but we are quite in the dark as to the state of *Media* in those early times. b

THEY paid their kings the greatest respect imaginable, putting them upon the level even with their gods. They thought it a high offence either to spit or laugh in their presence [w]. They honoured their sovereign with the haughty title of *great king*, or *king of kings*, which stile was afterwards adopted by the *Persian* monarchs and their proud successors the *Parthians*, whose king, even in the time of the emperor *Constantius*, retained that title, writing himself in a letter to that prince, *Sapor king of kings, allied to the stars, brother to the sun and moon*, &c. [x]. When they appeared in publick, which seldom happened, they were always attended by musick, and numerous guards consisting of the prime nobility, their wives, children, and concubines being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field. c

As to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark; their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the use of the inhabitants themselves, as for foreign exportation; but whether they ever applied themselves to trade, is what we find no where recorded: the contrary seems rather to appear, from the character which the prophet * gives them of despising gold and silver, and delighting in the bloody trade of war; neither do we find any mention made by the ancients of their arts or sciences. During the short time of their monarchy they seem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike exercises, namely to the arts of managing a horse and handling the bow, in which they surpassed all other nations, the *Median* horse being no less celebrated by the ancients, than were in after ages the *Persian* foot [y]. Thus much we have thought necessary to say apart of the *Medes* and their country: what else may be added thereto, we defer to the sections of the following chapter, which will be no more than a continuation of this. d

[r] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 74. [s] TACIT. annal. 12. [t] DAN. vi. 8. [u] ALEXAND. ab ALEX. l. 4. c. 23. [w] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 99. [x] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. 17. * Isai. xiii. 17. & *seq.* [y] XENOPH. CYROPÆD. l. 1. c. 7.

Eunuchs have always been in great repute among the eastern princes, and were anciently employed in the most momentous affairs; all the places of greatest trust being filled by such men. But we have formerly shewn that the term Eunuch doth not always signify a castrated person, but often an officer at court, and near to the king's person; such as was *Potiphar* to the king of *Egypt* †. To them the *Persian* kings committed not only the guard of their own persons (26), but likewise the education of their children, it being a custom among them to put the heir apparent of the crown, as soon as he was born, into the hands of eunuchs, under whose tuition he remained till he attained the seventh year his of age (27).

† See vol. I. p. 450. (M). (26) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.* (27) *Plato in Alcibiad. 1.*

SECT.

## SECT. III.

### *The Chronology of the* MEDES *to the translation of their empire to the* PERSIANS.

a WE have formerly shewn how *Ctesias* and his followers have darkened the chronology of the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians* and *Medes* with such enormous anachronisms, that 'tis no easy matter to ascertain the rise or fall of those potent monarchies †. To proceed with all the clearness and perspicuity so perplexed a subject will allow, we shall distinguish in the chronology of the *Medes* three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different æras, namely the recovery of their liberty after they had been subdued by the *Assyrians*, the rise of their kingdom after some years of anarchy, and the beginning of their empire, which, it is agreed on all hands, rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy. The first king of the *Assyrians*, who brought the *Medes* under subjection, was either *Pul*, according to us the founder of the *Assyrian* empire, or his immediate successor *Tiglath-pileser*. For this prince having at the b request of *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, made war upon *Rezin* king of *Damascus*, and reduced that capital, transplanted its inhabitants to *Kir* in *Media* *. Whence it is plain, that the *Medes* were then subject to the *Assyrians*; and consequently, that they must have been subdued either in the reign of *Pul*, or soon after the accession of *Tiglath-pileser* to the crown; for the empire of the *Assyrians* was already grown great, and *the God of* Israel *stirred up the spirit of* Pul *king of* Assyria, *and the spirit of* Tiglath-pileser *king of* Assyria ‡ to make war. *Pul* makes his first appearance in scripture during the reign of *Menahem* king of *Israel*, in the year of the flood 2228, before *Christ* 771. *Tiglath-pileser*, who is supposed to have been his son, succeeded him in the year of the flood 2259, before *Christ* 740. That there was no *Assyrian* c empire before the days of *Pul*, is plain both from the scripture (K), and from the particular histories of each kingdom, so that the *Medes* could not be subdued by them before the time we have mentioned. From the time of *Pul* or *Tiglath-pileser* they continued in subjection to the *Assyrians* till the reign of *Sennacherib*, which began about the year of the flood 2286, before *Christ* 713, while *Hezekiah* was king of *Judah* (L). They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or

† Vol. I. p. 888, *&c. seq.* * 2 Kings xv. 27. and xvi. 5, 9. ‡ 1 Chron. v. 26.

(K) None of the prophets who preceeded *Pul*, and foretold the calamities which the people of *Israel* afterwards suffered from the *Assyrians*, ever name that nation, but only speak of a people that is to be raised up against *Israel*. Thus *Jonah*, who prophesied about sixty years before the reign of *Pul*, mentions indeed the king of *Nineveh*, but no where that of *Assyria*. The city of *Nineveh* had some time before shaken off the *Egyptian* yoke, and was governed by a king of its own; but his territories were of (28) no great extent, as is plain from the said prophecies; neither was he called king of *Assyria*, but only of *Nineveh*. *Amos* prophesied about ten or twenty years before *Pul* began his conquests, and foretold, that God would raise up a nation that should humble the house of *Israel*, at that time elated with their success against *Damascus* and *Hamath*; but what nation he names not. In the prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosea*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, and *Zachariah*, which were written after the *Assyrian* monarchy was grown powerful, it is openly named on all occasions. Therefore as *Jonah* and *Amos*, who prophesied before the reign of *Pul*, never mention the *Assyrians*, and those who flourished after his reign, frequently do; it is pretty plain, that in the days of the former the *Assyrians* made no great figure in the world, but were to be raised up against *Israel*; and by consequence rose in the days of *Pul*, who is the first upon record that fulfilled the prophecy of *Amos*, threatning *Syria* and *Israel* with captivity. Besides, we know from scripture, that till *Pul* made his appearance on this side the *Euphrates*, not only *Syria* and *Egypt*, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings. *Sesac* and *Memnon* were great conquerors, and subdued *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Bactria*, &c. but in their histories no mention is made of any opposition made to them by an *Assyrian* empire then standing. *Homer* mentions *Bacchus* and *Memnon* kings of *Egypt* and *Persia*, but knew nothing of an *Assyrian* empire (29). Whence it is manifest, that the *Assyrian* empire, which *Ctesias* makes as ancient as the flood, did not begin till the reign of *Pul*, who reduced all the above-mentioned nations.

(L) That in the time of *Shalmaneser* they were subject to the *Assyrians*, is plain from scripture, where that prince is said to have transplanted the inhabitants of *Samaria* to *Halah* and *Habor*, and the other cities of the *Medes* (30). In this captivity *Tobit* was carried from his native country, the city of *Thisbe*, in the tribe of *Nepthali*, with *Anna* his wife, and *Tobias* his son, into *Assyria*; but the rest of his brethren were carried into *Media*, and planted there, particularly *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatan* (31), which proves *Media* to have been in the time of *Shalmaneser* subject to the king of *Assyria*.

(28) *Jonah* iii. 6, 7. (29) *See Sir* Isaac Newton's *Chronol. of ancient kingdoms*, p. 265. *&c. seq.* (30) 2 *Kings* xvii. 6. *vid. sup.* vol. I. p. 835. a. b. 891. b. (31) *Tobit* i. 10, *&c. seq.*

of the sudden slaughter of his army near *Egypt*, and shaking off the yoke; defended their liberty by dint of arms against the power of the *Assyrians*, which was now in its decline. These are the troubles which prevented *Tobit* from going into *Media*, according to his custom [c]; and they must have happened about the latter end of *Sennacherib*'s reign, that is, about the year of the flood 2289, before *Christ* 710. The *Medes* having thus rescued their country from the *Assyrian* bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as *Herodotus* informs us [d], which gave *Esar-haddon* or *Assarhadon* who succeeded *Sennacherib*, and was both a valorous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of *Media*, if not the whole country, anew under subjection. How long the anarchy may have lasted, is hard to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty-three which *Dejoces* their first king, is said to have reigned. It cannot have lasted above twenty or thirty years; for *Phraortes*, who succeeded *Dejoces*, and reigned, according to *Herodotus* [e], twenty-two years, was slain by *Chymilidan*, or *Nabuchodonosor*, in the twelfth year of his reign. *Nabuchodonosor* came to the crown in the year of the flood 2851, before *Christ* 684; so that *Phraortes* was killed eighty-six years after the *Medes* had revolted from the *Assyrians*; from which number, if we subtract the fifty-three of *Dejoces*, and twenty-two of *Phraortes*, eleven years will remain for the anarchy. But the reign of *Dejoces*, who, as we read in *Herodotus* [f], had some time exercised the office of judge before he was chosen king, is evidently too long, and we may safely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of *Dejoces* to the destruction of *Nineveh*, which happened in the second year of the reign of *Jeboiakim* (M), that is in the year of the flood 2390, before *Christ* 600, *Media* may be properly stiled a kingdom. From the destruction of *Nineveh*, we may date the rise of the empire of the *Medes*; for the conquerors, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, having shared the *Assyrian* empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced most of the neighbouring nations, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. Their empire lasted till the taking of *Babylon*; for *Xenophon* [g] tells us, that after the reduction of that city, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and succeeded him in the kingdom, which is entirely agreeable to Scripture. *Babylon* was taken seventy-three years after the destruction of *Nineveh*, to which we may add the two years that *Darius the Mede* reigned over that city; so that the empire of the *Medes* lasted seventy-five years, at the period of which the *Persian* empire took rise in *Cyrus*. That *Darius the Mede* reigned over *Babylon*, is unquestionable; for he is said in Scripture [h], to have introduced there the immutable laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*. In his reign the *Medes* are ever placed before the *Persians* [i], as the *Persians* in the reign of *Cyrus* and his successors are always set before the *Medes* [k].

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the *Medes*, we shall exhibit the series of their kings according to several authors.

[c] TOBIT i. 15. [d] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 71. [e] HERODOT. ubi supra. [f] Ubi supra. [g] XENOPH. cyrop. l. 8. [h] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. [i] DAN. ubi supra. & v. 28. viii. 20. [k] ESTH. i. 3, 14, 18, 19. DAN. x. 1, 19. & x. 2.

(M) In the reign of *Josiah*, when *Zephaniah* prophesied, *Nineveh* and the kingdom of *Assyria* were standing, for that prophet foretells their fall (32). Not long after *Pharaoh Necho* led his army to the *Euphrates* against the king of *Assyria*, and on his march slew *Josiah* (33); whence it is manifest, that the last king of *Assyria* was still alive. But in the third and fourth year of *Jeboiakim*, the successor of *Josiah*, we find *Assuerus* king of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, leading their armies against the king of *Egypt*, and taking from him what he had newly taken from the *Assyrians*. Whence we may conclude, that *Nineveh* was already reduced, and the conquest of *Assyria* compleated. We cannot therefore err above a year or two, if we place the destruction of *Nineveh*, and fall of the *Assyrian* empire, in the second year of *Jeboiakim*.

(32) *Zeph.* i. 1. *and* ii. 13.

(33) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 29. 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20.

*A Table*

*A Table of the Kings of the* MEDES, *according to* HERODOTUS, DIODORUS SICULUS, EUSEBIUS, *and* SYNCELLUS.

| | Acc. to *Herodot.* | | Acc. to *Diod.* | | Acc. to *Euseb.* | | Acc. to *Syncel.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | * * * * * * * | | 1 *Arbaces* | 28 | 1 *Arbaces* | 28 | 1 *Arbaces* | 28 |
| | * * * * * * * | | 2 *Mandauces* | 50 | 2 *Sosarmus* | 30 | 2 *Mandauces* | 20 |
| | * * * * * * * | | 3 *Sosarmus* | 30 | 3 *Medidus* | 40 | 3 *Sosarmus* | 30 |
| | * * * * * * * | | 4 *Articas* | 50 | 4 *Cardiccas* | 13 | 4 *Articas* | 30 |
| | * * * * * * * | | 5 *Arbacines* | 22 | * * * * * * * * | | * * * * * * * * | |
| | * * * * * * * | | 6 *Artæus* | 40 | * * * * * * * * | | * * * * * * * * | |
| | * * * * * * * | | 7 *Artynes* | 22 | 5 *Dejoces* | 54 | 5 *Diæces* | 54 |
| | 1 *Dejoces* | 53 | 8 *Antibarnes* | 40 | 6 *Phraortes* | 24 | 6 *Aphraartes* | 51 |
| | 2 *Phraortes* | 22 | 9 *Astibares* | ** | 7 *Cyaxares* | 32 | 7 *Cyaxares* | 32 |
| | 3 *Cyaxares* | 40 | 10 *Apandas* or *Astyages* | ** | 8 *Astyas* | 38 | 8 *Astyages* or *Darius* | 38 |
| b | 4 *Astyages* | 35 | | | | | | |
| | Total | 150 | | 282 | | 259 | | 283 |

THIS table contains what may be called two original catalogues, those of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, as he has borrowed it from *Ctesias*. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each, as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, and confirmed with the authority of holy writ, it appears that *Herodotus* is not greatly mistaken in his numbers. *Ctesias* enumerates ten kings of *Media*, whose names are different from those mentioned by *Herodotus*, except the
c last; whom he calls *Astyages*, and *Diodorus* names *Apandas*. The reigns of the eight first amount to 282 years, and those of the two last are omitted; but if they be supplied from *Herodotus*, they will come very near *Justin*'s account, who supposes the kings of *Media* to have reigned 350 years. *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* differ as widely from *Ctesias* as from each other, except in the name and reign of the first king *Arbaces*, and besides omit two of his ten. They pay a greater deference to *Herodotus*, whom they copy more exactly, at least with regard to his names, tho' they vary sometimes very materially from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between them, it would be a fruitless task to enquire into them, especially as it must appear from what we have said already, that they are both
d grosly mistaken (N).

(N) *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* and *Appian* have followed *Herodotus* with regard to the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*. The former acquaints us (34), that the empire of the *Medes* was ruined in the fourth generation; and the latter (35), that the three great empires of the *Assyrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, to the time of *Alexander*, did not last 900 years. The *Persian* empire continued 230 years, from the first year of the fifty-fifth olympiad to the second of the hundred and twelfth. To this number if we add 670 years, which the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* lasted according to *Herodotus*, the sum will be but 900 years. These are the sentiments of the most judicious among the profane historians concerning the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*. But on the other side *Cephalion*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Castor*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and his abbreviator *Justin*, with *Velleius Paterculus*, have followed *Ctesias* in his catalogue of the *Assyrian* kings. Among christian chronologers, *Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* have inserted in their catalogues the kings of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* mentioned by *Ctesias*; though in order to adjust their chronologies they have sometimes abridged, and sometimes increased their number.

If the empire of the *Medes* continued 352 years, as it must have done according to *Ctesias*, if we supply the reigns of the two last kings in his catalogue from *Eusebius* or *Syncellus*, it must be supposed, that after the empire of the *Assyrians* was destroyed by *Arbaces*; there were no *Assyrian* kings either at *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, and that the *Medes* were sole masters of *Asia*. But this supposition is evidently repugnant both to sacred and profane history. If we consult the scripture, we shall find, that the *Assyrian* empire was never more potent than after this pretended destruction of *Nineveh*. The prophet *Jonah*, who flourished in the reigns of *Azariah* king of *Judah*, and *Jeroboam* king of *Israel*, was sent to preach repentance to *Nineveh* about eighty years after the supposed reign of *Arbaces*, and *Nineveh* was then a great city, three days journey long; it had a king of its own, and was so populous as to contain above 120,000 children not yet come to the use of reason (36). Could a city, which had been reduced to a heap of rubbish but eighty years before, grow to such a pitch of grandeur in so short a time? For according to the prophet's account it was then in the meridian of its splendor. Those who follow *Ctesias*, have been forced

(34) *Dionys. Halicar. l. 1. Hist. Rom.* (35) *Appian. in Præfat.* (36) *Jonah* iii. 3. & iv. 2.

SECT.

## SECT. IV.

### *The History of the* Medes.

WE shall begin with what we may call the fabulous history of the *Medes*, being a extracted from *Ctesias*, his transcriber *Diodorus* and their followers. According to these the *Medes* were governed by kings of their own, before the early days of *Ninus*, the pretended founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy. For when *Ninus* invaded this country, it was ruled by one *Pharnus*, who being worsted by that mighty warrior, was taken prisoner, and crucified with his wife and seven children [l]. Thus *Media* was reduced to a province of the *Assyrian* empire, and remained subject to the successors of *Ninus* till the time of *Sardanapalus*. However they made some attempts towards the recoeovery of their liberty during the regency of *Semiramis* and minority of her son *Ninyas*; for she is said to have invaded *Media* with a mighty army, and encamping near a mountain called *Bagistan*, to have made a pleasant b garden twelve furlongs in compass. The mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and had on one side craggy rocks seventeen furlongs high, which she ascended on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burthen that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock she caused her statue to be hewn out, and a hundred of her guards attending her. From hence she marched to *Chaon* a city of *Media*, where on the top of a very lofty rock she formed another pleasant garden with stately edifices, whence she might behold the beauties of the spot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From *Chaon* she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and on her march levelled mount *Zarcæum*, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up vallies, and in spite of nature opened a plain and easy way to *Ecbatan*, which to our c author's time was called *Semiramis's road* [m]. These extraordinary works, as they were lasting monuments of her conquests not only over the rebellious *Medes*, but nature itself, kept that nation in a servile subjection and dependency to the reign of *Sardanapalus*, that is, for the space of near 1400 years (O), when *Arbaces* governor of *Media*, and *Belesis* governor of *Babylon* put an end to the *Assyrian* empire in the manner we have related, and we hope more fully confuted in the history of *Assyria* [n].

Arbaces. *Arbaces* the first king of the *Medes* after their revolt is represented as a prince of great generosity and gratitude, as appears from his behaviour towards the mean spirited *Babylonian Belesis*, who by a pious fraud bereaved him of the immense treasures that were concealed in the ashes and ruins of the *Assyrian* palace, as we have else- d where related at length [o]. He is said to have subdued all *Asia*, and to have reigned twenty eight years.

[l] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1. [n] Vol. I. p. 880, & *seq.* 886 & *seq.* [o] *Ibid.* p. 938. a. b.

ced to own, that *Nineveh* was twice taken and destroyed, *viz.* in the time of king *Josaphat* by *Arbaces*, and three hundred years after in the reign of *Josiah*. But the scripture, *Josephus* and all profane writers, allow only one desolation of that great city. The latter differ only in the time when it happened. *Herodotus* places it at the end of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and *Polybistor* does not much differ from him. *Ctesias* and his followers refer it to the reign of *Arbaces* three hundred years earlier. That the latter are mistaken is manifest from holy writ, as we have already shewn. We may add, that this powerful empire, which *Arbaces* founded, must soon have decayed, which is inconsistent with the system of *Ctesias* and the authors that follow him. The *Assyrian* empire must have raised itself again, *Nineveh* must have been rebuilt, and have pass'd from an heap of rubbish to an extraordinary pitch of grandeur, and all this in the space of 70 or 80 years. For after this pretended destruction of *Nineveh* and the *Assyrian* empire we find in scripture a series of *Assyrian* kings and a potent empire not subject to the *Medes*. Besides, if we compare the destruction of *Nineveh* described by *Ctesias* with that we read in scripture and *Polybistor*, they will plainly appear to be the same. *Ctesias* says, that *Sardanapalus* burnt himself, his concubines and treasures; *Polybistor* writes the same of *Sarac*. *Ctesias* tells us, that the *Medes* in conjunction with the *Babylonians* destroyed *Nineveh*; and the same is confirmed by *Polybistor* and the sacred penmen. *Ctesias* writes that the city was laid in ashes, and the citizens dispersed; and this is what we read in the prophets. Such a conformity of facts, joined to the former evidences, amount to a full conviction, that there was but one destruction of the *Assyrian* empire, and one desolation of *Nineveh*.

(O) These stories are of a piece with what the same author relates elsewhere, *viz.* that the army of *Ninus* consisted of two millions of men, at a time when the earth was not yet well peopled; that *Semiramis* employed two millions of workmen in the building of *Babylon*; that she disposed in the shape of elephants the hides of three hundred thousand black oxen, and other fables of the like nature forged by *Ctesias*, and gravely related by *Diodorus*.

a He was succeeded by his son *Mandauces*, who reigned fifty years, but did nothing worthy of notice in the warlike way, being himself, as he is represented, a prince of a peaceable disposition, and his subjects desirous of some respite after the violent struggles for liberty and empire in the last reign. Mandauces.

*Sosarmus* appears next, by some called *Medidus*; he reigned thirty years, and this is all we find of him upon record. Sosarmus.

*Artias*, by some called *Arbycas*, by others *Cardiccas*, reigned next. From his name some, who indulge etymologies, argue him to have been a great and glorious prince, the word *Arti* or *Arta* in the composition of his name denoting greatness, as it does, according to the interpretation of *Herodotus*, in that of the *Persian Artaxerxes*. All we can say is, that if he performed great exploits, they have been long since buried in oblivion. There is a great disagreement among authors concerning the length of his reign, some allowing him fifty years, others thirty, and some only thirteen. Artias.

b After him came *Arbianes*, in whose reign a war broke out between the *Medes* and *Cadusians*, who at the instigation of one *Parsodes* rising up in arms shook off the yoke which they had for some time groaned under. *Parsodes* was by birth a *Persian*, but the chief favourite and prime minister of *Arbianes* king of the *Medes*, whom he served with great fidelity till being highly provoked at a sentence pronounced against him by that prince, he fled with three thousand foot, and a thousand horse to the *Cadusians*, where he not only withdrew his obedience to *Arbianes*, but stirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The *Cadusians* being thus encouraged to stand up for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to *Parsodes*, as the most proper person on all accounts to appear at the head of their army. But before he took the field *Arbianes* died, after a reign of twenty years. If this *Parsodes* be the *Parsondas* mentioned by *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, we have already mentioned the reasons which induced him to revolt [p]. Arbianes.

c *Artæus* came to the crown while the *Cadusians* were making vast preparations to invade his kingdom, and understanding that *Parsodes* was advancing towards the frontiers at the head of 200,000 men, he thought it high time to curb the insolence of that rebel. And accordingly having raised an army of 800,000 men, he marched out with his mighty host, and engaged the rebels; but was most shamefully routed and forced to save himself by flight, leaving 50,000 of his men dead in the field of battle. Upon this Victory the *Cadusians* proclaimed *Parsodes* their king, who accepting the crown, inspired his new subjects with that irreconcileable hatred which he had conceived against the *Medes*, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is said to have solemnly conjured the *Cadusians* even on his death-bed to wage an eternal war with the *Medes*, and never lay down their arms till that odious nation was utterly abolished, loading at the same time with curses and imprecations such of his successors as ever should upon any terms whatsoever be reconciled with them. In pursuance of this, as we may call it, his last will, the *Cadusians* watched all opportunities of harassing the *Medes* with inroads, and doing them what mischief they could, till the empire was transferred, from them to the *Persians* [q]. Artæus.

d After *Artæus* reigned *Artynes* twenty two years, but did nothing worth mentioning. He was succeeded by *Artibarnas* or *Artabanus*, in whose reign the *Parthians* revolting put themselves under the protection of the *Sacæ*, a people inhabiting mount *Hæmodus* which separates *India* from *Scythia*. This occasioned a war of many years between the *Medes* and the *Sacæ*, who were then governed by the famed *Zanara*, a heroine of great prowess. That princess is no less celebrated by our author for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. She had, according to him, rescued her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her subjects, and inured them to the military discipline and the toils of war. After she had for many years harassed the *Medes*, a peace was at last concluded between her and *Artynes* on the following equitable conditions; that the *Parthians* should submit to the *Medes*, and the *Sacæ* and *Medes* quietly enjoy what they possessed at the beginning of the war [r] (P). Artynes. Artibarnas.

E Hitherto

[p] Vol. I. p. 938. d. e. f. & seq. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

(P) This queen was acording to our author, another *Semiramis*. She excelled all of her own sex in beauty, and was inferior to none of the other in courage and wisdom; she built many cities, made considerable

HITHERTO we have dwelt on what we may safely call the fabulous history of the *Medes*; these kings, or most of them, being no where found but in the books, or rather in the imagination of *Ctesias*, which was very fertile in the production of monsters. We now come to the genuine history of *Media*, as it has been transmitted to us by authors of a quite different character. a

*The genuine history of the* Medes.

THE *Medes* having thrown off the *Assyrian* yoke in the reign of *Sennacherib*, lived some time without a king; but were again brought under subjection by one of their own country, whose name was *Dejoces*. He is represented as a subtle, crafty man, and aiming at absolute power, and is said to have compassed his design in the following manner. The *Medes* were at that time divided into several districts, in one of which lived *Dejoces*, who seeing all kind of licentiousness prevail over the whole country, applied himself to the administration of justice with great zeal and diligence. b The *Medes* of the same district, observing the equity of his conduct, chose him for their judge; and he, aspiring to the sovereign power, performed that office with all possible regard to justice. By this means he not only acquired a great reputation in his own district, but among those also of the other divisions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge in the whole nation. Whence such as thought themselves injured by unjust sentences resorted from all parts to him, in order to obtain justice; till at last no one would commit the decision of a difference to any other person. At length the numbers of those, who applied to him for redress increasing in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of administring justice being devolved c upon him, he unexpectedly absented himself from the place where he used to determine differences, declaring he would no longer perform that office, and submitting it to the judgment of his countrymen, whether it was reasonable that he should neglect his private affairs to attend those of the publick. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickedness prevailing again to such a degree that it was not safe to live in the country, the *Medes* called a general assembly of the whole nation to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuses that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occasion those who were in the interest of *Dejoces* observed, that if a stop was not put to the growth of the disorders that had already overspread the whole land, they should soon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They advised d therefore their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation as the only expedient that could rescue their country from impending ruin. Their discourse was received with general approbation, and a king was resolved on. Their next deliberation was concerning the person, whom they should prefer to the crown, when *Dejoces* was named to the sovereignty, and with universal applause placed on the throne.[1]

*The* Medes *resolve to create a king.*

*Dejoces chosen. Year of the flood* 2300. *Before* Christ 699.

THUS was *Dejoces* created king; and no sooner was he vested with supreme power than he threw off the mask, and commenced tyrant; though the rigour he practised may perhaps have been absolutely necessary to bring the nation, after some years of anarchy, into any order or discipline.

THE first thing he did after his promotion was to command his new subjects to build e him a palace suitable to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the safety of his person. He was obeyed, and on the ground, which he chose, a strong and stately fabrick was erected for his ordinary residence. At the same time he was allowed to chuse for his guard out of the whole nation such as he thought most proper for that trust. Thus settled on the throne, he united the several districts, into which the *Medes* had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a strong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. To this also his subjects submitted, and the famous city of *Ecbatan* was built pursuant to his orders and directions, a city which in process of time became very famous in those parts (Q).

[1] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 95.

siderable conquests, and raised the obscure nation of the *Sacæ* to a great pitch of glory. Whence her subjects in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her means erected her a monument after her death of vast dimensions, being three furlongs in breadth, and on the top of which was built a pyramid of a furlong in height. Upon this pyramid she was represented by a golden colossus, and adored by her subjects as a goddess (37).

(Q) *Ecbatan* in scripture (38) is called *Achmetha*; by *Ctesias* and *Stephanus*, *Agbatan*. In the book of *Judith* it is said to have been built by *Arphaxad* king of the *Medes*; but whether *Arphaxad* and *Dejoces* be but two names of one and the same person,

(37) DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3. (38) EZRA vi. 2.

*Dejoces*

a *Dejoces* thus lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city, enacted the following laws to be observed by all his subjects of what rank soever: That no one should be admitted to his presence, but transact all things by his servants and ministers; that none should be allowed even to see him, that were not immediately of his household, and that for any who attended him, to laugh or spit in his presence should be accounted a great indecency, and contrary to the respect which is due to a sovereign. These laws he enjoined, that the malecontents might have no opportunity of putting in execution any evil design against his person, not doubting but those, who were debarred from seeing him, would be easily induced to think him of a superior nature to themselves. But though he kept himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people,
b yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining to that end many emissaries in all the provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every transaction. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment thus treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stemmed the course of violence and injustice.

*Dejoces* was so intirely taken up in civilizing his unpolished subjects, and making laws, that he never engaged in any enterprize against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he is said to have ruled over the whole nation of the *Medes* fifty three years. [t]

c He was succeeded by his son *Phraortes*, who being of a warlike temper, and not satisfied with the kingdom of *Media*, which his father had left him, invaded *Persia*, and is said to have brought that nation under subjection to the *Medes* [u]. But we are inclined to disagree with our author in this particular, and ascribe the conquest of *Persia*, not to *Phraortes*, but to his son and successor *Cyaxares* (P). However he subdued several of the neighbouring nations, attacking them one after another, till he made himself master of almost all the upper *Asia*, lying between mount *Taurus* and the river *Halys*. Elated with the good success, that attended his army, at length he invaded *Assyria*, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakened by the revolt of many nations, who following the example of the *Medes*, had withdrawn their obe-
d dience from the *Assyrians*. *Nabuchadonosor* or *Chyniladan* at that time king of *Assyria* raised a powerful army to oppose the conqueror, summoning the whole force of his wide spreading dominions, and inviting other nations of the east to his assistance. His embassadors were received every where with contempt, and no one people obeyed the summons. However *Nabuchadonosor* took the field with what forces he had, and

Phraortes. *Year of the flood* 2353. *Before* Christ 646.

[t] Herodot. l. 1. c. 96, 201. [u] Herodot. l. 1. c. 102.

person, is what we shall examine hereafter. Dr. *Prideaux* (39) tells us, upon what ground we know not, that *Ecbatan* was only enlarged and beautified by *Dejoces*. He will perhaps have *Arbaces*, whom by an unaccountable inadvertency he confounds with *Tiglath-pileser*, to be the founder of it. *Josephus* (40) acquaints us that the decree of *Cyrus* about rebuilding the temple of *Jerusalem* was found at *Ecbatan*, which plainly proves it to be the same with the *Achmetha* of scripture, where according to *Ezra* (41) the said decree was lodged.

(P) It seems plain from scripture, that the *Persians* were not subdued by the *Medes* till after the taking of *Nineveh* by the joint forces of *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which the *Jews* reckon to be the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (42) God threatened by his prophet * that *he would take all the families of the north and* Nebuchadnezzar *the king of* Babylon, *and bring them against* Judea, *and against the nations round about, and utterly destroy those nations, and make them an astonishment and lasting desolations, and cause them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury*; and in particular, he names the kings of *Judah* and *Egypt*, and those of *Edom* and *Moab*, and *Ammon* and *Tyre*, and all the kings of *Elam*, and all the kings of the *Medes*, &c. Where it is to be observed, that in numbering the nations which were to be subdued, he omits the *Assyrians*, who must consequently have been already conquered, and names the kings of *Elam* or *Persia*, as distinct from those of the *Medes*, whence we may conclude that the *Persians* were not yet subdued by the *Medes*. In the beginning of the reign of *Zedekiah*, that is in the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the same prophet foretold the approaching conquest of *Persia* by the *Medes* and their confederates: *Behold*, says he, *I will break the bow of* Elam—*upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven —and there shall be no nation where the outcasts of* Elam *shall not come—I will set my throne in* Elam, *and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord; but it shall come to pass in the latter days* (that is, in the reign of *Cyrus*) *that I will bring again the captivity of* Elam, *saith the Lord* (43).

From these words of the prophet it is manifest, that in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, nay after the destruction of *Nineveh*, the *Persians* had kings of their own, and consequently could not be subdued by *Phraortes*, who was killed before *Nebuchadnezzar* came to the crown of *Babylon* (44).

(39) *Connex. of the old and new testament, p.* 26. (40) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* xi. *c.* 4. (41) *Ezra, ubi supra.* (42) *Jerem.* xxv. 1. * *ibid.* ver. 9. (43) *Jer.* xlix. 35, *& seq.* (44) *See Sir Isaac Newton Chron. of anc. kingd. amend. p.* 313. *& seq.*

joining

joining battle with *Phraortes* in the great plain of *Ragau*, defeated his cavalry, over- a
turned his chariots, and pursuing the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took him prisoner and put him to death. After this victory he entered *Media*, took many strong holds without opposition, and pushing on his conquests, stormed the famous city of *Ecbatan*, and levelled it with the ground. Flushed beyond measure by this, perhaps more than expected success, he returned to *Nineveh*, where he feasted and revelled with those who had attended him in this expedition, for the space of 120 days [w]. *Phraortes* reigned twenty-two years, and was slain near the beginning of the reign of *Josiah*; for this war was made after *Phœnice*, *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Egypt* had been conquered by *Assarhadon*, and when the *Jews* were newly returned from captivity, as is plain from the book b
of *Judith* [x] (Q).

Cyaxares I. *Year of the flood* 2375. *Before* Christ 624.

Upon the death of *Phraortes* his son *Cyaxares* was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterprizing prince, and indeed such a man was then more than ever, wanting to save the nation from impending slavery, most part of the kingdom being already possessed by the *Assyrians*. Having settled himself well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good discipline (R), he soon recovered what the *Assyrians* had taken after their victory in the plains of *Ragau*. What he had next at heart was to avenge the death of his father by the destruction of *Nineveh*. And accordingly having assembled all his forces, he marched out with a design to treat that city as *Nabuchadonosor* had treated the metropolis of *Media*. The *Assyrians* meeting him on c
the frontiers with the remains only of that great army which had been destroyed before *Bethulia*, an engagement ensued, wherein the former were defeated and driven into *Nineveh*. *Cyaxares* pursuing his victory, laid close siege to the city; but was soon obliged to give over the enterprize and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom [y].

*The* Scythians *invade* Asia.

A formidable army of *Scythians*, having driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, were in full march in pursuit of their flying enemies, and ready to enter *Media*. They were come from the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and commanded by king *Madyes* the son of *Protothyas*. This *Madyes* can be no other than *Indathyrsus* the *Scythian*, who invaded *Asia*, as *Strabo* informs us [z], and having laid waste great d
part of that country advanced to the confines of *Egypt*. *Cyaxares* no sooner heard of their march, but breaking up the siege of *Nineveh*, he advanced with all his forces against them. The two armies engaged, and the *Medes*, though encouraged by the example of their king, who on that occasion gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors having no other enemy to contend with, over-ran not only all *Media*, but the greater part of upper *Asia* (S). From thence

[w] Judith iv. 1. *pass.* &c. Herodot. l. 1. c. 102. [x] Judith iv. 3. *& seq.* [y] Herodot. ubi supra. [z] Strab. l. 1. prope initium.

(Q) As *Arphaxad* is said in the first chapter of *Judith* (45) to have been killed by *Nabuchadonosor*, and in the very second verse to have built *Ecbatan*, most writers will have *Dejoces*, the founder of *Ecbatan*, and not *Phraortes*, to have carried on this unsuccessful war, and lost his life in the mountains of *Ragau* (46). The passage in *Judith*, that *Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Ecbatan*, has led them astray, and made them conclude, that *Arphaxad* must be *Dejoces*, who was certainly the founder of that city. But the *Greek* text of *Judith*, which the vulgate translates *ædificavit, built*, says only, that *Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatan*, Ἐπωκοδόμησε ἐπὶ Ἐκβάτανοις. And what can be more natural, than that the son should finish so great a work, which the father had begun, but had not been able to perfect?

(R) He was the first, according to *Herodotus* (47), that marshalled the people of *Asia* into distinct bodies of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas before his time, horse and foot, and pikemen and archers engaged promiscuously. But this we can hardly believe, when we consider that the nations of this part of *Asia* were engaged in continual wars, and consequently must have been more experienced in the military art.

(S) *Eusebius* tells us, that *Cyaxares* took the city of *Nineveh* before the *Scythians* invaded *Media*. But as *Herodotus* and all the profane historians, without exception, unanimously agree in this point, that the *Scythians* broke into *Media* while he was besieging *Nineveh*, and obliged him to withdraw his troops from thence to the defence of his own kingdom, we have chose to follow them rather than *Eusebius*, whose authors we are unacquainted with. Touching the expedition of the *Scythians*, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out by the *Scythians* invaded and laid waste part of *Asia*; and that the *Scythians* not satisfied with driving them from their habitations, followed them, we know not why, into far distant countries, and in this pursuit fell, as it were by chance, upon *Media*, while the *Cimmerians* were gone another way into *Lydia*. As the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Samaritans* were all of the same race and nation, as will be clearly seen in the history of those people *, we are inclined to think that this pretended expulsion of the *Cimmerians* was nothing else but the sending of a colony into *Asia* with an army of *Scythians* to assist them in acquiring new settlements and establishing plantations in a foreign country. For though the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Samaritans* were but one people,

(45) *Judith* i. 13. (46) *See Usher's Annal. at the year of the world* 3347. (47) *Herodot. l.* 1. *c.* 103.
* *vid. int. al. Gorop. Becan. Amazonica.*

a thence they extended their conquests into *Syria* as far as the confines of *Egypt*. But there *Psammiticus* king of that country meeting them in person, prevailed upon those barbarians, what by entreaties what by presents, to proceed no farther, and thereby saved his country from the heavy oppression which his neighbours groaned under [a]. In this expedition the *Scythians* possessed themselves of the city *Bethsheam* in the territories of the tribe of *Manasseh* on this side the *Jordan*, and held it as long as they continued in *Asia*; whence it was called *Scythopolis* or the city of the *Scythians* [b]. On their return from *Egypt* as they passed through the land of the *Philistines*, some of the stragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*, which was believed the most ancient in the world dedicated to that goddess. To avenge this attempt the b goddess is said to have inflicted on those that were concerned in the sacrilege and their posterity the hemorrhoids; which shews that the *Philistines* still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on account of the ark [*]. For from that time they looked, it seems, on this distemper as a punishment from heaven attending such sacrilegious attempts, and therefore in charging the *Scythians* with this crime took care not to omit in their histories the punishment which their ancestors had suffered for one of the same nature [b].

THE *Scythians* were for the space of twenty-eight years masters of the upper *Asia*, namely the two *Armenia's*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and great part of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* finding it impracticable to get rid of his troublesome guests by c open force, resolved to try what might be effected by stratagem. And accordingly invited the greatest part of them to a general feast which was given in every family. Each landlord made his guests drunk, and in that condition were the *Scythians* massacred, and the kingdom delivered from a long and cruel bondage (T). The

[a] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 104. l. 2. c. 1. & l. 7. c. 20. [b] SYNCELL. p. 214. [*] 1 Sam v. 8, & *seq.*
[b] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 105.

people, yet they were distinguished in name according to their different tribes, professions, and perhaps dialects. Such another expedition the same people undertook some ages after, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they came from the countries bordering on the lake *Maotis*; they were then likewise assisted, as *Plutarch* informs us (48), by their neighbours the *Scythians*, and had in their army above 300,000 men, besides a great multitude of women and children. They wandered over many countries, bearing all down before them, and finally designing to settle in *Italy*, divided into several bodies to facilitate their passage thither; but were all cut off in three battles by the *Roman* consuls. Mere necessity obliged these poor nations to infest their neighbours and expose themselves to such dangers. For their country abounding more in men than in sustenance, and shut up in the north by intolerable cold, they were compelled to discharge their overgrown numbers on the southern countries, and drive others, right or wrong, from their possessions, as being entitled to what others had, because they had nothing themselves. As they were a warlike race and inured to hardships, they generally prevailed, their next neighbours giving them a free passage that they might the sooner get rid of them; others supplying them with provisions and guides to lead them to more wealthy countries.

The first body of these mentioned by *Herodotus* took the way of the *Euxine* sea, which they had on the left, as mount *Caucasus* on their right. They passed through *Colchis*, and *Pontus*, and arriving in *Paphlagonia* fortified the promontory, whereon *Synope* was afterwards built by the *Greeks*. Here they left under a strong guard such as were unfit for service and great part of their baggage, and then continued their march into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, having now no mountains or deep rivers to stop their march; for the *Iris* and the *Halys* they had already passed. We shall give an account of their wars with the *Lydians* in the history of *Lydia*.

As the *Cimmerians* held their course westerly along the shore of the *Euxine* sea, so the *Scythians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* on their left, passed between that sea and the *Caucasus*, thro' *Albania*, *Colthene* and other obscure nations, till they came into *Media*, where they engaged and routed *Cyaxares*, as we have said. To this overthrow of *Cyaxares* some Commentators refer that prophecy of *Nahum* (49); *He* (that is *Cyaxares* besieging *Nineveh*) *shall recount his worthies; they shall stumble in their walks* (that is, in the walk or perambulation of the *Scythians*, whose coming at this time into *Asia* may well be so termed, since it was rather a passing thro' than any settlement; for in the short space of twenty eight years they over-ran, conquered, and lost *Media*, *Assyria*, and all the upper *Asia*): *they shall make haste to the wall therefore, and the defence shall be prepared*, that is, they shall hasten to *Nineveh* as if they intended to deliver it from the *Medes* besieging it [*].

(T) We do not find, that the *Scythians*, who escaped this bloody feast, raised any commotions in *Media*, or that they ever afterwards, either in revenge of this treachery, or on any other pretence, troubled the *Medes*. Which seems the more strange, as we know from *Herodotus* himself (50), that the army returning out of *Media* was very strong and numerous, and met with greater opposition at home than they had found abroad. We are therefore apt to believe, that the stratagem of *Cyaxares* was attended with less bloodshed than is commonly supposed. For by cutting off the chief men among them, he might have brought the others to reasonable terms. It is not improbable that in the space of twenty-eight years, many had settled themselves so well, that they were willing to live in subjection to *Cyaxares*, provided they might peaceably enjoy what they possessed; many who had enriched themselves with the spoils of *Asia* were willing to return home to their wives and families with the booty, and such as were not pleased with either of these two courses might join their companions in *Lydia* and *Parthia*, or

(48) *Plutarch. in Mario.* (49) *Nahum* ii. 5. [*] *vid. int. al. Jun. & Tremel. in loc.*
(50) *Herodot. l.* 3 *c.* 1.

*Medes* then repossessed themselves of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the *Halys*, which was their ancient boundary westward [c]. a

*Cyaxares* having thus freed his country from the oppression of the *Scythians*, found himself soon after engaged in a war with the *Lydians*. The occasion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus* [d]. Upon a sedition which happened among the *Scythian* Nomades, a party of them made their escape into *Media*, where they were not only entertained with great humanity by *Cyaxares*, but entrusted with the education of divers youths, whom they were to instruct in the use of the bow, and in the *Scythian* language. These strangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accustomed to return with some game. But one day happening to come home with empty hands, b *Cyaxares* whom they used daily to present with some venison, treated them with most opprobrious language; this they resented, and agreed among themselves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dress his flesh like venison, and serve it up to *Cyaxares* and his guests. They executed what they proposed, and then flying to *Sardis*, implored the protection of *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* immediately dispatched embassadors to demand the *Scythians*, but they not being able to prevail with the king of *Lydia* to deliver them up, a war of 5 years ensued between the two nations with various success (U). The battle fought in the sixth year of this war was very remarkable on account of a total eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, and is said to have been foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian* (W). The c *Medes* and *Lydians* who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and soon after concluded a peace by the mediation of *Labynetus*, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, and *Syennesis* king of *Cilicia*. This peace was strengthened by a marriage between *Aryenis* the daughter of *Halyattes*, and *Astyages* the eldest son of *Cyaxares*. Of which marriage was born the ensuing year *Cyaxares*, who in the book of *Daniel* is called *Darius* the *Mede* [e].

*Cyaxares*'s first care, as soon as he was disengaged from the *Lydian* war, was to resume the siege of *Nineveh*, which the eruption of the *Scythians* had obliged him to raise. Having with this view entered into a strait alliance with *Nebuchadnezzar* d king of *Babylon*, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daughter *Amyite* (X), he returned in conjunction with the *Babylonians* before *Nineveh*, took the

[c] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 106. [d] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 73, 74. [e] HERODOT. ubi supra.

or seek their fortunes in other countries. We read in scripture that all the families of the north were with *Nebuchadnezzar*; which may well be understood of these brave northern nations settling in his dominions, after they were driven out of *Media* and *Lydia*. 'Tis certain that after this expulsion of the *Scythians*, the *Babylonians*, who never before had been a match for the *Egyptians*, in all engagements with them carried the day; which may be ascribed to this new addition of forces.

(U) This *Herodotus* delivers as the occasion of a war between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one king demanding the fugitives, and the other refusing to deliver up such as had put themselves under his protection. But to us, we must own, it does not at all seem probable that the *Scythians* should have sheltered themselves from their own countrymen in the dominions of either prince, considering how odious the *Scythian* name must at this time have been in both kingdoms. As to *Cyaxares*, they had particular reasons to distrust him for the treachery he had shewn towards their countrymen, as we have related above. Some writers therefore with greater probability suppose that the *Scythians*, who retired into *Lydia*, were such as had escaped the massacre in *Media*, and not any other new colony; for that universal slaughter being fresh in their memories, it is very unlikely that other *Scythians* would have come to settle in the very country where it had been so lately perpetrated.

(W) That this eclipse fell out while *Cyaxares* the father of *Astyages* and *Halyattes* the father of *Crœsus* were engaged in a battle, is confirmed by *Endemus* in his astronomical history. *Pliny* likewise (51) in speaking of eclipses, acquaints us, that *Thales* the *Milesian* was the first that foretold an eclipse of the sun; and adds, that the eclipse foretold by him happened in the fourth year of the forty-eighth olympiad in the reign of *Halyattes* (and not of *Astyages*, as we find in some modern copies) 170 years after the foundation of *Rome*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (52) places this battle and the eclipse of the sun in the 50th olympiad, wherein he differs widely from *Endimus*, whom he quotes and pretends to follow. The time assigned both by him and *Pliny* does not suit with the reign of *Cyaxares*, but with that of his successor *Astyages*. *The solar* and *lunar tables* of *Ptolemy*, which are the same with those of *Hipparchus*, place this eclipse on the fourth year of the 44th olympiad, and on the 4th day of the *Egyptian* month *Pacon* (or the 20th day of *September*, according to the *Julian* calendar, on a sunday) three hours, thirty-five minutes before noon. But according to Sir *Isaac Newton* it fell upon the 28th of *May*, in the year of *Nabonassar* 163, forty-seven years before the taking of *Babylon* (53) and 585 before *Christ*.

(X) Some will have *Amyite* to be the daughter of *Astyages* and grand-daughter of *Cyaxares*. But *Astyages* could not at that time have a daughter marriage-

(51) *Plin. l.* 1. *c.* 12. (52) *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l.* 1. (53) *Sir Isaac Newt. Chron. of Antient kingd. amend p* 316.

a the place, slew *Sarac* the king, and levelled that mighty City with the ground. Thus was the proud metropolis of the *Assyrian* empire laid in ashes, pursuant to the prophecies uttered above an hundred years before. *Woe to the bloody, it is all full of lies and robbery; he that dashes in pieces is come up before thy face. The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to* Jacob *and to* Israel. *I hear already the noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword, and the glittering spear. The shield of his mighty men is made red: the valiant men are in scarlet. They shall seem like torches, they shall run like the lightning. God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt* b *at his presence: who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? Behold I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts: I will strip thee of all thy ornaments. Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store and glory out of all the present furniture. She is empty, and void, and waste.* Nineveh *is destroyed; she is overthrown; she is desolate. The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved. And* Huzzab *shall be led away captive; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves tabring upon her breasts. I see a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcasses; and there is no end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses. Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion walketh, and the* c *lions whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine? The Lord shall destroy* Assur [f]. *He shall depopulate the city, which was so beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a desart. It shall be a dwelling place for wild-beasts, and the birds of night shall lurk therein. Behold, shall it be said, see that proud city, which was so stately and so exalted, which said in her heart, I am the only city, and besides me there is no other. All they that pass by her shall scoff at her, and shall insult her with hissings and contemptuous gestures* [g] (Y).

THIS victory with the destruction of *Nineveh* the *Jews* ascribe to the *Chaldeans*; the *Greeks* to the *Medes*; *Tobit*, *Polybistor*, *Josephus*, and *Ctesias* to both. It gave d a beginning to the great successes of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy.

AFTER the reduction of *Nineveh* the two conquerors prosecuting their victory led the confederate army against *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt*, who had some time before routed the king of *Assyria* and taken *Carchemish*. *Pharaoh* met them near the *Euphrates*, was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formely taken from the

[f] NAHUM i. 1. ii. 1, 2, & *seq.* iii. 1, & *seq.*

[g] ZEPHAN. ii. 13, 15.

marriageable, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, had he married her, must have been at the time of his death at least eighty-five years old, and *Astyages* much older. In the book of *Tobit* the destruction of *Nineveh* is ascribed to *Ahasuerus* king of *Media*, and *Nebuchadonosor* king of *Babylon* *. This *Ahasuerus* can be no other than *Cyaxares*, who, as Sir *Isaac Newton* shews, was called *Achsuerus*, *Assuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, prince *Axeres* or *Cy-Axeres*, the word *Cy* signifying a prince in the *Median* language (54). By *Nabuchadonosor* is meant *Nebuchadnezzar* the great, both these names being given by the *Babylonians* to their kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was by the *Egyptians* to theirs. That *Nabopallassar* the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* was called by both these names, is plain from the books of the *Rabbi's*, and from *Josephus*. *R. Juchasin* calls *Nebuchadnezzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* (55); and *David Ganz* calls the father *Nebuchadnezzar* the first, and the son *Nebuchadnezzar* the second (56). *Josephus* in speaking of *Nabopallassar* sometimes calls him *Nabuchadonosor* (57), and sometimes *Nabulassar* (59), which is a contraction of *Nabopallassar*. It is certain that the books of *Tobit* and *Judith* cannot be reconciled with any other ancient writings sacred or profane relating to those times, unless we allow the name of *Nebuchadonosor* to have been common to the kings of *Babylon*.

(Y) On the ruins of the old *Nineveh* another city was raised, which for a long time bore the same name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called *Mosul* (60), and situated on the west side of the *Tigris*, where was anciently only a part of the suburbs of old *Nineveh*; for the city itself stood on the east side of the river. The circuit of *Nineveh* was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (61), 480 furlongs, that is sixty of our miles. Hence it is said by *Jonah* (62) to be a city of three days journey, that is in compass. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well walk in one day. *Strabo* (63) tells us, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the same place says that the circuit of *Babylon* was 385 furlongs, that is 48 of our miles. The other twelve miles make it, as *Strabo* says, much bigger than *Babylon*. We have formerly fixed the æra of its destruction; to which the reader is referred †.

* *Tobit.* xiv. ver. *ult.* (54) *Sir Isaac Newt. ubi supra. p.* 509. (55) *Juchas. fol.* 106. (56) *David Ganz, at the year of the world* 3285. (57) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11. (59) *Joseph. contra Apion. l.* 1. (60) *Thevenot. Part* 2. *l.* 1. *c.* 11. *p.* 50. (61) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* 2. *p.* 65. (62) *Jonah* iii. 3. (63) *Strabo l.* 16. *p.* 737.

† See vol. 1. *p.* 949. & *seq. sub not.* (N)

*Assyrians*;

*Assyrians* [h], as we have seen in a former volume [*]: for what had once belonged to them, a
*Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar* looked upon now as theirs by right of conquest (Z). After this victory they seized on the important place of *Carchemish*, reduced all *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, and then with an army of *Babylonians*, *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, to the number of 10,000 chariots, 180,000 foot, and 120,000 horse, invaded and laid waste *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, &c. and at last besieged *Jerusalem*, and took king *Jehoiakim* prisoner [i]. Enriched with the spoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, *Nebuchadnezzar* pursuing his conquests in the west, and *Cyaxares* falling upon the *Assyrian* provinces of *Armenia*, *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, which he subdued with great slaughter of the inhabitants. After this they b
united their forces once more, and by the reduction of *Persis* (A) and *Susiana* accomplished the conquest of the *Assyrian* empire.

The prophet *Ezekiel* [k] enumerates the chief nations that were subdued and slaughtered by the two conquerors *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Ashur is there and all her company*, viz. in *Hades* or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead Bodies lay buried, *his graves are about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused their terror in the land of the living. There is* Elam, *and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living: yet have they born their shame with them that go down into the pit.*——*There is* Meshech, c
Tubal, *and all her multitude* (viz. the *Scythians*); *her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terrour in the land of the living.*——*There is* Edom, *her kings and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword.*——*There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the* Zidonians, *which with their terror are gone down with the slain.* By the princes of the north are meant such as were on the north of *Judea*, namely the princes of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, who fell in the wars which *Cyaxares* waged in reducing those provinces after the destruction of *Nineveh*.

*Cyaxares* having thus erected the kingdom of *Media* into a powerful empire, and shared the new acquisitions with his *Babylonian* ally, died in the fortieth year of his d
reign [l], and was succeeded by his son

Astyages. *Year of the flood* 2415. *Before* Christ 584.

*Astyages*, who in scripture is called *Ahasuerus* [m]. This prince had by *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* II. called in scripture *Darius the Mede*, and who was sixty two years old when *Belshazzar* was slain at the taking of *Babylon* [n]. The same year that *Cyaxares* was born, *Astyages* gave his daughter *Mandane*, whom he had by a former wife, to *Cambyses* a *Persian*; from which marriage sprung *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, and the restorer of the *Jews* to their country, to their temple and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle *Cyaxares*, and consequently was in the sixty-first year of his age when *Babylon* was taken. Whether his Father *Cambyses* was king of *Persia*, as *Xenophon* [o] would e
have it, or only a nobleman of that country, as we read in *Herodotus* [p], is what

[h] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jerem. xlvi. 2. Eupol. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 35. [*] See before vol. I. p. 265. d. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2, 7. Daniel. i. 1. & 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. See vol. I. p. 848. c. d. [k] Ezek. xxxii. 22, & seq. [l] Herodot. ubi supra. [m] Dan. ix. 1. [n] Dan. v. ver. ult. [o] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. [p] Herodot. l. 1.

(Z) From this time the *Jewish* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*, and therefore the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* was by his father taken into partnership of the empire, is according to the *Jews* (64) the first year of his reign. But according to the *Babylonian* computation his reign is not reckoned to begin till his father's death, which happened two years after. As both these computations are found in scripture, we thought it necessary to say thus much in order to reconcile them. We must further observe, that as the *Chaldean* astronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Nabonassar*, beginning with the month *Thoth*; so the *Jews* counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Moses*, beginning with the month *Nisan*; insomuch that if any king began his reign but a few days before the first of the month *Nisan*, those few days were reckoned a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of his second year (65).

(A) While the *Assyrians* reigned at *Nineveh*, *Persia* was divided into several kingdoms. Amongst others there was a kingdom of *Elam*, which flourished in the days of *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, *Josiah*, and *Jehoiakim* kings of *Judah*, and fell in the reign of *Zedekiah* (66). This kingdom seems to have been very powerful, *Isaiah* foretelling the siege of *Babylon*, joins *Elam*, and *Media*, among the besiegers [*]: and *Jeremiah* threatens the former with a terrible downfall [†], which we therefore suppose to have been accomplished by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*. Which confirms what we have said before, *viz.* that the *Persians* were not subdued by *Phraortes*, as *Herodotus* would have it, but by *Cyaxares* in conjunction with the *Babylonians*.

(64) *Jerem.* xxv. 1. (65) *Sir Isaac Newt. ubi supra. p.* 269. (66) *Jerem.* xxv. 25. *and* xlix. 34. *Ezek.* xxxii 24. [*] ch. xxi. 2. [†] xlix. 34, & *seq.*

we

a we shall examine hereafter. Though the reign of *Astyages* was very long, having lasted thirty-five years[p], yet we find no particulars of it recorded in history, except his repulsing the *Babylonians*, who under the conduct of *Evil-merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, had made an inroad into his country; as we have related at length elsewhere[q]. The victory, which he gained on this occasion, was in great part owing to the valour and conduct of *Cyrus*, who attended his grandfather in this expedition, and though at that time but sixteen years of age signalized himself in a very particular manner[r], pursuing the *Babylonian* with great slaughter quite home to his own borders. This rash, and seemingly unjust, undertaking of *Evil-merodach* laid the foundation of that animosity between the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which ended b at last in the ruin of *Babylon*. From hence we may infer, that *Evil-merodach* was not the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyite* the daughter of *Cyaxares*, or as others will have it, of *Astyages*, but by some other wife; it not being likely, that they would have thus engaged in war against each other had they been so nearly related. It is still more improbable that *Evil-merodach* should undertake such hostilities while he was on the point of marrying *Nitocris*, as is commonly reported, who was by birth a *Mede*.

*Astyages* after a reign of thirty-five Years was succeeded by his son *Cyaxares* uncle to *Cyrus*. This prince was scarce warm on his throne, when he found himself engaged in a bloody war with *Nerigliffar*, who had murdered *Evil-merodach* and usurped c the crown of *Babylon*. This war was carried on with great slaughter on both sides by *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*, during the reigns of the usurper *Nerigliffar*, of his son *Laborosoarchod*, and of *Nabonadius* the son of *Evil-merodach* and grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose time *Babylon* was taken, and the *Babylonian* empire utterly ruined. But as this war, which lasted twenty years, was entirely managed by *Cyrus*, we shall defer the relating of these important events till the reign of that great and glorious prince, which, as he was the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, we shall reserve to the history of that empire.

Cyaxares II. *Year of the flood* 3450. *Before* Christ 549.

As for *Cyaxares*, he is said in scripture to have *taken the kingdom* after the reduction of *Babylon* and death of *Belshazzar*[s]. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held d the empire only in partnership with him, though he had entirely acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. But the command of the army, and the whole management of affairs being vested in *Cyrus*, he alone was looked upon as the supreme governor of the empire. And hence it is, that in *Ptolemy*'s canon no notice is taken of *Cyaxares*, but immediately after the death of *Nabonadius*, *Cyrus* is placed there as the next successor. But that a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* after the death of *Nabonadius*, or as *Herodotus* calls him *Labynetus*, the last *Babylonian* king in the canon, is plain both from *Xenophon*[t] and scripture. The former tells us, that after the taking of *Babylon*, *Cyrus* e went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and succeeded him in the kingdom: and we read in scripture, that *Babylon* was destroyed by the *Medes*[u]; *by the kings of the* Medes, *and the captains and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion*[x]; that the kingdom of *Babylon* was *numbered and finished and broken and given to the* Medes *and* Persians[y]; first to the *Medes* under *Darius*; and then to the *Persians* under *Cyrus*: for *Darius* reigned over *Babylon* like a conqueror, not observing the laws of the *Babylonians*, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations the *Medes* and *Persians*[z]. In his reign the *Medes*, as we have observed elsewhere, are constantly placed before the *Persians*[a]; as the *Persians* in the reign of *Cyrus* and his successors, are placed before the *Medes*[b]; which shews that, according to scrip- f ture, a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* between the last *Babylonish* king in *Ptolemy*'s canon and *Cyrus*. This king can be no other than *Cyaxares*, as *Xenophon* calls him[c], or *Darius the Mede*, as he is stiled by *Daniel*. The scripture ascribes the destruction of *Babylon* chiefly to *Cyaxares*, whereof St. *Hierom* alledges three reasons[d]; 1. because *Darius* or *Cyaxares* was the elder of the two; 2. in regard the *Medes* were at that time more famous than the *Persians*; and lastly, because the uncle ought to be preferred to the nephew. On the other hand, that few of the *Greek* writers take any notice of *Cyaxares*, may easily be accounted for. The *Persians* desirous to magnify

[p] Herodot. l. 1. c. 130. [q] Vol. I. p. 965. [r], b, c, d. [s] Xenoph. l. 1. Cyropæd. [t] Dan. v. 31. [u] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8. [x] Isa. xiii. 17, 19. [y] Jer. li. 11, 28. [z] Dan. v. 26, 28. [a] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. [b] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. v. 28. viii. 20. [b] Est. i. 3, 14, 18, 19. Dan. x. 1, 20. [c] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1 c. 19. [d] Comment. in Dan. v.

and extol *Cyrus* their countryman, gave him all the glory of that great conquest, a
and from them the *Greeks* borrowed their relations. Besides, *Cyrus* alone was employed in the siege of *Babylon*, *Darius* being then absent, and the confederate army under his conduct stormed the town, and put an end to the empire of *Babylon*. We may add, that as *Darius* did not reign at *Babylon* full two Years, before the fame of this great conquest was spread abroad in distant countries, *Cyrus* was in the entire possession of the *Babylonian* empire, whence they looked upon him as the great hero, who had alone performed such extraordinary feats. But *Josephus*, who was better informed, tells us[e], *that* Darius *with his ally* Cyrus *destroyed the kingdom of* Babylon. The same author adds, that this *Darius* was the son of *Astyages*, and that he was known to the *Greeks* by another name. Now if we ask the *Greeks* the name b
of *Astyages*'s son, *Xenophon*[f] will tell us, that he was called *Cyaxares*. As for the name of *Darius*, it was preserved in the *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, those famous pieces of gold, which for several ages were preferred by the eastern nations to any other coin: for we are told[g] that these were coined not by the father of *Xerxes*, but by an earlier *Darius*, the first king of the *Medes* and *Persians* that coined gold. But no *Darius*, more ancient than the father of *Xerxes*, is any where said to have reigned, except this *Darius*, whom the scripture calls *Darius the Mede*.

After the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* in concert with *Cyrus* settled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into 120 provinces[h], which were governed by those who had distinguished themselves during the war. Over these governors were ap- c
pointed three presidents, who were constantly to reside at court, and receiving accounts of what happened in the several provinces, dispatch the king's orders to the immediate officers; so that these three principal ministers had the super-intendency over, and the chief administration of, the most weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of these *Daniel* was appointed the chief, an honour, which he highly deserved, not only on account of his great wisdom, but likewise of his age and consummate experience. For he had now served the kings of *Babylon* full sixty-five years in the quality of prime minister. As this employment advanced him to be the next person to the king, it raised no small jealousy in the other courtiers, who conspiring against him would have compassed his ruin, had he not been miraculous- d
ly preserved by that providence, which is ever watching over the safety of the just. As the only thing they could lay hold of to disgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's displeasure, was the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with *Darius* to issue out a proclamation forbidding all persons to put up any petition whatsoever to God or man, except to the king, for the space of thirty days, upon pain of being cast into the lions den. Now as *Daniel* was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards *Jerusalem*, he was surprised, accused, and, as the laws of the *Medes* were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions. But being miraculously delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors, and greatly raised, as e
we may well imagine, *Daniel*'s reputation both with *Darius* and *Cyrus*[i]. This probably happened, while *Cyrus* was in *Syria*; for after having settled his affairs at *Babylon*, and furnished the garrisons with such troops as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, which he brought under subjection with the other adjacent countries, extending his conquests as far as the *Red Sea*, and the confines of *Æthiopia*. In the mean time *Darius* remained at *Babylon*, managed the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was *Daniel* cast into the lions den. The *Darics* were, perhaps, coined much about the same time out of the gold of the conquered *Lydians* (B). But in the reign of *Cyrus* we shall give a more distinct account of several particulars relating to his two predecessors *Cyaxares* and *Astyages*. We have hitherto supposed the former to be *Daniel*'s *Darius the Mede*, and *Nabonadius* his *Belshazzar*; but as both these points are controverted by writers of no mean characters, before we dismiss the history of

[e] Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. [f] Xenoph. ubi supra. [g] Suidas in Δαρεικός, Harpocr. in Δαρεικός, Scholiast. in Aristoph. Eccles. p. 741, 742. [h] Dan. vi. 1, 2. [i] Idem. ibid. vers. 4, 5, 6. &c. ad fin.

(B) This piece, according to Dr. *Bernard* (67) weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but as it had very little allay, it may be reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to have been worth twenty-five shillings.

(67) *De ponder. & mensur. antiq.* p. 171.

a *Media* we must beg leave to offer something in our notes in defence of this our supposition, after having acquainted the reader with the sentiments of others, and the arguments they produce to support them (C).

CHAP.

(C) As the whole history of *Babylon* from the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* to the reduction of that city by *Cyrus* is overcast, we may say, with an impenetrable mist, writers are strangely puzzled to find out *Daniel's Belshazzar* among the last kings that reigned there, and equally at a loss concerning his *Darius the Mede*, who was in that kingdom succeeded by *Cyrus*. To proceed with all the perspicuity we can in so perplexed a subject, we shall, 1st, produce what we read in the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the last kings of *Babylon*; 2. what is allowed on all hands to be certain, and is confirmed by the concurrence of all the profane historians; and lastly, the various opinions of modern writers, with the arguments they alledge to support them.

The prophet *Daniel* after mentioning what had happened in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, relates the visions he had in the first and third year of *Belshazzar*, and the fatal end of that prince in the following manner (68). *Belshazzar* having made a great feast, commanded the vessels of gold and silver to be brought to him, which his father *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the temple of *Jerusalem*. He drank in them, and his wives and his concubines, and the lords of his court. In the same hour an hand appeared, and wrote over-against the candlestick on the plaister of the wall of the king's palace. The king, who saw the motion of the hand, was greatly frightened, and commanded his wise-men and sooth-sayers to be sent for. But none of them being able to explain the writing, *Daniel* was immediately sent for at the suggestion of the queen, who on the alarm which that prodigy had occasioned, entred the banquetting-room and acquainted the king with the great abilities of *Daniel* in such matters. The prophet, after reproaching the king for profaning the holy vessels, reads the writing, and informs him that the words are *Mene Mene, Tekel Upharsin*, which he thus interprets: *Mene*, God has numbred thy kingdom and finished it: *Tekel*, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting: *Peres*, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. The prophet adds, that in that night *Belshazzar*, king of the *Chaldeans* was slain, and that *Darius* the *Median* took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.

The same prophet informs us next (69) what order *Darius* established in the realm, and relates the visions which he had in the first year of *Darius*, and in the third of *Cyrus*. It is manifest that *Daniel* speaks here of three kings succeeding each other to the crown of *Babylon*; namely, *Belshazzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, and *Cyrus*. The last is well known; but the question is, who the two others were? a question which we must endeavour to solve, in order to reconcile *Daniel* and the profane historians.

Most historians agree that *Nebuchadnezzar* after a reign of forty-three years (or forty-five if we compute the two years which he reigned jointly with his father) was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who reigned two compleat years, and was murdered in the beginning of his third by *Nerigliffar*. *Nerigliffar* ruled four years, and was succeeded by his son *Laborosoarchod*, who was murdered after a short reign of nine months. *Nabonadius* came to the crown next, and reigned seventeen years. In his time the city of *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*, and the empire overturned.

'Tis manifest that *Belshazzar* was one of the four last kings of *Babylon*, and that he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, since in scripture he is often called his son; but authors are strangely puzzled to determine which of the four bears this name in *Daniel's* prophecies.

Sir *John Marsham* takes *Belshazzar* to be *Evil-merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*; he founds his opinion on the authority of scripture, where *Nebuchadnezzar* is often called the father of *Belshazzar*, and *Belshazzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*. Several other circumstances concur to prove that *Evil-merodach* and *Belshazzar* must be one and the same person. *Berosus* (70) represents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belshazzar* in scripture bears the same character. *Berosus* tells us that *Evil-merodach* was killed at a banquet by some of his lords (71); the scripture says, that *Belshazzar* was murdered at a great entertainment which he gave to 1000 of his lords. However convincing these proofs may seem, and consonant to scripture, yet upon examination we shall find them to be of no force, and quite inconsistent with what we read in holy writ. The prophet *Daniel*, after relating what happened to *Belshazzar* at his grand entertainment, adds, *and in that night* Belshazzar, *king of the* Chaldeans *was slain, and* Darius *the* Median *took the kingdom*. From these words it is plain, that immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* the *kingdom was given to the* Medes *and* Persians (73). But this did not happen upon the death of *Evil-merodach*, who was succeeded, according to *Berosus* and *Megasthenes* (74) and Sir *John Marsham* himself, by *Nerigliffar* his sister's husband, who was at the head of the conspiracy against him. This objection seemed of such weight to Sir *John Marsham*, that in order to elude it, and maintain his assertion without contradicting the scripture, he was forced to suppose *Nerigliffar* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, and the *Medo-Persian* empire to have begun in him: a supposition which we shall confute when we come to speak of *Darius the Mede*. To what we have alledged out of *Daniel* against our learned author's system, we shall add a proof no less convincing from the prophet *Jeremiah*, who foretold (75), that *all nations should serve him* (*Nebuchadnezzar*) *and his son, and his son's son*. If the kingdom was transferred from his son to the *Medes* and *Persians*, as Sir *John Marsham* would have it, it is manifest that this prophecy was never fulfilled. What that author urges in defence of his opinion, *viz.* that *Belshazzar* might be, according to scripture, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, tho' true in a more extensive sense, wherein any descendant is called son, and any ancestor, father, according to the stile of the scripture: yet is not so in the literal one, in which the prophet seems to have couched it, as will appear further by and by.

To *Evil-merodach* succeeded, as we have hinted above, *Nerigliffar*, who had married *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter. We have not yet met with any author that ever asserted him to be *Daniel's Belshazzar*. He reigned four years, and left a son, named *Laborosoarchod* according to *Berosus*, or *Labassoarasc*, as *Megasthenes* is pleased to call him (76). This prince came very young to the crown, and betraying a most vicious turn of mind, was murdered by his own subjects after he had reigned only nine months (77). And this is the reason, why he is omitted in *Ptolemy's* canon, where the whole year is

(68) *Dan. c. v. pass.* (69) *Dan. c.* vi. (70) *Berof. apud Joseph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11. (71) *Berosus ibid.* (73) *Dan. v.* 28, 30. 31. (74) *Berosus & Megasthen. ubi supra, & apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l.* 9. (75) *Jer.* xxvii. 6, 7. (76) *Berosus apud Joseph. contra Apion. l.* 1. *Megasthen. ubi supra.* (77) *Berosus ubi supra.*

is reckoned to the king that begins it, how soon soever he dies after. If a king died but a few days after the beginning of the month *Thoth*, he was said to have reigned that whole year; and if any other reigned in the interim, but did not live to the beginning of the said month, his name was omitted in the canon. And this was the case of *Laborosoarchod*.

But to return to our subject; *Joseph Scaliger* (78) will have *Laborosoarchod* to be *Daniel's Belshazzar*, and founds his opinion on the following arguments, *viz.* that he was the last of *Nebuchadnezzar's* race; that he was killed by conspirators, and that his kingdom devolved to *Nabonadius* or *Labynetus*, who was, according to *Megasthenes* (79), a stranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*. He adds a circumstance out of *Daniel*, which he takes to be of great weight; the queen advised *Belshazzar* to consult *Daniel*; this queen, says he, could not be the king's wife; for his wives and concubines were at the feast; 'twas therefore the queen mother, which suits well with the character of *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter, who was regent. If we object against this hypothesis, that *Laborosoarchod* reigned only nine months, whereas it is plain from *Daniel*, that *Belshazzar* reigned some years; his answer is, that the scripture ascribes to *Laborosoarchod* or *Belshazzar* the whole four years which the canon accounts to *Nerigliffar* or *Nericassolassar*, as he is there called, because *Nerigliffar* reigned only as his guardian. And hence it is, that we hear of the first and third year of *Belshazzar* in *Daniel* (80), though *Laborosoarchod* reigned alone no more than nine months.

This opinion too is clogged with two unsurmountable difficulties, which, in few words, are; 1. That it supposes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, a supposition which we shall plainly prove from holy writ to be false; 2. That it falsifies the prophecy of *Jeremiah* promising the empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his son, and his son's son; whereas *Laborosoarchod* was his daughter's son. This difficulty *Scaliger* seems not to have been aware of, since he takes no notice of it in solving the objections that may be brought against his opinion.

If neither *Evil-merodach*, nor *Nerigliffar*, nor *Laborosoarchod* were *Daniel's Belshazzar*, it follows that *Nabonadius* was the king who in scripture bears that name. This will appear more plain if we consider, 1. That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the *Babylonian* kings, and therefore must be the same, who in scripture is called *Belshazzar*; for immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians* (81). 2. That he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is by *Daniel* often called his son, and in the *Chronicles* (82) it is said, that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his children or offspring reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Persia*; 3. That the nations of the east were to serve *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah* (83); he must therefore have been succeeded by a son and a son's son to the crown of *Babylon*. *Evil-merodach* was his son, and of all the kings that reigned after him none but *Belshazzar* could be his son's son. For *Nerigliffar* was only his daughter's husband, and *Laborosoarchod* his daughter's son. 4. *Herodotus* tells us, that the last king of *Babylon* was son to the celebrated queen *Nitocris*; and it is plain that by *Evil-merodach* alone she could have a son, who was son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. This opinion seems to us the least perplexed with difficulties, and of all others the most agreeable to what we read both in scripture and in the profane historians; and therefore we have, upon maturer consideration, perferred it to that of Sir *John Marsham*, which we were more inclined to embrace in our history of *Babylon*.

Authors are no less divided in their opinions touching *Daniel's Darius* the *Mede*, than they are about his *Belshazzar*. Sir *John Marsham* (84), as we have hinted above, stands up for *Nerigliffar*, and will have the *Medo-Persian* empire to have begun in him. He supposes *Nerigliffar* to have been a *Mede*, for no other reason, but because he married the sister of *Evil-merodach*, whose mother was a *Mede*. We are unwilling to quarrel with him on account of this supposition, or rather conjecture; but should be glad to know how, even according to this supposition, the kingdom of *Babylon* was upon the death of *Belshazzar*, that is according to him of *Evil merodach*, divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*? It is not equally certain that *Belshazzar* was killed, as that his kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians*; and that this happened immediately upon the death of that king, as the words of the prophet plainly insinuate; *thy kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes *and* Persians.—*In that night was* Belshazzar *the king of the* Chaldeans *slain. And* Darius *the* Median *took the kingdom* (85). Besides, it is very plain from the whole sixth chapter of *Daniel* that *Darius* the *Mede* was king of *Media*. He introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which would have been very impolitic in him, had he usurped the crown without any friends or troops to rely on, except the *Babylonians*, whose laws he tred under foot and annulled. And this, if we suppose him to be *Nerigliffar*, was his case; for he introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, was at war with both nations, and had no friends to depend upon except his own subjects, who naturally must have hated him, without any further provocation, as a stranger, as an usurper, and as the murderer of their lawful prince. To all this we may add, that if the *Medo-Persian* empire began in *Nerigliffar*, *Cyrus* did not destroy the *Babylonian* but the *Medo-Persian* empire, which no author ever asserted. But the strongest proof, in our opinion, that can be produced against this system, and that also of *Scaliger*, who takes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, is, that *Darius* is said to have divided his empire into 120 provinces (86), which must be understood, not of the *Babylonian*, which was never so extensive, but of the *Persian* empire. The latter on the conquest of *Egypt* by *Cambyses*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hystaspes*, had seven other provinces added to its former number. Whence in the time of *Esther* it consisted of 127 provinces. If this was the division of the *Persian* empire in her time, the former must necessarily have been that of the same empire. For if the *Persian* empire from *India* to *Ethiopia* contained but 127 provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was hardly the seventh part of the other, could not contain 120. It is not therefore to be doubted, but *Darius* the *Mede* was lord, not of the *Babylonian* only, but of the *Persian* empire, which cannot be said either of *Nerigliffar* or *Nabonadius*.

*Scaliger* (87) maintains *Nabonadius* to be *Daniel's Darius*, adding that he was by nation a *Mede*, and no way related to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but freely elected king by the same *Babylonian* lords who put *Laborosoarchod* to death. That he was freely elected he endeavours to prove from the words of the prophet *Daniel* saying that he *took the kingdom*, which imply a free election, and not a forcible invasion. That he was a *Mede* he pretends to evince from a prophecy which *Megasthenes* (88) relates *Nebuchadnezzar* to have uttered before his death, foretelling to the *Babylonians*, that a *great calamity was to fall*

(78) *Scaliger in notis ad frag. veter. Græcor. select. de emendat. tempor. l. 6. c. de Regib. Babylon.* (79) *Megasth. ubi supra.* (80) *Dan.* vii. 1. viii. 1. (81) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (82) 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 20. (83) *Jer. c.* xxvii. 7. (84) *Can. Chron. Sæcul.* 18. (85) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (86) *Dan.* vi. 1. (87) *Scal. de emendat. temp. l.* 6. (88) *Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l.* 9.

*fall on them, which neither* Belus, *nor queen* Beltis *could avert; that a* Persian *mule should bring the* Babylonians *under subjection, being assisted by a* Mede. The *Persian* mule is *Cyrus*, he being the issue of a *Persian* and a *Mede*; the *Mede*, who assisted him, was *Nabonadius*. If we ask *Scaliger* how *Nabonadius* can be said to have assisted *Cyrus* in destroying the city and kingdom of *Babylon*, since he waged war with him in defence of both, and was vanquished and killed; his answer is, that *Nabonadius* forwarded the destruction of *Babylon* by being conquered and slain, and that in this sense, (if in this there be any sense) he concurred with *Cyrus* in the overturning of the *Babylonian* empire. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Isaac Vossius* well observes (89), that the arguments produced by *Scaliger* to support this wild opinion are *unworthy of* Scaliger. As to his other proof, *viz.* that *Darius took the kingdom*; they imply, we own, no violence, on the part of *Darius*, who cannot properly be said to have stormed the town or won it by dint of arms; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though with the joint forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*. This city being thus reduced by the troops of *Darius* and by *Cyrus* his general, *Darius* without any further opposition took possession of the empire as conquered by his forces. It is not by any means probable, that the *Babylonian* lords after murdering their king should place a *Mede* on the throne, while they were at open war with that nation; nor can the division of the kingdom of *Babylon* between the *Medes* and *Persians* foretold by *Daniel* be meant of a king, who, though by nation a *Mede*, should be elected by the *Babylonians*, and peaceably enjoy the kingdom till driven out by the *Persians*. This division must have been made after the empire was destroyed and the city taken. To conclude; this system contradicts not only the prophecy of *Daniel* touching the division of the empire between the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, but that likewise of *Jeremiah*, where it is said; that *all nations should serve him* (Nebuchadnezzar) *and his son, and his son's son*. If *Nabonadius* was *Darius*, who of all the kings of *Babylon* was *Nebuchadnezzar*'s son's son? Since *Scaliger* could not answer this question, it was well done of him to take no notice of it in displaying and solving, in the best manner he could, several difficulties that others might have started against his assertion. He commonly adopts the sentiments of *Berosus*; but here he even forsakes him; for *Berosus* tells us (90) that *Nabonadius* was a *Babylonian*. 'Tis true, he seems afterwards concerned for having thus slighted the authority of such an unerring guide, and is inclined to make him a *Babylonian*. But how can this be reconciled with scripture, where he is ever stiled *Darius the Median*? He has a salve for this sore too: the word *Median* or *Mede* is not, says he, the national name, *as the whole tribe of chronologers and interpreters, simple well-meaning men, have imagined, but the surname of* Darius. But it is very unlucky for *Joseph* that *Daniel* should begin his 9th chapter thus: *In the first year of* Darius *the son of* Ahasuerus *of the seed of the* Medes, *which was made king over the realm of the* Chaldeans. He was therefore by nation a *Mede* and the son of a king of *Media*. But our writer seems to have been more conversant in the mangled fragments of *Berosus*, than in the books of the prophets, from which there is no appeal: and doth, on that very account, richly deserve the compliments which he ironically bestows on such as are unwilling to adopt his wild notions. But we will not press this further; contradiction and an over-bearing positiveness are but too well known to have been the essential ingredients of his character; and had he not in most things been singular, in all peremptory, he had neither been a *Scaliger*, nor the son of *Julius*.

The difficulties we have objected against the two foregoing opinions have made other writers look for *Darius* the *Mede* elsewhere. They suppose, that there was one *Darius* a *Mede* king of *Persia* before *Cambyses* the father of *Cyrus*, who was also, according to *Xenophon*, king of *Persia*. This conjecture is supported by a passage out of *Æschylus* (91), where that poet seemingly supposes the first king of *Persia* there mentioned to have been a *Mede*, who with a powerful army took *Susa*. Next to him he places his son, whom he does not name, and in the third place *Cyrus*, whom he calls a happy prince. This *Darius* who took *Susa* and waged war with the *Babylonians*, they will have to be *Darius* the *Mede*, son of *Ahasuerus*. This opinion is liable to one strong objection, namely, that *Darius* the grandfather of *Cyrus* could not be alive when *Babylon* was taken, *Cyrus* himself being then, as it is agreed on all hands, and we shall shew in the history of *Persia*, sixty-one years old.

Other writers, following *Xenophon*'s account, maintain *Cyaxares* the son of *Astyages*, and uncle of *Cyrus*, to be *Darius* the *Mede*. He succeeded *Astyages* in the kingdom of *Media*, as *Cyrus* did *Cambyses* in that of *Persia*. These two kings with joint forces invaded the kingdom of *Babylon*, and took the city. *Cyaxares* reigned two years at *Babylon*, and at his death *Cyrus* became master of the whole empire. This hypothesis is entirely agreeable to scripture, and free from those unsurmountable difficulties, which attend the others, as is allowed even by those who reject it. Their only exception to this system is, that neither *Herodotus*, *Berosus* nor *Megasthenes* knew of any such king as *Darius* or *Cyaxares* II. nay, *Herodotus* tells us in express words, that *Astyages* was succeeded by his grandson *Cyrus*. This immediate succession of *Cyrus* to his grandfather is vouched by *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Hierom*, *Austin*, &c. but these, as they have only copied after *Herodotus*, add no new weight to the scale. The abovementioned writers, we own, give *Astyages* no other successor than *Cyrus*; but *Xenophon* (92) does, and likewise *Josephus* (93) forsaking herein *Berosus*, whom he often quotes and ever follows where his authority does not clash with scripture. *Xenophon* calls the successor of *Astyages* *Cyaxares*, and *Josephus* gives him the name of *Darius*, adding that he overturned the kingdom of *Babylon*, being in that enterprize assisted by his nephew *Cyrus* (94), which is consonant both to scripture and chronology; whereas the contrary opinion, though perhaps not repugnant to holy writ, cannot by any means be reconciled with chronology. For if we suppose that *Astyages* had no other successor but *Cyrus*, we must allow him to have lived a hundred years and upwards. For he gave his daughter in marriage to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the sticklers for *Herodotus* tell us, before the siege of *Nineveh*, that is, seventy-three years before the reduction of *Babylon*. He must have been at that time at least thirty years old, and two years more he reigned at *Babylon*. Could we but prevail upon ourselves to believe that *Astyages* lived to so great an age, we should willingly follow *Herodotus*, having a great respect for that venerable and by some much injured historian. His system is no ways repugnant to scripture, where nothing is said of *Darius* the *Mede*, which may not be as well applied to *Astyages* himself as to his son.

A modern writer (95), so prepossessed in favour of *Herodotus* as not to call in question any thing that author asserts, endeavours to support his system with a

(89) *Isaac Voss. Chronol. Sacr. p.* 144. (90) *Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l.*10. *c.* 11. (91) *Æsch. Persæ. v.* 761. (92) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.* 1. *c.* 19. (93) *Joseph. Antiq. l.*10. *c.* 13. (94) *Joseph. ubi supra.* (95) *See Lenglet. Methode pour studier l'hist. Tom.* 1. *p.* 322.

a passage from the *Apocryphal* of *Daniel* xiii. 65. where it is said, *And king* Astyages *was gathered to his fathers, and* Cyrus *of* Persia *received the kingdom.* His quotation is right according to the vulgate, which is the standard in the church of *Rome*. But as they are not to be met with in the original, but only in that *Apocryphal* part called the history of *Bell* and the *Dragon*, ver. 1. we shall not take the pains of confuting our author, nor follow any longer a wild-goose chase, into which they must infallibly run, who leave the most beaten path, for the sake of being singular; but endeavour to close this note with an observation of greater moment and profit: which is, that this great event, this total end and final destruction of the *Babylonish* monarchy, was literally and circumstantially fulfilled according to the prophecies that had gone long before of it, as the reader may see by comparing the one with the other in the following instances among many more. It was foretold, 1st, That proud city was to be besieged by the *Medes* (96), in conjunction with other nations (97); that the passes and fords should be seized, the mighty men cast into the greatest dread and confusion (98), that the rivers should be dried up (99), that the city should be surprized in the midst of their mirth and jollity, and her princes and captains in the heighth of their carousing, and be cast from their drunkenness into an eternal sleep (100); and lastly, that that once so potent and glorious city, should certainly become utterly waste, and an habitation for owls, bitterns, and other such ominous birds (101): all which was exactly verified, as we have seen. Thus much we have thought necessary to say on a subject, which has occasioned endless disputes among the learned, and hope that the reader will not think we have trespassed on his patience, when he reflects that we have brought within the compass of one note what has supplied matter for whole volumes.

(96) *Isai.* xiii. 17. xxi. 20. (97) *Jerem.* li. 11, 27, *& seq.* (98) *Ibid.* 30, *& seq.* (99) *Ibid. ch.* l. 38. li. 3, *& seq.* (100) *Idem. ibid.* 39, *& seq.* 57, *& seq.* (101) *Isai.* xiv. *pass. & alib. Jerem.* l. 39.

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# CHAP. XI.

## HISTORY *of* PERSIA.

### SECT. I.

### *The Description of* PERSIA.

*Its several names.*

THIS country like many others has in different ages been called by different names, and tho' to some the settling of these may seem a dry and useless task, yet inasmuch as the subsequent history will be much enlightened thereby, we shall give the reader as distinct and accurate an account of them as we can. The most ancient name of *Persia* is that by which it is called by *Moses* [a], viz. *Elam*, or, as some write it, *Ælam*, from *Elam* the son of *Shem*, the father of its first inhabitants. [b] *Herodotus* calls its inhabitants *Cephenes*, and in very ancient times the [c] people of this country are said to have called themselves *Artæi*, and the region wherein they dwelt *Artea*. In the books of [d] *Daniel*, [e] *Esdras*, &c. we find it called *Paras*, agreeable to the *Persian* denomination of *Pars*, or *Phârs*, by which the proper *Persia* is called at this time. It has been also called [f] *Achæmenia* and *Arsaca* from its ancient kings. In [g] *Oriental* writers it is called *Agjem*, *Irân*, and *Shabistân*, which last signifies the dominions of the *Shâh*. It is true that strictly speaking *Achæmenia* and *Iran* are not general names of *Persia*, but rather of parts thereof; yet as they are frequently used in authors to signify that country which we call *Persia*, they may well enough be comprehended in this list of names (A).

a b

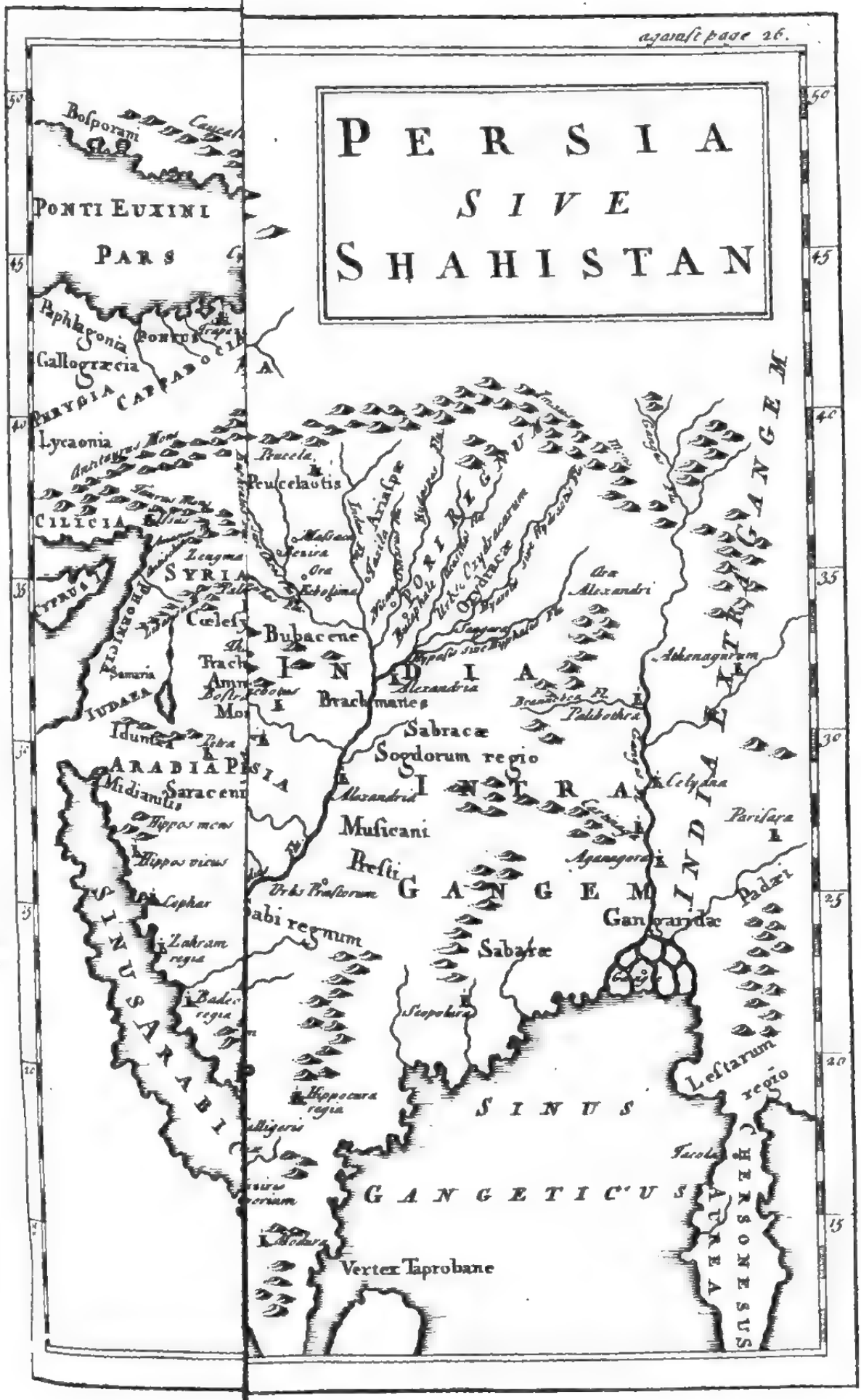
The

[a] Genes. x. 22. xiv. 1. Jerem. xxv. 25. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. vii. [b] Polymn. cap. 17. [c] Hyde Relig. vet. Persar. p. 413. [d] vi. 28. [e] 1 Esdr. vii. 4. [f] Horat. lib. iii. Od. 1. Ovid. de Arte, lib. 1. v. 226. [g] Hyde ubi supr. Chardin's Travels, tom. III. p. 2, 3.

(A) The best commentators agree that the *Elamites* who were the ancestors of the *Persians* were descended from *Elam* the son of *Shem*; and thus much has been asserted and proved as far as the nature of the thing would admit in our foregoing volume (1). It is likewise allowed, that the most ancient among the inspired writers constantly intend *Persia* when they speak of *Elam* and the kingdom of *Elam*. Thus not to detain the reader with unnecessary quotations, when the prophet *Jeremiah* after

(1) *p.* 162.

against page 26.



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The

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(A) The best commentators agree that the *Elamites* who were the ancestors of the *Persians* were descended from *Elam* the son of *Shem*; and thus much has been asserted and proved as far as the nature of the thing would admit in our foregoing volume (1). It is likewise allowed, that the most ancient among the inspired writers constantly intend *Persia* when they speak of *Elam* and the kingdom of *Elam*. Thus not to detain the reader with unnecessary quotations, when the prophet *Jeremiah* after

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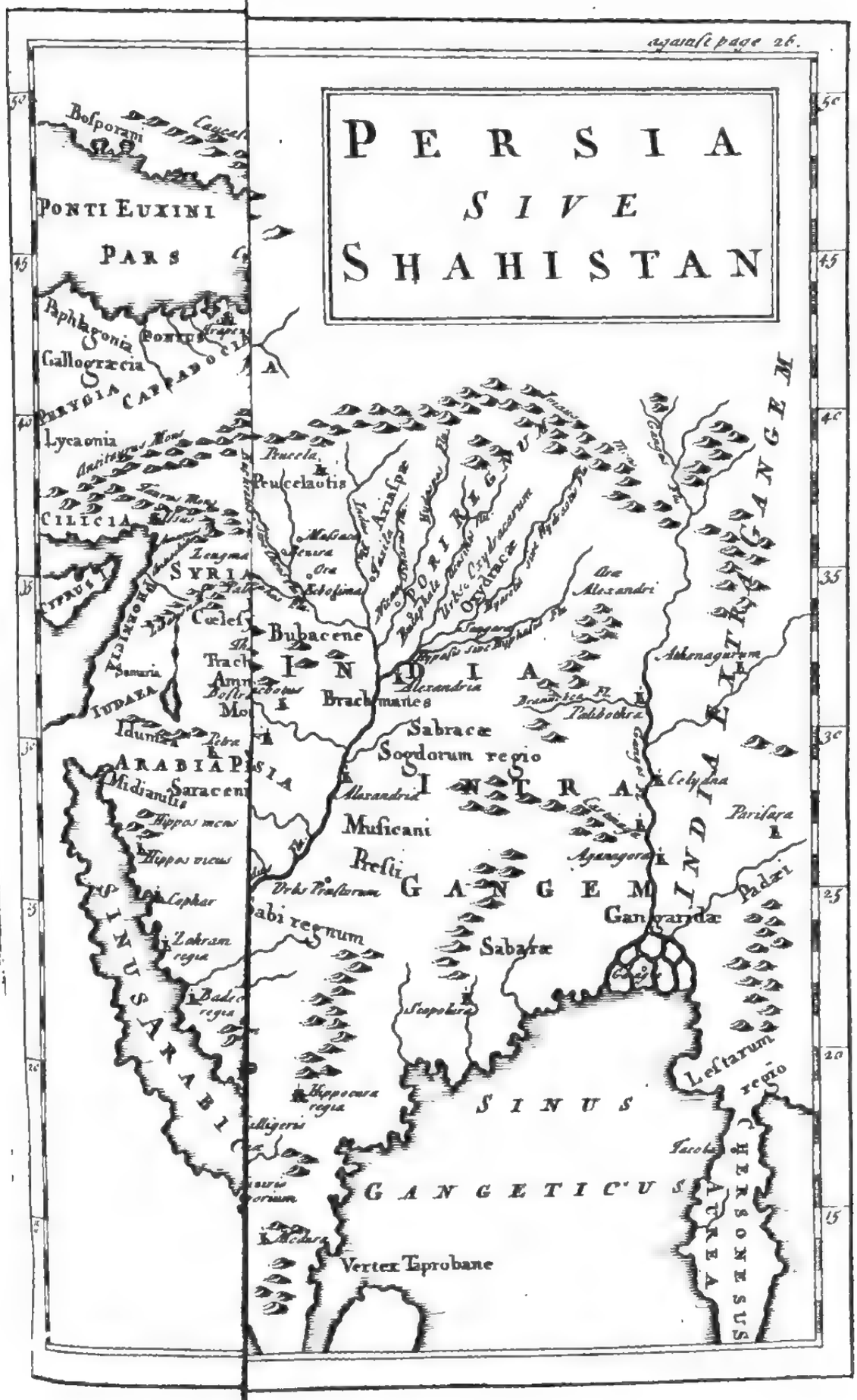

a THE extent of *Persia* has been in different ages as various as its names; [h] *Ptolemy* bounds it thus: on the north it hath *Media*, on the east *Caramania*, on the west *Susiana*, on the south the *Persian* gulph; but this relates to *Persia* as a province. We consider it in another light, and therefore to speak as clearly and distinctly as we may, let us first assign the boundaries of the *Persian* empire as they stood anciently, when it extended farthest; let us next settle the boundaries of the modern *Persian* empire, and thirdly let us review the several provinces mentioned by ancient writers, and as we go on take some account of the condition they are now in. *Extent.*

AS to the [i] ancient empire of the *Persians* it reached in length from the *Hellespont* to the mouth of the river *Indus* about 2800 *English* miles, in breadth from *Pontus* b to the mouth of the *Arabian* gulph about 2000 miles. *Boundaries.*

THE [k] modern *Persia*, that is the dominions of the *Persian* crown, extend in length from the mouth of the river *Araxes*, to the mouth of the river *Indus* about 1840 of our miles, and in breadth from the river *Oxus* to the *Persian* gulph, about 1080 of our miles, bounded thus; on the north, by the *Caspian* sea, the river *Oxus*, and mount *Caucasus*; on the east, by the river *Indus*, and the dominions of the Great *Mogul*, as he is commonly call'd; on the south, by the *Persian* gulph, and the *Indian* ocean, and on the west by the dominions of the Grand Signior (B).

In

[h] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 4. [i] CLUVER. Geogr. lib. v. c. 13. [k] CLUVER. ubi supr.

after denouncing many judgments against this country, adds these words, *But it shall come to pass in the latter days that I will bring again the captivity of* Elam, *saith* THE LORD (2); he is always understood to mean the restoration of the kingdom of the *Persians* by *Cyrus* who subdued the *Babylonians*, as these had before subdued the *Persians* and made them subject to their empire (3). As to the word פרס *Paras*, authors are not very well agreed as to its etymology or signification: some are for deriving it from the *Arabick* word *Phâris*, which signifies a horse. Some *Persian* historians say that *Phars* is a proper name, and that the person so called was the son of *Arpham*, i. e. *Arphaxad* the son of *Shem*; others make this *Phars* the son of *Japhet*, &c. Some again who seem to be nearest the truth, say that he was the son of *Elam* the son of *Shem* (4). It is evident however that the *Greek* word *Persis* and the *Latin* word *Persia* are derived from this oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by *Persius*. The name *Artaei* is thought to be derived from the *Persian* word *Ard* or *Art*, which signifies strong, brave, magnanimous, intimating that the people of this country were such in their dispositions (5). *Achæmenia*, as *Stephanus Byzantius* (6) informs us, was only a part of *Persia*. *Strabo* (7) says nearly the same thing; yet sometimes it is used to signify *Persia* in general, as particularly by *Herodotus* (8), who makes *Cambysus* in an oration call his people *Achæmenidæ*. In the *Armenian* language *Persia* as I have said is stiled *Shabistân*, i. e. the country of the *Shâd* (9). The *Arabians* gave the name of *Agemistaan* to *Persia*, because in their language *Agem* signifies stranger or rather *Barbarian*, which with great modesty they impose on every other nation but their own; hence the distinction of *Arab-Arab* and *Arab-Agem*, which signifies as much as the Towns of the *Arabs* and the towns of the *Barbarians*. The *Persians* themselves call their country generally *Iran*, and *Iran*; for this reason they say that under the reign of king *Effrasiab* their empire contained all the countries between the *Caspian* sea and *China*. This monarch divided his mighty empire into two parts, calling that on the other side of the river *Oxus*, *Touran*, and this *Iran*, *i. e.* on the other side of the river, and on this side of the river; whence in the ancient *Persian* histories *Key Iran* and *Key Touran* signified the king of *Persia* and the king of *Tartary*. At this day the *Persian* monarch is stiled *Padsha-Iran*, and the grand visier of *Persia*, *Iran-Medary*, *i. e.* the pole of *Persia* (10).

(B) The ingenious Sir *John Chardin* tells us that "*Persia* is the greatest empire in the world, if we consider it according to the geographical descriptions of the *Persians*, for they represent its ancient boundaries to have been the four following great seas, *viz.* the *Black-Sea*, the *Red-Sea*, the *Caspian-Sea*, and the *Persian* gulph; and also these six rivers almost as well known as seas, *Euphrates*, *Araxis*, *Tigris*, *Phasis*, *Oxus* and *Indus*. It is indeed impossible to mark precisely the limits of this vast kingdom, for it is not with it as with the dominions of some petty sovereigns, where a rivulet or pillar marks the frontier: *Persia* has on every side a space of three or four days journey utterly uninhabited, though the soil is in some places the best in the world; the *Persians* look on it as a mark of true grandeur, the leaving such deserts between great empires, it hinders say they all disputes about limits, and they serve like walls to separate one kingdom from another. The seas and rivers before mentioned are far from being the boundaries of *Persia* at this day, yet the latest *Persian* writers describe always their empire within these limits; for they insist that of right all the countries between them belong to them, and that they want only such another brave king as *Abbas* the great to restore them to the possession of their ancient territory. *Persia* in the state I saw it, taking it from *Georgia*, i. e. from the 45th deg. of latitude to the 80th, and from the river *Indus* to the mountains of *Ararat*, that is from the 77th to the 112th deg. of longitude, contains in length about 550 *Persian* leagues which makes 750 *French* leagues, and in breadth about 400 (11)". We have chosen to make use of the testimony of this traveller preferable to others, because he seems to have taken great pains in the description which he has given us of this country, and since it must be allowed that his long stay therein, his great parts and general knowledge qualified him perfectly for such a work; if we cannot credit him, it is hard to know on whom we may rely.

As

(2) xlix. 39. (3) *Poli Synop. Critic. Lowth on Jerem.* xlix. 39. (4) *Hyde Rel. vet. Pers. c.* xxxv. *p.* 418. (5) *Ibid. p.* 413. (6) *Apud Hyde ubi supra.* (7) *lib.* xv. *p.* 500. (8) *Clio, p.* 195. (9) *Hyde, p.* 413. (10) *Chardin Voy. Vol. III. p.* 3. (11) *Chardin, Voy. tom.* iii. *p.* 2.

Gedrosia. In our account of the provinces into which the country we are speaking of was anciently divided, we shall begin with *Gedrosia*, mentioned by *Pliny*[1], *Strabo*, and other writers. It is bounded on the west by *Carmania*, on the north by *Drangiana*, and *Arachosia*, on the east by *Guzarat* a province of *India*, on the south by the *Indian* ocean; it is call'd at present *Makran*, of old it was inhabited by the *Arbitæ*, *Parsiræ*, *Musarnæi*, and the *Rhamnæ*; its principal cities were *Pasis*, *Arbis*, and *Cuni*. *Ptolemy* places here a celebrated *Emporium* call'd the haven of women, the principal modern cities are *Firbk*[m], *Chalak*, and the port of *Guadal* (C). a

Carmania. *Carmania* is divided into *Carmania* the desart, and *Carmania* proper. *Carmania*[n] the desart is bounded on the north by *Parthia*, on the west by *Persis*, on the east by *Drangiana*, on the south by *Carmania* proper. *Carmania*[o] proper hath on the south the *Indian* ocean, on the west *Persis* and the gulph of *Persia*, on the east *Gedrosia*, and on the north *Carmania* the desart; it contains the modern provinces of *Chirman* and *Ormas*; it was inhabited by the *Isaticbæ*, *Zutbi*, *Gadanopydres*, *Camelobosei*, *Agdonites*, *Rhudianæ*, *Ares*, *Charadeæ*, *Pasargadæ*, and *Armozæi*. Its ancient cities were *Carmanæ*, now *Khirman*, still a considerable place, and famous for the excellent scymiters made there, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander* the great, *Armuza* or *Armuzum*, on the shore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the island of *Ormuz*. The modern places of note besides are *Khirman*, *Bermazir*[p], *Kubestek* and *Iasquez*, which gives name to a cape or promontory shooting into the *Persian* gulph (D). b c

*Drangiana*

[1] See note C. [m] Voyages de Tavernier, liv. iv. ch. 1. [n] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 6. [o] lib. vi. c. 8. [p] Tavern. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

(C) As it would have swelled this chapter to an excessive bulk if we had in the text been very particular as to the respective provinces of *Persia*, to to avoid obscurity on the other hand we have thought it necessary to add such a description of each province in these notes as may suffice to give the reader a competent idea of its situation, extent and productions. This being premised, let us proceed in the order observed in the text.

Tho' *Gedrosia* be constantly so called by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, yet (12) *Diodorus Siculus*, (13) *Suidas*, and some manuscripts of (14) *Ammianus Marcellinus* read *Cedrosia*. The extent of this province cannot easily be assigned, because though in general terms its boundaries be pretty well settled, yet how to fix these at this distance of time is a question not readily resolved. Mount *Betius* or rather a ridge of mountains run through the middle of this province, and from them springs the celebrated river *Arbis* or *Arabis*, which after a short course runs into the *Indian* ocean. At the mouth of this river stood the Γυναικῶν Λιμὴν, or port of women, of *Ptolemy* (15), mentioned also by *Arrian* in his *Indian* history, who tells us that this place was so called because originally it was governed by women (16). The soil of this province was sandy and barren, very deficient in water, and the air intemperately hot, so that *Alexander*'s army suffered excessively here notwithstanding they built their huts with aromatick wood, and met with spices in profusion (17). *Ptolemy* mentions two islands dependant on this province, *Astia* and *Codane* (18). *Arrian* speaking of the voyage of *Nearchus*, tells us he observed several others (19).

(D) Though other authors speak of *Carmania* in general, yet *Ptolemy* makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interposes the description of *Arabia Felix* between *Carmania Deserta*, and *Carmania* the proper. As to the first it is very truly what *Ptolemy* calls it, having scarce a town or a village in it, its soil being an unhospitable sand, its air hot and unhealthy, and the whole province in a manner destitute of water (21). *Carmania* proper is a better country, having in it several rivers, particularly the *Andamis* mentioned by *Pliny* (22), and *Ptolemy* (23). It is however mountainous, though with this advantage, that these mountains have mines of copper and iron; the people anciently however lived in no very desirable condition if the description given us by *Pomponius Mela* be true: "The *Carmanians*, said he, have neither fruits "nor raiment, nor house, nor cattle, but cover "themselves with skins of fish, and feeding on them "for the most part, the bodies as well as heads of "these people are covered with hair (24)." It may be *Pomponius Mela* confounds the *Carmanians* with a nation inhabiting the sea-coast, and called from their manner of living *Ichthyophagi*, mentioned both by *Strabo* (25) and *Arrian* (26), and who are said not only to have fed on fish, but to have erected huts with their bones. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (27) gives *Carmania* a better character. At this day this province is particularly remarkable for producing sheep which bear the finest wool in the world; they have this peculiar property, that having fed upon new grass from *January* to *May*, their fleece falls off of itself and leaves the sheep quite naked; the wool being gathered and beaten, the coarse breaks, and the fine only remains. The *Gaurs* have the whole manufacture of this wool in their hands, which consists chiefly in girdles much esteemed through the east, and in a sort of serges which are as soft and almost as fine as silk (28). Dependant on this province is the little but famous island of *Ormuz*, in compass about 20 miles, stony and full of rocks, barren and destitute of all necessaries except salt, of which there is such plenty and so hard, that it is said houses are built thereof. The soil is composed of a white sand formerly imported into *Europe*. Water (except such as after rains was preserved in cisterns) it had none, so that even in its most flourishing times, when it was the emporium of

(12) *lib.* xviii. *c.* 6. (13) *In verb.* Κεδρωσία. (14) *In Edit. Valesii, p.* 369. (15) *lib.* vi. *c.* 21. (16) *c.* xxii. (17) *Strabo.* (18) *ubi supra.* (19) *Hist. Indic. p.* 366. (20) *lib.* vi. *c.* 6. (21) *lib.* vi. *c.* 8. (22) *lib.* vi. *c.* 23. (23) *ubi supr.* (24) *De situ orbis, lib.* iii. *c.* 8. (25) *lib.* xv. (26) *Hist. Ind. c.* 29. (27) *lib.* xxiii. (28) *Tavernier in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. p.* 307.

a [q] *Drangiana* bounded on the south by *Gedrosia*, on the east by *Arachosia*, on the north by *Aria*, on the west by *Carmania* the desart, derived its name, as some say, from the river *Drangius*, and is called by the modern *Persians*, *Sigistan*, it was antiently peopled by the *Daranda* and the *Batrij*; *Ptolemy* reckons ten considerable cities in this province, the most famous of which were *Ariaspe* and *Prophthasia*; those now of any note are [r] *Sistan*, supposed by some to be the antient city last mentioned; *Chalak*, and *Kets*. [s] Some writers speak of a certain valley in this province called *Mulebat*, improved by a prince called *Aladin*, into a paradise, though for very bad purposes (E). Drangiana.

*Arachosia* is bounded on the west by *Drangiana*, on the north by *Paropamisus*, on the east by the river *Indus*, on the South by *Gedrosia*. Its modern name is not well settled, it was inhabited of old by the *Arimaspi*, who were afterwards called *Margyetæ*, and then *Euergetæ*, the *Sydri*, *Roplutæ*, and *Eortæ*. *Ptolemy* reckons up thirteen cities in this province, we shall content ourselves with mentioning only three; *Arachotus* built on a lake of the same name by the famous *Semiramis*, who is said to have given it the name of *Cophes*; *Alexandria* built by *Alexander* the great, and by some thought to be the same with the city now called [t] *Cabul*; and *Arbaca* supposed to have derived its name from some of the kings of *Parthia* called *Arbaces*. As to modern towns of note, we know of none (F). Arachosia.

[q] Ptol. lib. vi. c. xix. [r] Tavern. Voy. ubi supr. [s] See note E. [t] See note F.

of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their victuals but the very water they used from the continent. The air in summer was so excessively sultry, that people were forced to live in grots, and to lie in water (29). At present there is nothing on it but a fort; but of its ancient kingdom and of the several revolutions which happened therein, we shall treat in its proper place.

(E) (30) *Strabo*, *Ptolemy* (31), and *Pliny* (32), agree in calling this province *Drangiana*; *Diodorus* calls it *Drangina*, and its inhabitants *Drangi* (33). A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called *Bagnus*, runs through this country, and from thence some have fancied that there ran a river called *Drangius*, from whence this country took its name, but of this there is no certainty; the province is not large, and every where hilly, far from abounding with any rich commodities, and therefore never very famous either in ancient or modern times. At present it is only so, from its being reported to have been the birth-place of *Rustan* the celebrated hero of *Oriental* romances. As to the valley of *Mulebet* or paradise of *Sultan Aladin* mentioned above, its history runs thus: A petty prince of this name caused this valley to be adorned in the most elegant manner he could contrive, furnishing it especially with airy pavillions, fine women, rich sherbet, and delicate provisions; he then shut up its entrance with a strong fort, and whenever he had any dangerous exploit to perform, for it seems he was but a kind of a free-booter, he chose out some strong able young man, and having first got him to drink to such a degree as to lose his senses, he caused him while in that condition to be removed into this paradise of his, where having suffered him to remain for two or three days, he then directed him to be lulled asleep in the same manner, and so sent home to his own house: then under promise of sending him for ever to dwell in that *Paradise* the joys of which he had tasted, *Aladin* quickly drew the deluded wretch to perpetrate the most barbarous and bloody fact that could be thought of (34).

(F) It is on the authority of Mons. *Tavernier* that we have told our readers there are now no towns of note in this province (35), by which we mean, none that are exactly known to stand within the limits of the ancient *Arachosia*; however, since some writers are positive that the ancient city of *Arachotus* or rather *Arachotos*, for it is a *Greek* appellation, was seated where now stands the city of *Cabul* (36), we will take this opportunity of inserting a description of that city and the parts adjacent, which may perhaps prove as useful and must of necessity be more entertaining to our readers than a dry recital of the conjectures of geographers relating to this province. "*Cabul* is a large city, the metropolis of the province of *Caboulistan*, or *Cabul*. It hath two castles well fortified, and because several kings have held their courts there, and many princes successively have had it for their portion, there are a great many palaces in it; it lies in 33 deg. of north latitude. The mountains about it produce plenty of *Mirobalans*, which from thence the eastern people call *Cabuly*, several sorts of drugs, and some spices, which with the iron mines in them yield a great profit to the inhabitants. In this town they maintain a great trade with *Tartary*, the country of the *Usbecks*, and the *Indies*. The *Usbecks* alone sell yearly in this town above sixty thousand horses, and the *Persians* bring hither great numbers of sheep and other cattle, by which means they are much enriched. Wine is to be had, and provisions are cheap, tho' the country about it is but cold and barren, unless in some places which are sheltered by the mountains, being rendered little the more fruitful by the two rivers that water it, and have their source in the mountains. From this province especially come the large canes, of which they make halbards and lances; and they have many grounds planted with them. The inhabitants of the city and province are most of them heathens, and therefore in all towns and villages are many pagods. They reckon the months by moons, and with great devotion celebrate the feast called *Holy*, which lasts two days, at the full moon in *February*. At this feast they are all cloathed in a dark red, and after they have prayed in the temple, and made their oblations, they spend the rest of the time in dancing by companies in the streets,

(29) *Mandelslo's Travels in Harris's collection, Vol. II. p.* 118. *Tavern. in the same Vol. p.* 347. (30) *lib. xv. p.* 497. (31) *lib. vi. c.* 19. (32) *lib. vi. c.* 23. (33) *lib. xvii.* (34) *Paul. Venet. ap. Purchas's pilgrimage, B. iv. c.* 6. *p.* 317. (35) *l. iv. c.* 1. *p.* 412. (36) *Heylin's cosmography, B. iii. p.* 146. (37) *Tavern. in Harris's collect. Vol. II. p.* 355.

Paropamisus. *Paropamisus* bounded on the west by *Aria*, on the north by *Bactria*, on the east a by the dominions of the *Mogul*, on the south by *Arachosia*. It is called by the moderns [u] *Sablestan*, including likewise the kingdom of *Candahar*; its antient inhabitants were the *Bolitæ*, *Aristophili*, *Ambantæ*, *Parietæ* and *Parsii*, its chief cities *Ortospanum* and *Naulibis*; modern cities there are many of great note, such as *Beckfabat*, *Asbe*, [w] *Bust* strengthened with one of the finest castles in *Persia*, and adorned with various beautiful *Karavanseras* (G).

Bactria. [x] *Bactriana* or *Bactria*, now called *Chorassan*, anciently inhabited by the *Salatæ*, *Zariaspæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzi*, *Thocaræ*, a powerful people, and several other nations of less note; it was in the first ages of the world a kingdom, and a very famous one too, in latter times it boasted a thousand cities, the chief b of these were *Bactra* and *Ebusmi*, both royal cities as *Ptolemy* tells us, *Maracanda* and *Charracharta*; its modern cities of note are also numerous, but we shall not mention them here, because we shall have occasion hereafter to consider this country more particularly.

Margiana. *Margiana* is bounded on the west by *Hyrcania*, on the north by *Tartary*, on the south by *Aria*, and on the west by *Bactria*, now called *Estarabad*. It is divided from *Tartary* by the river *Oxus*, called by the modern *Persians* [y] *Ruth-khané-kurkan*, and was inhabited anciently by the *Derbicæ*, the *Massagetæ*, who came hither from *Scythia*, the *Parni*, the *Daæ*, and the *Tapurni*. [z] Among its cities of note we may reckon *Alexandria*, one of the six cities of that name in *Persia*, afterwards called c *Antiochia*, and after that *Seleucia*, *Nigæa*, or rather *Nysæa*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*; as to modern places of note, *Estarabad*, *Amul*, and *Damkau*, deserve chiefly to be mentioned (H).

Hyrcania. [a] *Hyrcania* is bounded on the north by the *Caspian* sea, called sometimes *Mare Hyrcanum* from its washing the shore of this province, on the west by *Media*, on the south by *Parthia*, and on the east by *Margiana*, called now *Mazandran*, and including likewise the province of *Kylan*. The old Inhabitants of this country were the *Maxeræ*, *Astabeni*, and *Chrindi*; its ancient capital was called *Hyrcania* as well as the province, nor has it at this distance of time much changed its name, since it is still called *Hyrcan*. *Tambrace* was likewise a considerable and very strong place at the time d when *Arsaces* began to lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note are [b] *Ferh-abad* a port seated on a navigable arm of the *Caspian* sea, a fine city much frequented by *Russian* merchants, as being not above a fortnight's sail from *Astracan*; *Giru*, *Talarapeset*, *Ciarman*, and *Escref*, are also places of note in this country (I).

[u] TAVERN. Voy. ubi supr. [w] TAVERN. Voy. Tom. I. l. iii. p. 394. [x] PTOL. l. vi. c. xi. [y] TAVERN. Voy. l. iv. c. 1. [z] CLUV. ubi supr. [a] PTOL. l. vi. c. 9. [b] Sir THO. HERBERT's Travels in HARRIS's Collect. Vol. I. p. 434.

"streets, to the sound of trumpets, visiting their "friends, and eating together every tribe by itself. "The *Great Mogul*'s revenue from this country is "4 or 5 millions yearly (37)." Yet after all it is far from being certain, whether *Cabul* has any thing to do with the ancient province of *Arachosia*, since *Caboulistan* lies beyond *Candahar*, and is generally reckoned part of the *Mogul*'s dominions.

(G) The name of this province is differently written, generally *Paropamisus*, sometimes *Parapamisis*, and again *Paropamisis* (38), deriving this denomination from the mountain *Paropamisus*, which is a part of *Taurus*, but was falsely stiled *Caucasus*, to flatter *Alexander* the Great, that it might be said of him that he had passed that famous ridge of mountains; a strange vanity! and scarce to be credited, if it were not supported by the authority of writers of the highest credit (39). The soil of this country in general is not over fruitful, the province being full of hills, which however, by overshadowing the valleys, render them cool and pleasant. We have observed above that the kingdom of *Candahar* is included within the ancient province of *Paropamisus*. This little realm hath for its capital a city of the same name, which is looked upon to be the best fortified place in all this part of *Asia*; as the caravans do pass constantly through it in going to or coming from *India*, it is consequently a place rich and full of trade. *Tavernier* has given us an ample description of it at the end of the 5th book of his travels; as to the history of its princes and of the various fortunes it has sustained, we shall give the reader a distinct view of them, when we have deduced the *Persian* history as low as to the erecting of this little kingdom.

(H) Many ancient authors agree in commending the situation of this province, begirt, as it is, with high mountains watered with pleasant rivers, amongst the rest with the noble river *Oxus*, so famous in *Greek* and *Latin* authors. It is likewise celebrated for its fertility in vines of such an extraordinary size, that two men can scarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing clusters, some of which are two cubits long. *Antiochus Soter* was so much pleased with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city therein, but even inclosed the whole plain, watered by the rivers *Arias* and *Margus*, with a wall 1500 stadia in circuit (40). *Estarabad* its present capital is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggets and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there (41).

(I) Ancient writers agree in representing *Hyrcania* as a country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other

(37) *Tavern. in Harris's collect. Vol. II. p.* 355. (38) *Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. c.* 23. *p.* 719. (39) *Strab. lib.* xi. *p.* 348. *Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib.* v. *c.* 3. (40) *Strab. lib.* xi. *p.* 516. (41) *Tavern. Vol. I. p.* 397.

*Aria*,

a [c] *Aria*, bounded on the north by *Margiana* and *Bactria*, on the west by *Parthia* and *Carmania* the desart, on the south by *Drangiana*, on the east by *Paropamisus*, now comprehended under the province of *Chorasan*. It was anciently inhabited by the *Nisæi*, *Ajtaveni*, *Musdorani*, *Cassirotæ*, *Obares*, *Elymandri*, and the *Borgi*; its principal cities of old were *Aria*, seated on the river *Arias*, mentioned by *Pliny*, thought to be the same city which is still famous under the name of *Heri*, or *Herat*, rebuilt and splendidly adorned by the *Sultan Heussien-Mirza*, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander*, who settled a colony of *Macedonians* therein; *Artacanda*, called by [d] *Strabo Artacana*, and *Bitana* (K). Aria.

b [e] *Parthia*, bounded on the west by *Media*, on the north by *Hyrcania*, on the east by *Aria*, on the south by *Carmania* the desart, surrounded with mountains which serve for boundaries on every side at this day called *Erak* or *Arak*, and to distinguish it from *Chaldea*, which is likewise called *Erak*, this is styled *Erac-Agami*. [f] The antient *Parthians* are said to have been originally *Celtes*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel; who being driven out of their own country, settled here and had this name given them, which in their own, that is in the *Celtic* language, signify'd *separated*, or *put away*. *Ptolemy* reckons 25 large cities within this province, and it must certainly have been very populous, since many cities and about 2000 villages are reckoned to have been destroyed by earth-quakes. Its capital was *Hecatompylus*, so called from its having a hundred gates, a noble and magnificent place, c and so lucky as some think to remain still the capital of *Persia*, under the name of *Hispahan*, or rather *Spauhawn*. Modern towns of note are [g] *Touchercan* and *Hamadan* Parthia.

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[c] Ptol. lib. vi. c. xvii. [d] Geogr. lib. xv. [e] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 5. [f] Cluv. ubi sup. [g] Tavern. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

other kind of fruits, here and there however interspersed with meadows and pasture lands, and in some places with the less pleasant prospect of thick woods abounding with wild beasts of almost every kind, even to a proverb. As to its present condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by persons of credit and capacity, and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the things of which they discourse. The reader will the better judge of this, if he takes the trouble of comparing the following passage, extracted from the travels of the duke of *Holstein's* ambassadors, with what we shall hereafter give him from Sir *John Chardin*, in speaking of the air of *Persia*. "It must be confessed by all those who have "travelled in these parts, that the province of *Kilan* is a terrestrial paradise, abounding in silk, "oil, wine, rice, tobacco, lemons, oranges, pomgranates, and all sorts of other fruits; the vines "(which spread themselves with their branches up "the trees) being very excellent here, are as "big in compass as a man in the waist. The "*Caspian* sea, as well as the rivers belonging to "this province, afford to the inhabitants prodigious "quantities of fish, as their pasture grounds furnish "them with great store of cattle, and their forests "with venison and wild fowl, which makes me "admire how *John de Laet*, who follows the footsteps of *Johannes de Persia*, could assert with so "much confidence, that *Mesfanderem* (part of the "province of *Kilan*) lies under so cold a climate, "that the fruits there seldom come to full maturity, "when it is confessed by all that have any right "knowledge of those parts, that among all the "provinces of that vast empire, there is none that "challenge prerogative for a temperate and benign air, before that of *Mesfanderan*, which beyond all dispute produces the best fruits of all "*Persia*. *Schach Abas* was so well convinced of "this point, that he gave the preference in his opinion to this province before any other of all his "dominions, which made him lay the foundation "of the city of *Ferahath*, his ordinary residence "where he died (43)."

(K) It is not easy to determine whether *Aria* and *Ariana* were the same province, or if they were not, how they differed: To discuss so perplexed a question here, and to endeavour to solve what to the best geographers has appeared an inexplicable doubt, would be at once an act of vanity and rashness. It is better therefore to refer the learned reader to the authors cited at the bottom of the page, from whom he may receive all the satisfaction the nature of the thing will admit (44). In our description in the text we have followed *Ptolemy* exactly, as knowing no better guide, though we must at the same time allow that some things there are in his description of this province which are not easily understood, such as the several fountains from whence he derives the stream of the river *Arias*, and the lake which he says it forms (45). Of the thirty-five cities mentioned by that author, we cannot find above five or six mentioned by any other ancient writer, and of these the greatest part are found all together in a paragraph of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (46). It was anciently a very populous country, though much subject to heats, and intermixed with desarts, heaths, and forests near the mountains; however where the heat of the sun is a little rebated, they have very fruitful plains, which among other things produce grapes, the wine of which hath so strong a body as to keep fourscore or a hundred years without diminution of colour or flavour. The ancient city of *Aria*, now known by the name of *Heri* or *Herat*, is still large and populous. Sir *Thomas Herbert* in his travels tells us, that when he was there he found it under a governor of its own, and adds that the adjoining country abounds with roses, of which they make a water much stronger in its smell than that made in *Europe*. There are likewise, says another eminent traveller, admirable tapestries made in the neighbourhood of this place, such as transcend not only the tapestries of *Europe*, but even those that come from the rest of the *Persian* looms (47).

(43) *Harris's Collect. Vol. II. p.* 101. (44) *Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* xxii. *p.* 721. *Casaub. in Strab. lib.* xv. *p.* 720. (45) *lib.* vi. *c.* 17. (46) *Ammian. Marcellin. lib.* xxii. (47) *Harris's Collect. Vol. I. p.* 435.

a very considerable place, and especially noted for great herds of cattel fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheese, and hides, *Chachan*, *Com*, *Casbin*, *&c.* (L) and some others less considerable.

*Persis*

(L) The mighty reputation which the kings of *Parthia* by their military virtues obtained will oblige us to speak hereafter of this province more accurately, than in this general description of the *Persian* dominions it was proper for us to do. As to what we have advanced concerning the origin of the *Parthians*, it may not be amiss to give the reader here the words of that author on whose authority we took it, bating that he has confounded the *Scythians* and *Celtes*, or mistaken the one for the other, as shall be further proved in the history of those two nations.

"The *Parthians* (says he) are also derived from "the *Scythians*: for they were exiles of that country "as their very name testifies. For in the *Scythian* "language banished men are called *Parthians*. These "in like manner with the *Bactrians* being by civil "wars driven out of *Scythia* first fixed themselves "by stealth in the country adjoining to *Hyrcania*, "and afterwards obtained by force more extended "dominions (48)." Though in latter ages *Parthia* became the mistress of her neighbours, and shared with *Rome* the empire of the world, yet under the ancient *Persian*, and even under the *Macedonian* monarchs it was so little considered that it remained an adjunct of *Hyrcania*, and was not made a particular province. It is not easy to fix the derivation of the capital of *Parthia*; in ancient time, *Polybius* says, that it was called *Hecatompylos*, because all the roads through the *Parthian* dominion centered here (49). *Curtius* says it was built by the *Greeks*, but by whom or at what time he informs us not (50). It should seem that *Hecatompylos* is rather a *Greek* interpretation of the true name of this city than the real name thereof, but then what name this was in the *Parthian* language we pretend not to say, it not having been recorded by any author we have met with.

In respect to what has been observed in the text of *Spauhawn*'s being founded on the ruins of the ancient *Hecatompylos*, there are many authorities to bear us out, though I do not find any certain grounds whereon to found this opinion (51). It is unanimously acknowledged, that the present city is of no great antiquity, and the two parts into which it is divided preserve the names of two contiguous towns from the junction of which it was formed. These are *Heider*, and *Neamet-Olabi*. The inhabitants of these places notwithstanding their neighbourhood bore a mortal hatred to each other which they have transmitted to their successors, who tho' they live in the same city, shew notwithstanding on all publick occasions a warm and inveterate antipathy one towards the other. Some indeed ascribe this enmity to another cause; they say, that *Heider* and *Neamet-Olabi* are the names of two princes who reigned anciently over *Persia*, and who divided their subjects into two parties, which are said to have subsisted ever since, not only in *Spauhawn* but in all the towns of *Persia*. Such as say this, however own, that the city we are speaking of was composed of two distinct towns called by them *Deredechte* and *Joubare*. It may be wondered that their magistrates in the course of ages have not subdued these unnatural feuds, for which no good reason can be assigned, except that which our author intimates (52), *viz.* the gain which those magistrates made of their frequent quarrels and broils.

It is not very clear at what time the towns before mentioned were united, or when this city received the name by which it is now known. Some say this happened before the reign of the famous *Timour Beg*, corruptly called *Tamerlane*, who destroyed it twice. Certain it is that *Spauhawn* owes the glory it now possesses to the great *Shâh Abas*, who after the conquest of the kingdoms of *Lar* and *Ormus* charmed with the situation of this place, made it the capital of his empire between the year 1610 and 1628. There is perhaps no city in the world, the name of which is so differently written as this of the capital of *Persia* (53), among *Europeans* it is usually written *Hispahan*, or *Ispahan*, it is also called *Spaha*, *Spachea*, *Aspahan*, *Izpaan*, and *Spahan*. The *Nubian* geographer calls it *Asbahawn*, and the *Persians* themselves pronounce it, as it is written in the text *Spauhawn*, which orthography we have taken the freedom to introduce, since the best writers are divided on this head; *Tavernier* and Sir *John Chardin* write it *Ispahan*, Dr. *Gemelli Carreri*, *Spahon*, M. *le Brun*, *Spahan*; but all these authors agree that the inhabitants pronounce it in the manner we have spelled it. The etymology of the word is no less difficult to be discovered than the manner in which it should be wrote. Before the time of *Tamerlane* is is said to have been called *Sipahan*, from the prodigious number of its inhabitants; *Sipe* in the old *Persic* and *Usbeque* language signifying an army, and the plural thereof *Sipahan*, consequently signifying armies. Another derivation there is from an *Arabic* word signifying a battalion (54), but it is time to quit these dry enquiries for something more useful as well as more entertaining, since in the description of *Persia* it would be an unpardonable fault to omit an exact account of its capital, especially as we are so well furnished with noble materials in the travels of Sir *Thomas Herbert*, the *Holstein* ambassadors, M. *Tavernier*, Sir *John Chardin*, Dr. *Gemelli Carreri*, M. *le Brun*, and others. *Chardin* and *le Brun* have each of them given us a copious description thereof adorned with copper plates, from whence it is as easy to form a just idea of it as of *London* or *Paris*. All who speak of *Spauhawn* are agreed that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the situation thereof: it stands in a plain spacious and fertile, surrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the sultry heats of summer, and the piercing winds of the winter season. Through this plain run several rivers which water *Spauhawn*, and contribute alike to its ornament and use. The first of these is the river *Zenderoud*, over which there are three fine bridges; this river takes its rise in the mountains of *Jayabat*, three days journey from the city, and is but a small stream of itself, but *Abas* the Great cut a channel, whereby he brought a brisker and more considerable stream to fall into this river, for the greater convenience of his favourite metropolis, by which contrivance the *Zenderoud* is as broad at *Spauhawn* in the spring as the *Seine* is at *Paris* in the winter. The united waters of these rivers are sweet, pleasant and wholesome almost beyond comparison, as indeed are all the springs which are found in the gardens belonging to the houses of *Spauhawn*. The river brought by *Abas* into the *Zenderoud* is called *Mahmoud*; we shall have occasion to speak both of it and the *Zenderoud* in another

(48) *Isidor. Origin.* ix. *c.* 2. (49) *lib.* x. *c.* 25. (50) *lib.* vi. *c.* 11. (51) *Herbert's Travels in Harris's Collect. Vol. I. p.* 431. *Holstein Ambassadors Travels in the same Collection, Vol. II.* 79. *Carreri Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 85. (52) *Tavernier Voyag. tom.* i. *l.* iv. *c.* 5. *p.* 434. *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 6. *Carreri, ubi supr. Le Brun, Voy. tom.* 1. *p.* 197. (53) *Holstein Ambassadors Travels, Tavernier Voy. ubi supr. Carreri, ubi supr. p.* 86. (54) *Holstein Ambassadors Travels ubi supr.*

a [h] *Persis* bounded on the north by *Media*, on the west by *Susiana*, on the east by the *Carmania's*, on the south by the *Persian* gulph, called now *Pārs*, or *Phars*, antiently inhabited by the *Mesabatæ*, *Rapsii*, *Hippophagi*, *Suzæi*, *Megores*, *Stabæi*, &c. Antient cities of note were *Persepolis*, the noble metropolis of the antient *Persian* empire; *Axima*; *Marasium*, called now *Marazu*; *Teace*, the capital of a district of the same name; *Parsagada*, a noble city built by *Cyrus*, and honour'd with his tomb [i]. As to modern cities there are many of great note, and amongst these *Schiras*

[h] Prol. lib. vi. c. 4. [i] Tavern. Voyag. tom. 1. l. iv. c. 1. p. 412.

another place. Besides these there are two other streams which run very near each other, and are both comprehended under the name of *Abcorrenge*: One of these is pretty considerable, its waters being at all times deep, and generally speaking equal, for which reason several attempts have been made to bring it to enter the *Zenderoud*. King *Tahmas* in the XVIth century expended an excessive sum of money on a project of this sort without success. *Abas* the great did the same thing on another project, but without effect, which did not however discourage *Abas* the second from twice endeavouring at the same thing, in which likewise failing, it is now looked on as a thing impracticable (55). The extent of *Spauhawn* is very great, not less perhaps than twenty miles within the walls. These are of earth, poorly built, and so covered with houses and shaded with gardens, that in many places it is a difficult thing to discover them; which is a defect not peculiar to this city, but is common to most of the great towns in *Persia*, whence many travellers have been led to represent them as not walled at all. The *Persians* themselves are wont to say *Spauhawn Nisfe gehon*, i. e. *Spauhawn* is half the world. It is certainly a very large and populous city, but never were there seen wider accounts than those which different authors give us of the number of souls in this city. Sir *Thomas Herbert* says in his time there were 200,000 (56). Sir *John Chardin* says that some have reckoned eleven-hundred thousand (57); but he is himself of opinion that it is not more populous than *London*. At a distance the city is not easily distinguished, for the streets being many of them adorned with plantanes, and every house having its garden, the whole looks like a wood. The streets in general are neither broad nor convenient, there being three great evils which attend them; the first is, that being built on common sewers, these are frequently broke up, which is very dangerous, considering that most people ride; the second is, that there are frequent wells or pits in the streets, which are no less dangerous; the third arises from the people's emptying all their ordure from the tops of their houses. This last is indeed in some measure qualified by the dryness of the air, and by its being quickly removed by the peasants, who carry it away to dung their grounds. Sir *John Chardin* reckons eight gates; four looking to the east and south, and four to the west and north, *viz.* the gate of *Hassen-Abad*, the gate of *Joubare* called also the gate of *Abas*, the gate of *Seidabmedion*, the *Dervazedaulet*, that is the imperial gate, the gate of *Lombon*, the gate of *Tokchi*, and the gate *Deradechte*: he reckons also six posterns. Other authors say there are ten gates, but it is agreed that there is no difficulty of entring *Spauhawn* at any hour of the day or night. Whoever has a mind to make himself perfectly master of the names of the streets, and even of the houses of this vast city, may satisfy his curiosity, and be very agreeably entertained by perusing *Chardin's* elegant description of it, which is at once pleasant and exact, and equally fitted to amuse and to instruct the reader. The compass of this note will not allow us so much as to abridge his curious account, we shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning only the principal things in *Spauhawn*, as they are described by that gentleman and M. *le Brun*. To begin then with the royal palace, which is three quarters of a league in circumference: It has six gates, the first called *Ali Kapesie*, that is the gate of *Ali*. The second *Haram Kapesie*, or the gate of the *Seraglio*; the third *Moerbag Kapesie*, the gate of the kitchen; the fourth *Gandag Kapesie*, or the garden gate, through which none passes but the king himself, and his kapaters or eunuchs who attend his women; the fifth *Ghajatganna Kapesie*, or the gate of the taylors, because those belonging to his majesty have apartments near it. The sixth *Ghanna Kapesie*, or the gate of the secretary. The grandees of the kingdom, when they go to pay their court, generally enter the palace by the two gates first mentioned. 2. The *Mey-doen*, which is one of the principal ornaments of this great city. It is a grand market 710 paces long from east to west, and 210 broad from north to south. On the south side stands the royal palace, and on the north the *Nachroe-chone*, a building wherein are placed the king's band of musick. On one side of the *Mey-doen* stands the mosque called *Sjig-lotf-olla*, so called from one of their doctors who is reputed a saint. It has a fine dome adorned with green and blue stones encrusted with gold, having on the top a pyramid, on which are placed three balls of the same metal. On the west side of the *Mey-doen* stands the royal mosque extremely magnificent. At some distance from thence appears the gate called *Ali-Kapesie*, and between these stand a range of fine buildings adorned with portico's full of shops. The middle space is taken up in a great measure with tents, under which all sorts of goods are sold; but these are taken away in the evening to make room for the guards, who with their great dogs attend there all night long. In this space the mountebanks erect stages, distribute their packets, and with their antick tricks divert the populace. In the middle stands a pillar, on the summit of which the prize is placed when tournaments are celebrated here; this prize generally is either a cup of gold, or something of the same value, and none are suffered to contend for it but persons of very high quality. On the feast of *Nouroes*, or the beginning of the year, all the tents are taken away, and every thing is made clear for the more commodious celebration of the carousals which are then performed in the presence of the king, who is seated in a kind of gallery or theatre called *Tulael*, very curiously adorned on the gate of *Ali*. 3. Next to this noble market place we ought to mention the principal street of *Spauhawn*, called *Chiaer-baeg*, i. e. four gardens, one of the grandest ornaments of this city; the shops therein being wonderfully magnificent, and the disposition thereof in every respect convenient and pleasant. 4. From thence runs the bridge of *Aliawerdie-Chan* over the river *Zenderoud*, 540 paces long, and 17 broad, built with large stones; it has three and thirty arches, some of which are founded on the sand, which is firm and stable; and through these when it is high enough, the water flows. There are ninety-three niches upon this bridge.

(55) *Chardin Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 2, 3. (56) *ubi supr.* (57) *ubi supr.* (58) *Tavern Chardin Carreri.*

*Benaron*, *Lar*, *Bender-abassi*, or *Gombroon* and *Bender-congo*, are reckoned the most a Considerable (M). *Susiana*

bridge, some shut, some open, and the corners thereof are flanked with four towers. It has a wall or parapet of brick which openings at certain distances, which afford the fineft prospect in the world. In the neighbourhood of this bridge are divers pleasure-houses belonging to the king, and gardens stored with fruit-trees, and adorned with every thing else that can contribute to the making them worthy of their possessor. There are some other bridges, mosques and publick structures which deserve to be particularized if this note were not already too long: Let us conclude it then with observing that the citadel or fortress called by the *Persians Tabarock* is a very mean structure and in as mean a condition, its walls being in such a ruinous state, that though there are some cannon mounted upon them, yet they are never made use of from an apprehension that the walls would fall if those pieces were discharged (59).

(M) This country is very frequently mentioned in ancient authors, and therefore we are the better enabled to give an account of its former as well as present state (60). Such parts of it as lie towards the north are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor corn, sufficient for the use of the inhabitants; some emeralds indeed are there found, but of no great value. On the coast of the *Persian* gulph the soil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and sandy, and producing few other trees than *Palms*; but between these there lies a rich and pleasant region abounding with corn, fruit and cattle, and better watered, though but by small rivers, than most of the other regions within this wide empire. The entrance of this country is narrow and difficult, defended formerly against *Alexander* the Great by *Ariobarzanes*, a noble *Persian*, who gave a check to that conqueror's progress, and immortalized his name by this gallant performance in the service of his country. As to *Persepolis* the ancient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the *Persians*, *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that it was the richest city in the world at the time that it was subdued by *Alexander*, whose soldiers taking it by storm put all the men to the sword, rifled their houses, and carried off immense quantities of gold and silver, *Alexander* reserving to himself the treasures in the citadel which had been amassing there from the time of *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Persian* empire. If this author's computation be right, he took thence a hundred and twenty thousand talents of gold: in fine, the spoil was so great, that the neighbouring countries were constrained to furnish mules and other beasts of burthen, besides three thousand camels, to carry it off; for he had conceived such a dislike to the inhabitants of this city, that he was resolved to leave them nothing of value; and thus, as the same writer observes, *Persepolis*, once so famous for its magnificence, became no less remarkable for its calamity (61). Among the cities of note at this time the principal is *Schiras*, which, with the adjacent country, is thus described by a famous traveller, in his account of the road from *Spauhawn* to the *Indies*: "From thence (*i. e. Tchelminar*) to *Schiras* is an hard day's journey, especially when the snow melts, for then the road is like a sea. The city of *Schiras* which many will have to be the ancient *Cyropolis*, the metropolis of the province of *Persia*, lies in 78 deg. 15 miles long. and 29 deg. 36 miles latitude. It is seated in a plain about four leagues in extent from north to south, and about five leagues from east to west. Upon the south-east is a lake of salt water about four leagues in compass. The soil about it is very good and fruitful, and is famous for the best wines in *Persia*. The city itself has nothing handsome in it, for it looks more like a ruined town than a city. It has no walls but a bad ditch, and the houses are built of earth dried in the sun, and whitened over with lime; so that when they are well moistened with rain, they often fall down of themselves, only the college which *Iman Kouli-Kan* built, and some of the mosques are of brick; and the best of these mosques which is called *Sha Shiraque*, is kept in something better repair than ordinary out of a particular devotion; but there is nothing worth taking notice of in it. On the north-east stands an high mountain which is covered with several sorts of fruit-trees, of which there are some orange, lemons, and cypresses, and at the foot of it a stone bridge, from whence there is a street which goes in a strait line quite through the city. This street is walled on both sides, and at certain spaces are several great gates which have neat little houses built upon them, from which is a pleasant prospect into the gardens planted with rows of cypresses. The streets of *Schiras* are somewhat narrow; but there are some fair ones, having in the midst of them lovely canals, and basons of water very pleasant. There are a great many fair covered bazars or markets with great shops well furnished with all sorts of *Indian* and *Turkish* commodities, and every commodity has its particular bazar. In the college there are professors who have salaries for teaching theology, philosophy, and medicine, and 'tis said it has sometimes 500 students in it. There are in this city three or four glass-houses where they make great and small bottles to transport the sweet waters made in this city, as also several other vessels to put their pickled fruits in, which they send in great quantities into *India*, *Sumatra*, *Batavia*, and other places. They make their glass of a white stone almost as hard as marble, which they fetch from an hill four days journey from *Schiras*, and 'tis as clear and delicate as any glass in the world. It is wonderful how they blow their great bottles called *Caraba*, which are a finger thick, and hold near 30 quarts of wine. They have no manufactures at *Schiras* but a few coarse painted cloths, and used only by the meaner sort. On the north-west side is the king's garden called *Bay-sha*, which is indeed well planted with fruit-trees, roses and jasmins, but for want of order it looks like a wilderness. From this garden to the hills is a vineyard belonging to several persons two leagues long and one broad, which is watered with the river *Bendemir*, which is sometimes dry in summer, because it never rains there but in spring and autumn. The wines made here are the best in all *Persia*, but they make no great quantities of them, because they dry and pickle good part of their grapes. 'Tis an excellent stomach wine, but very strong, so that, without spoiling the taste of it, it will carry two thirds of water. They sell their wine by weight, and not by measure, and putting it in chests send a great deal yearly to *Spauhawn* and the *Indies*. The people of *Schiras* are very witty, and most of the best poets in *Persia* were born here. In an ancient mosque here lies *Scheich Sadi* one of the best of their poets, whom they honour as a saint. The soil about this city is very good, and produces plenty of all things. They have all the fruits that

(59) *Le Brun. tom.* i. *p.* 198, *&c. Chardin. tom.* ii. *c.* 1. *Carreri, tom.* ii. *l.* 1. *c.* 5, 6. (60) *Strab. lib.* xv. *p.* 501. *Plin. lib.* vi. *c.* xxvi. *Herod. c.* 125. (61) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xvii *c.* 68.

a *Susiana* bounded on the [a] north by *Assyria*, on the west by *Chaldea*, on the east by *Persia*, on the south by the *Persian* gulph, is believed by some to have been the land of *Havilah*, called now *Chusistan*, inhabited by the two nations following, *viz.* the *Elymæi*, and *Cossæi*. Its capital was the famous city of *Susa*, the [b] *Shusan* of the scriptures; and *Tariana*, called by *Ammianus Tarsiana* [m]. The modern towns of note are [n] *Ahawas*, *Scabar*, *and Ram-hormus* (N). Susiana.

There are two other provinces of the *Persian* empire, which need not be described here, because they have been treated of elsewhere already. These are [o] *Curdistan*, containing the antient *Assyria*, and [p] *Schirwan*, of old styled *Media*. A famous modern traveller [q] tells us, that there are reckoned in the dominions of *Persia* upwards b of five hundred considerable places, walled towns and castles, about sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of souls. Curdistan *and* Schirwan.

As to the air and climate of this country, considering the great extent thereof, it cannot be otherwise than varied, according to the situation of the several parts thereof, some being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat at the same time of the year; which cannot be thought wonderful, since there is nothing in it but what is natural, and easily accounted for. The air, where-ever it is cold, is dry; but where it is extremely hot, it is sometimes moist. In order to give the reader a just notion of this, it will be necessary to observe that all along the coast of the *Persian* gulph, from west to east, to the very mouth of the river *Indus*, the heat is for four months so excessive, c that even those who are born in the country are unable to bear it, but are forced to quit their houses, and retire to the mountains; so that such as travel in these parts at that season, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their own health. The extreme heat of the air as it renders it insupportable, so it makes it also prodigiously unwholesome, strangers frequently falling sick there, and seldom escaping. The eastern provinces of *Persia*, from the river *Indus* to the borders of *Tartary*, are subject to great heats, but not quite so unwholesome as on the coasts of the *Indian* ocean and *Persian* gulph; but in the northern provinces, on the coast of the *Caspian* sea, the heat is full as great, and though attended with moisture, as unwholesome as on the coast before-mentioned. From *October* to *May* there d is no country in the world more pleasant than this; but the people carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their summers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and having neither strength nor spirits, though about the end of *Climate.*

[a] Ptol. lib. vi. c 5. [b] Daniel. viii. 2. Nehem. i. 1. Esth i. 2. [m] ap. Cellar. Geog antiq. lib. iii. c 19. p. 684. [n] Tavern. Voyag. ubi supra. [o] Cluver. Geog. l. v. c. 14. Tavern. ubi supr. Universal History, Vol. I. p. 857. [p] Cluver. ubi supr. Tavern. ubi supr. Universal History, Vol. II. p. 1. [q] Chardin. Voy. tom. iii. p. 4.

" that we have, and oranges and lemons in abun-
" dance. They have vast quantities of roses, from
" which they draw such great plenty of rose-water
" that they furnish all the *Indies* with it. They
" have a great deal of corn, but give much to their
" horses to be eaten in the blade, because they say
" that for want of water it would never come to
" maturity. There is a great deal of opium made
" at *Schiras*, for round about the town are large
" fields sown with white poppies; they have also
" store of capers which they send into all parts
" (62).

(N) *Susiana*, as described by *Ptolemy*, includes the province stiled *Elymais* (63), which *Pliny* also observes to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been sever'd from it by the river *Eulæus* (64). It received its name from *Susa*, the capital thereof, once the royal seat of the *Persian* kings, who were wont to reside one part of the year here, and the other at *Ecbatan*. *Pliny* says, that it was founded by *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* (65); but this is not to be taken strictly, for certain it is that the *Darius* he speaks of could only be its restorer, since *Strabo* positively affirms, that it was built by *Tithonus* the father of *Memnon* (66); and *Herodotus* long before says, that *Susa* was called the city of *Memnon* (67). 'Tis difficult to determine whether in pleasantness, magnificence or strength this noble city excelled; seated it was, as sacred and prophane authors agree, on the river *Ulai* or *Eulæus*, called also the *Choaspes*, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers; for the *Eulæus* and the *Choaspes* meeting at *Susa*, run together in one stream, and are afterwards stiled sometimes by one name, sometimes by the other. As to its beauty, *Diodorus* affirms that when *Alexander* seized the palace here, he took possession of the noblest mansion in the universe. Here were preserved the records of the *Persian* empire; and here were laid up the treasures of the kingdom, that they might be made use of on any emergency, and not be squandered away at the will of the prince. *Alexander* took from hence nine thousand talents of coined gold, and forty thousand talents of gold and silver bullion (68). The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called; the city of *Shuster* being by some travellers conceived to be built at least very near the place where *Susa* of old stood. (69).

(62) *Tavern. in Harris's collection. Vol. II. p* 344. (63) *Cellar. Geog. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 19. 5. 2. *p.* 682. (64) *Hist. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 27. (65) *ubi supr.* (66) *Geogr. lib.* xv. *p.* 500. (67) *Terpsich. c.* 54. (68) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xviii. *c.* 66. (69) *Tavern. Voyag. tom.* i. *l.* iv. *c.* 1.

*April*

*April* they abandon their houses, and retire to the mountains, which are five and a twenty or thirty leagues from the sea. In a word, the unhealthiness of this place is so notorious, that when a person is sent to the government of *Keilan*, it is generally looked on as a kind of disgrace, and the people at *Spauhawn* are apt to ask whether he has robbed or murdered to deserve such a commission. But this moistness in the air is only in these parts, the rest of *Persia* enjoys a dry air, the sky being perfectly serene, and hardly so much as a cloud seen to fly therein. To say the truth, the purity of this element is the greatest blessing the inhabitants enjoy, deriving from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains seldom, but it does not follow that the heat admits of no mitigation; for in the night, though not a cloud be seen, the sky being so clear that the b stars alone afford a light sufficient to travel by, yet there is a brisk wind which lasts till within an hour of the morning, and gives such a coolness to the air, that a man may dispense with a tolerable warm garment. The seasons in general, and in the middle of this kingdom, happen thus; the winter beginning in *November* and lasting till *March*, is very sharp and rude, attended with frost and snow which last falls in great flakes on the mountains, but never descends on the plains. There are mountains three days journey to the west of *Spauhawn*, on which the snow, lies for eight months of the year. It is said that they find there white worms as big as one's little finger, which if crushed feel colder than the snow itself. From the month of *March* to that of *May*, there are brisk winds; from *May* to *September*, the air is serene c and dry, refreshed by pleasant gales which blow in the night, at evening and morning, and in *September* and *November* the winds blow as in spring. It is to be observed that in summer the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very short, which joined to the coolness of the night, renders the heat of the day so moderate, that this season is as supportable at *Spauhawn* as at *Paris*. The great dryness of its air exempts *Persia* from thunder and earthquakes. In the spring indeed there sometimes falls hail, and as the harvest is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of mischief. The rainbow is seldom seen in this country because there rise not there vapours sufficient to form it; but in the night there are seen rays of light shooting through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of smoke. d The winds, however brisk, seldom swell into storms or tempests; but on the other hand they are sometimes poisonous and infectious on the shore of the *Gulph*, as all travellers agree (O).

*Mountains.* THERE is perhaps no country in the world, which, generally speaking, is more mountainous than *Persia*; but these mountains are far from being advantageous, since many of them yield neither springs nor metals, and but a few are shaded with trees. It is true, that many of them are situated on the frontiers, and serve as a

(O) As to the air and clime of *Persia*, we have chiefly followed the so often commended Sir *John Chardin*, but never without comparing what he says with what is said by other writers the most esteemed on the same subject. M. *Tavernier* and he both agree in reporting, that at *Spauhawn* it is usual to enquire whether a man has robbed or murdered who is sent to *Keilan* (70); which makes it the more strange, that intelligent persons, who have also been on the spot, should report directly the contrary, as has been remarked in a former note; yet after all some account may be given of this matter, nay, it is to be hoped, such a one as will satisfy even a critical reader. There are a few months in the year in which the account given by *Olearius* is still found strictly true; but, alas! the rest of the year the people are in a wretched condition, fly from their habitations, and scarce know where to seek for rest. It was in the best season of the year that the *Holstein* ambassadors, and their retinue, crossed this country, and thus, it seems, it came to pass, that they represented it as a paradise, not suspecting that at another season of the year it could be so intolerable a place as it really is. As to the insupportable heat at *Gambroon*, all authors are agreed about it. M. *Tavernier* says, that people often find themselves struck by a south wind in such a manner, that they cry I burn, and immediately fall down dead (71). M. *le Brun* says, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there, and that the people assured him that the weather was at some times so excessively sultry as to melt the seals of letters. At this time the people go in their shifts, and are continually sprinkled with cold water; nay, the interpreter belonging to M *le Brun*, and his company, had a well in which he passed some part of the day. Among the inconveniencies consequent from this malign disposition of the air, one of the most terrible is the ingendering in the arms and legs a kind of long small worms, which are not to be withdrawn without great danger of breaking them, upon which a mortification ensues. Our author last mentioned has therefore just reason to say, that a severer punishment could not be inflicted even on a heinous offender than the leaving him in such a place as this; and yet, as he observes, there are many people of worth and good sense, who for the sake of acquiring large fortunes in a short time, hazard themselves here, and rarely live to enjoy the riches which they have got (72).

(70) *Chardin. tom.* iii. *p.* 7. *Tavern. tom.* i. *liv.* iv. *c.* 1. *p.* 414. (71) *Tavern. tom.* i. *liv.* v. *c.* 23. *p.* 764. (72) *Le Brun, Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 322.

kind

a kind of natural Bastions or Ramparts to this vast region, and, it is very likely, contribute in other places to make the country wholesome, by sheltering the vallies under them from excessive heat. On some of these hills there is found a sort of mineral salt, which is sold very cheap [r]. As for particular mountains we have already mentioned most of them, which deserved to be taken notice of in our description of the several provinces of *Persia*.

*Rivers.* In respect to rivers it has been already observed, that except the *Araxis*, there is not one navigable stream in all this country. There are indeed in most of its provinces some little rivers which run short courses, and would be more considerable than they b are, if through want of water the inhabitants were not forced to divert their streams by small channels in order to fructify their grounds. An eminent traveller informs us that this was practised anciently much more than of late years, and that from hence in a great measure arises the mighty difference between the productions of ancient and modern *Persia*. He affirms that a *Persian* of great quality, and who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, informed him that within the space of 24 years, no less than fourscore channels had been choaked up and lost in the territory of *Tauris* [s]. As to *seas*, the northern provinces of the *Persian* empire lie on the *Caspian* lake or sea, of which an ample description has been already given at the beginning of this volume †. On the south the *Persian* shore is washed by the *Indian* ocean, and by the waters of the c *Persian* gulph, or gulph of *Balsora*, flowing out of the *Indian* ocean near the isle of *Ormus*, from the south east to the north west, having *Persia* on the east, and *Arabia* on the west, it runs as high as the ancient *Chaldea*, where it receives the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* united in one stream, and very few rivers of note besides. It may not be amiss to take notice here, that the gulph is sometimes stiled the red sea, as well as the gulph of *Aden* (P).

[r] Tavern. Voy. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 416. † Pag. 4. [s] Tavern. Voyag. ubi supr.

(P) As we have remarked that there is not above one navigable river in *Persia*, the reader need not be surprized that we say so little of the several streams which water that country; one of them we shall have occasion to speak of under the head of natural rarities, but the river *Araxes* deserves to be further considered on account of the mistakes which some writers have been guilty of in relation thereto, occasioned chiefly by the giving this name to two different rivers. *Olearius* gives us a very distinct account of this matter, which we shall therefore recite in his own words. "The 17th we cross'd the "famous river of *Aras* (*Araxes*) by the means of a "bridge of boats near *Tzanat*: *Q. Curtius* speaking "of this river in two different passages, and in a "different sense, has not a little puzzled the ancient historians and geographers, who indeed for the "most part put it in the same province, but can't "agree in the description of its course; for *Q. Curtius* in his fifth book puts it in *Persis*, and says its "course is to the south, whereas in his seventh book "he makes it pass through *Media*, and to disembogue itself in the *Caspian* sea. *Strabo* is no less "dubious, and *Rauerus* endeavouring to dissolve this "knot by asserting that the river *Medus* before it is "joined with *Araxes*, has its course to the south, "and afterwards exonerates itself into the *Caspian* "sea, is fallen into a gross mistake; for how is it "to be conceived that the river should make its "way through the vast mountain *Taurus*, which is "so many leagues in breadth, and divides not only "all *Persia* but even *Asia* itself, and so continue "its current from *Persepolis* to the *Caspian* sea. The "foundation of the whole mistake lay here, that "there are two rivers which bear the name of "*Araxes* in *Persia*, one in *Media*, the other in *Persis*, "to the last which washes the walls of *Persepolis* "(now called *Schiras*) *Q. Curtius* has left the right "name of *Araxes*, but has taken the liberty to impose the name of *Tanais* upon the *Jaxartes*, "which passes through *Scythia*, as he has given the "name of *Caucasus* to the eastern branch of the "mountain *Taurus*, but with what reason I am not "able to determine. That which passes through "*Persis* is by the *Persians* called *Bend-Emer*, from a "signal miracle there performed by *Ali*, and disembogues in the ocean in the *Persian* gulph; that "which we speak of now, keeps its ancient name, "and rises out of the mountains of *Armenia* behind "the great *Ararat*, and being joined by many other "rivers, the chiefest whereof are *Karasu*, *Senki*, "*Kerni* and *Arpa*, it turns its channel near *Karasu* "deep into the country, and afterwards near *Ordabath* falls with a great noise, which is heard two "leagues thence in the plain of *Mokan*. Its course "there is very slow, and after having received into "its channel about twelve leagues above *Tzanat* the "river *Cur* or *Cyrus*, (as large a river as itself, coming "northward out of *Georgia*) it exonerates itself "into the *Caspian* sea. This sufficiently refutes "*Ptolemy* and those who follow his footsteps, who "make the *Araxes* and the *Cyrus* fall by two different channels into the *Caspian* sea. Thus they "would have *Cyropolis* called *Scamachie*, which "*Maginus* would infer from the degrees of latitude "given by *Ptolemy*. But according to that supposition these two rivers must not be placed above "but below the city towards the south, it being "certain that when we travelled in those parts, we "found the conflux of those two rivers at 39 deg. "54 min. and the city of *Scamachie* at 40 deg. 50 "min. which is 13 leagues thence and under another meridian. Neither is there any other river "within 19 days journey of *Scamachie* on either "side, which bears the least comparison in bigness "or otherwise to this river (73)." We should not have introduced so long a quotation if it had not been a matter of consequence, as will appear in the subsequent history, where this account will serve to rectify some points which have hitherto confounded even the best authors. It is but just to add, that M. *Le Brun* in his travels confirms precisely what this author has said (74). As to the *Persian* gulph it

(73) *Ambassadors of Holstein's Travels in Harris's Collect. Vol. II. p.* 104. (74) *Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 158.

*Soil.* After this account of mountains and rivers, and after affirming that there are many of the former, and but a very few to be met with of the latter, the reader will easily comprehend, that the soil cannot be generally rich or fruitful, but on the contrary sandy and barren; however, here and there, there are vallies fruitful and pleasant enough. The earth in some places is sandy and stony, in others heavy and hard, but every where so dry that if it be not watered it produces nothing, no not so much as grass. Rain is not wholly wanting here, but it rains however very seldom, and not enough to keep even the best lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without farther help; and even in the winter the beams of the sun are so brisk and so drying, that the rain has not much effect. But wherever the soil is sufficiently moistened, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it should be asked, how this description suits with what we find recorded in ancient authors, of the luxury and profuseness of the *Persians*, such a question is capable of various answers; for first, *Persia* is not now near so much peopled as it was heretofore, and consequently there cannot be so great a number of labourers, which must induce barrenness in a country, where the soil produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be said, that the alteration of government, and of religion, has in a great measure produced this difference, the ancient kings of *Persia* were mild and beneficent to their subjects, whereas the *Mohammedan* princes have been always proud, over-bearing and cruel. According to the opinion of the *Persees* or *Gaurs* it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile, whereas the *Persians* like other *Mohammedans* are satisfied with what good things they find, and will not give themselves the trouble to labour for posterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themselves with such things as fall into their way, and in consequence of such notions, there is no great wonder that sterility has ensued, and that modern travellers do not speak in the same language with *Quintus Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and other such like authors. [t] Sir *John Chardin* therefore delivers it as his opinion, that if the *Turks* were to inhabit this country, it would grow still poorer than it is; whereas if the *Armenians* or the *Persees* were to become masters thereof, it would from their industry quickly recover its ancient fertility. It must not however be imagined that there is not still at this day the same variety in point of fruitfulness among the provinces of this extensive country as heretofore. *Media*, *Iberia*, *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, are still in a great measure what they were, and surpass most of the other provinces in their productions. As along the coasts of the *Persian* gulph the soil is still more barren, cattle less plenty, and every thing in a worse condition than any where else. Before we part with this subject, we think proper to remark, that the *Persians* are so sensible of the snow's fertilizing their land, that they examine very curiously how high it rises every year, there being a stone on the top of a mountain four leagues from *Spawhaun*, between two and three foot high, over which when once the snow rises, the *Peasant* who first brings the news to court, receives a considerable reward for his pains [u]. But it is now time for us to speak more particularly of the productions of the earth.

*Trees.* Among the trees that are most common in *Persia*, we may reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir and cornil called by the *Arabs Seder*, and by the *Persians Conar*, from whence probably came the Latin *Cornus*, and thence our cornil. It is a received opinion in this country that the plantane has a singular virtue against the plague, and

[t] Voyag. tom. iii. p. 11. [u] Tavern. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 414.

it is not to be questioned, but that the antients stiled it as well as the gulph of *Arabia* the *Red-sea*; what renders it most remarkable now, is its pearl-fishery, of which no doubt the reader will expect some account. They fish for them in many places of the gulph, but especially about the islands of *Bahain*. This fishery produces a prodigious quantity of pearl, Sir *John Chardin* says, more than a million in a year: the largest weigh generally from ten to twelve grains, and if by chance any are taken of greater weight, the fishers are directed under great penalties to bring them to the king's exchequer, which it is however believed they do not always do (75). This fishing is performed by divers, who being carried down to the bottom of the sea in five fathom water by the weight of a stone fixed to their toes, they pick up there all the shells they can see as fast as they can, and put them into a basket they carry down with them on purpose, and then rise up again to take breath, and refresh themselves with a pipe of tobacco; those who are in the boat pull up the baskets, the divers work but from one to eleven, and from eight to three. They fish for pearls from the end of *June* to the end of *September*; besides the pearl oysters, they catch others in this sea excellent for eating (76).

(75) *Chardin, tom.* iii. *p.* 31. (76) *Tavern. in Harris's Collect. vol.* ii. *p.* 314.

all

a all other infectious diseases, and they positively assert that there has been no contagion at *Spauhawn*, since the planting vast numbers of these trees in its streets and gardens. The tree which bears *Gall Nuts* grows in several parts of *Persia*, but particularly in *Koureſtan*. The trees which produce *Gums*, *Maſtick*, and *Incenſe*, are found very commonly in moſt parts of *Perſia*, that however which bears *Incenſe* is particularly found in *Carmania* the deſart, resembling in form a large *Pear-Tree*; *Turpentine Trees*, and *Almond Trees*, with the wild *Cheſnut* are common. The tree which bears *Manna* is alſo frequent, but there are alſo ſeveral ſorts of *Manna* in *Perſia*, the beſt is of a yellowiſh colour, and of a large grain, it comes from *Nichapour*, which is a part of *Bactria*. There is another ſort called the *Manna* of b *Tamarſk* because it is gathered from that tree, all the different ſorts of *Manna* are uſed to the ſame end in medicine, and are therefore gathered with like care, being eſteemed a valuable commodity, as well as one eaſily diſpoſed of. The herbs in *Perſia*, eſpecially ſuch as are aromatick, exceed those of other countries; roots, pulſe, and ſalleting are larger, fairer, and better taſted than elſewhere, and are eaten raw without danger of their creating any crudities in the ſtomach; moſt of our *European* roots, greens, &c. flouriſh here in great perfection, and they would certainly be more cultivated than they are, if, as in *Europe*, men were by religion reſtrained from eating fleſh. As to drugs *Perſia* produces as many as any country in *Aſia*; for beſides *Manna*, *Caſſia*, *Sena*, the *Nux Vomica*, are common in moſt pro- c vinces, gum ammoniac called by the *Perſians Ouſcioc*, is found in abundance on the confines of *Parthia* towards the *South*. *Rhubarb* grows commonly in *Coraſſon* or the ancient *Sogdiana*, but it is not ſo good as that which is brought from the country of the *Tartars* between the *Caſpian Sea* and *China*, and for this reaſon they endeavour to confound both under the name of *Rivend-tchini*, i.e. rhubarb of *China*; in *Coraſſon* they eat it commonly as we do beet roots. The poppy of *Perſia* is eſteemed the fineſt in the world, not only in reſpect to its beauty, but becauſe its juice is by far ſtronger than the juice of the ſame plant elſewhere. The *Perſians* call this juice *Aſioun*, from whence our word opium; the beſt is made in the territory of *Lingan*, ſix miles from *Spauhawn*, though others prefer the *Aſioun* of *Cazeron*, which is towards the d *Perſian* gulph, as being leſs apt to ingender crudities in the ſtomach. Tobacco grows all over *Perſia*, eſpecially about *Hammadan*, which is the ancient *Suſa*, and in *Courdeſtan* near the *Perſian* gulph, which is eſteemed the fineſt; the *Perſians* themſelves however, who are great ſmokers, prefer what they call *Tambacou Ingleſi* or *Engliſh* tobacco to their own; but Sir *John Chardin* ſays, that this tobacco which was no other than brazil, being kept at too high a price, the demand for it is now quite loſt. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, and eſpecially about the *Caſpian* ſea and in the neighbourhood of *Hammadan*, and is much eſteemed. The plant called by the *Perſians Hiltet*, and ſuppoſed to be the lazerpithium or ſilphium of *Dioſcorides* from whence drops the *Aſſa-fœtida*, is common every where, but abounds moſt e in *Sogdiana*: there are two ſorts of it, the white and black, the white is the leaſt eſteemed, becauſe leſs ſtrong than the black; this juice or gum is all over the eaſt called *King*, and the *Indians* conſume vaſt quantities of it, mixing it in all their ragouts and ſauces; it has by far the ſtrongeſt odour of any thing hitherto diſcovered, ſince places where it has been kept will retain its ſcent for whole years, and the veſſels in which it is tranſported to *India* are ſo thoroughly impregnated therewith, that no other goods can be put on board them without acquiring its ſcent, however carefully packed. Mummy of both ſorts is a great *Perſian* commodity; the firſt is taken from embalmed bodies, or ſuch as are dried in the ſands, the other is a precious gum which diſtils out of a rock; there are two mines or ſources f of it in *Perſia*, the one in *Carmania* the deſert in the country of *Sar*, which is the beſt, for it is certain that there is no bruiſe, cut, or wound, which a dram of this precious gum will not cure in twenty-four hours. The other mine is in *Coraſſon*, the rocks from whence it diſtils belong to the king, and all that iſſues from thence is for his uſe; they are incloſed with walls, the gates of which are ſecured by the ſeals of the five principal officers in the province, once a year each mine is opened in their preſence, and all the mummy that is then found or at leaſt the greateſt part of it is ſent to the king's treaſure. It derives its name from the *Perſian* word *Moum*, which ſignifies literally an unguent, the *Hebrews* and the *Arabs* make uſe of the ſame term; the *Perſians* ſay, that the prophet *Daniel* taught them the uſe and preparation of mummy. Cotton is very common over all *Perſia*, but there is a tree which ſomewhat

*Herbs and drugs.*

what resembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a sort of silk very fine and soft, and of which many uses are made. Galbanum is likewise common in this country, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs which do not deserve to be mentioned here [u]. a

IN speaking of the fruits of *Persia*, melons certainly claim the first place, they have above twenty sorts of them here, the first are called *Guermec*, i.e. forced by heat, they are round and small a spring fruit insipid in the mouth and consequently no way pleasant, the people however fancy them prodigiously wholesome, and on the first coming in eat for a fortnight or three weeks together twelve or thirteen pound weight each day, nay an author of good credit and a physician says, that some eat thirty pounds of them at a meal without feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For b four months in the year, in which melons are common, the common people eat hardly any thing else, and Sir *John Chardin* says, that they eat more of them in *Spauhawn* in a day than throughout all *France* in a month. The best grow about a little borough called *Craguerde* on the borders of *Tartary*, from whence though it be thirty days journey they are brought to *Spauhawn* for the use of the king. The people in general are so fond of melons that they take great pains to preserve them in certain repositories during the last months of the year, and even till the guermec are again in season. After the melon the raisin deserves our notice, of which there are twelve or fourteen sorts in *Persia*, the most esteemed are the violet, the red, and the black, they are so large that one of them is a good mouthful, they preserve grapes all the c winter in *Persia* putting them up in paper bags on the vines in order to preserve them from the birds. In *Courdestan*, and about *Sultania* where they have abundance of violets they mingle their leaves with the dry raisins, which at once give them a fine taste and render them the more wholesome; the best grapes in the neigbourhood of *Spauhawn* are found on the vines belonging to the *Gaurs* or ancient *Persians*, for they being permitted by their religion to drink wine take the more pains in cultivating these trees, which for the same reason are neglected by the *Mohammadan Persians*. The dates of *Persia* are without comparison the richest in the world, their syrup being sweeter and more pleasant than virgin honey, the best grow in *Coureston*, *Sistan*, about *Persepolis*, and the shore of the *Persian* gulph, and particularly d at *Jaron* a town in the road between *Schiras* and *Lar*; strangers however ought to eat very moderately of this fruit, otherwise it is apt to overheat the blood sometimes to such a degree as to create ulcers, but the inhabitants never feel any such inconvenience. Dates grow in clusters on the palm-tree, which is the highest of all fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top, it produces fruit at fifteen years growth, and continues bearing till it is two hundred years old. All our *European* fruits grow in great perfection here, their apricots are excellent and of several sorts, nectarines and peaches weigh sometimes sixteen or eighteen ounces each, they break easily, and what is very extraordinary, the stone opens at the same time the peach is broke and discovers a kernel extremely white, and of a taste the e most delicious that can be imagined. The *Persian* pomgranates grow of several colours in the highest perfection, some of them weighing a full pound; to sum up all, it may not be amiss to mention the particular places where the several kinds of fruit are held most excellent; apples and pears grow to the highest perfection in *Iberia*, dates in *Carmania*, pomgranates about *Schiras*, oranges in *Hyrcania*, and all sorts of things in *Bactria*, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any other country in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions at once prodigiously large and sweet as apples. Pistaches, almonds, hazels, filberds, and figs abound here likewise; and Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that at an entertainment near *Spauhawn*, he saw fifty several kinds of fruit provided for one dessert [w].

*Grain.* THE grain most common in *Persia* is wheat, which is wonderfully fair and clean, as for barley, rice, and millet, they only make bread of them in some places, as in *Courdestan*, when their wheat bread is exhausted before the return of harvest. They do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye except where the *Armenians* are settled, who make great use of the latter in *Lent*. Rice is the universal aliment of all sorts of people in *Persia*, for this reason they are extremely careful in its cultivation, for after they have sown it in the same manner with other grain, they in three months time

[u] TAVERN. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 418. CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 12. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 209.
[w] CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 23. TAVERN. ubi supr. CARRERI, ubi supr.

transplant

a transplant it root by root into fields which are well watered, otherwise it would never attain that perfection in which we find it there, since it is softer, sooner boiled, and more delicious to the taste than the same grain in any other part of the world: it may be its taste is in some measure heightened by a practice they make use of to give it a glossy whiteness, *viz.* by cleansing it after its being beaten out of the husks with a mixture of flour and salt [x].

There are in *Persia* all the sorts of flowers which are to be found in *Europe*, but they are not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer sorts of them, and fewer of each sort in the southern provinces than in the rest, excessive heat being more destructive to them than frost; which is the reason that in b *India* they have fewer than in *Persia*, and that those in *Persia* have more vivid and delightful colours than those either in *India* or *Europe*. *Hyrcania* in this respect excels the rest of *Persia* as much as *Persia* does other countries; there are there whole forests of oranges, the jessamin single and double; and there all the flowers we have in *Europe*, with many we have not, are profusely scattered by nature. The most eastern part of this country, which is called *Mazenderan*, is a perfect parterre; from *September* to the end of *April* the whole country is covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their best season, the excessive heat and the malignity of the air destroying them in succeeding months. Towards *Media*, and on the northern fron- c tiers of *Arabia*, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, ranunculus's, of the brightest red, all springing of themselves; in other places, as in the neighbourhood of *Spauhaun*, jonquils grow wild and subsist all the winter. To recite all that is said on this subject by such as have travelled through *Persia* would not be agreeable to the design of this work; let us content ourselves therefore with adding that roses of uncommon beauty are frequent here, the bushes bearing often three different coloured roses on one branch, *viz.* yellow, yellow and black, and red. *Pietro della Valle*, who reports that the *Persians* are wont to make use of art in dying their roots, in order to give different colours to their flowers, is in this circumstance contradicted by Sir *John Chardin*, who affirms on the contrary, that their gardeners have little or no skill, d and that the nobility of *Persia* are so far from being curious in such things, that they take no pleasure in walking in their gardens, however beautifully and richly adorned, but content themselves with singling out some spot or other on their first coming in, where they sit down, and smoak, and drink coffee as long as they remain there (Q) [y].

*Flowers.*

Metals of all sorts are frequently found in *Persia*, especially of late years; and since the reign of *Abas the Great*, who was at immense pains to search them out, and to make the best use of mines wherever they were discovered, iron, copper, and lead are become very common, but of gold and silver there are no mines open at present. As *Persia* is a very mountainous country, and as those mountains produce sulphur and salt-petre, if the inhabitants of this country were as active and inquisitive as amongst us, e there is no doubt to be made, but that gold and silver both might be found in some part or other of the *Persian* dominions. In the country of *Guendamon*, near a town called *Kervan*, four leagues from *Spauhaun*, there is a silver mine, which has been formerly wrought, but through the scarcity of wood its produce has never equalled its expence; and it is therefore become a proverb in *Persia* to signify an unlucky undertaking, *that it is like the mine of* Kervan, *where they lay out ten to receive nine.* There were also silver mines in *Kirman* and *Mazenderan*, but they are now abandoned for the same reason. Mines of iron are found in *Hyrcania*, in the northern *Media*, in *Parthia* and *Bactria*, but it is not so pliable as some *European* iron. This may be owing indeed to the unskilfulness of their workmen, and may be likewise the reason why the steel that is made from it (and which some of our travellers have improperly

*Metals or minerals.*

[x] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 101. [y] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 26. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 420. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 3. Le Brun, tom. i. p. 227.

(Q) Though there is scarcely province in *Persia* which does not produce wine, yet the wine of some provinces is much more esteemed than the wine of others; but *Schiraz* wine is universally allowed to be the very best in *Persia*, insomuch that it is a common proverb there, that to live happily one must eat the bread of *Yezd*, and drink the wine of *Schiraz*. They do not make use in this country of wooden vessels, as we do, for keeping their wine, but preserve it in earthen vessels, which they take care to have well glazed, otherwise they would imbibe a great quantity of the wine. These pots are set in very handsome order in their caves or cellars, these too being as much adorned as such places will admit of, and have always a reservoir of water in the middle of them, that upon occasion people may be entertained there, and drink wine out of the reach of the sun (77).

(77) *Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 2. p. 420.*

called their mines of steel, there being no mines of that metal, but it being all done by art) is there so brittle and useless, Sir *John Chardin* tells us, it is not worth above six- a
pence a pound; and is so full of sulphur, that if you cast some of the filings of it into the fire, they make a report as loud as gunpowder. It is fine and close, and almost as hard as a diamond, but on the other hand it is so very brittle that the *Persian* artists, who know not how to correct this, are able to make no very valuable instruments thereof. It has moreover this ill quality, that by giving it too fierce a fire it may be burnt and destroyed. The *Persians* call both this and the steel of the *Indies* steel of *Damascus*, in order to distinguish it from *European* steel. Copper is found in greatest quantity at *Sary* in the mountains of *Mazanderan*; there are also mines of it in *Bactriana*, and towards *Casbin*; it is however poor and not fit for use till b
minged with either *Swedish* copper or copper of *Japan*. The lead mines are towards *Kirman* and *Yesde*. Minerals are also found in *Persia* in vast abundance; sulphur and salt-petre are taken out of the mountain of *Damavend*, which separates *Hyrcania* from *Parthia*. Salt is made here by nature without the least assistance of art, as are also sulphur and alom. There are two sorts of salt in *Persia*, that found on the earth and rock salt; nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains sometimes ten leagues in length covered intirely with salt, and others covered in like manner with sulphur or alom. In *Media* and at *Spaubawn* the salt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as fire-stone, nay in *Carmania* the desart, the people actually use it as such in building their houses. Marble, free-stone, and slate, c
are found in great plenty about *Hamadan*; the marble is of four colours, white, or statuary, black, read and black, and white and black; the best is found about *Tauris*, it is almost as transparent as crystal; its colour is white mingled with a pale green, but it is so soft that some have questioned whether it be real marble or a kind of alabaster. In the neighbourhood of the same city they find azure, but it is not so good as that of *Tartary*. In *Hyrcania*, and especially in *Mazanderan*, the *Petroleum* or *Naphthe* is met with, of two sorts, black and white, but the richest mine in *Persia* is the *Turquoise*; there are two sorts of this precious stone, one at *Nichapour* in *Corassan*, and the other in *Phirous-Cou*, or mount *Phirous*, between *Hyrcania* and *Parthia*, four leagues journey from the *Caspian* sea. This mountain derives its d
name from an ancient king of *Persia*, who subdued this country, and in whose time the mine was found: nay, the very stones carry his name also, for though we call them *Turquoises* because they come from the true and proper *Turkey*, yet throughout the east they are styled *Firouze*. They have of late years discovered another mine of the same sort of stones, but they are by no means so valuable, but are distinguished amongst us by the name of *Turquoises* of the new rock, to distinguish them from those taken out of the ancient mines, which belong entirely to the king, who after selecting the most beautiful, sells the rest to merchants. The reason why these late discovered turquoises are less valued than those of the old mines, is because they e
are less beautiful in their colour, and what colour they have is not thoroughly fixed, but grows paler by degrees, and at last wears almost quite out [a].

*Beasts tame and wild.*

THE horses of *Persia* are the most beautiful in the east, though they are not so much esteemed as those of *Arabia*; they are higher than our saddle-horses, and their limbs as well proportioned as can be imagined. Though there are great numbers of them, yet considering how much they are used, and the great demand made for them by the subjects of the Mogul on one side, and of the Grand Signior on the other, they are held at a very great price, a fine horse being sometimes valued at a thousand crowns. Next to horses we may reckon mules which are much esteemed here, and are very fine, and next to these we may justly place asses; of which they have in this f
country two sorts, the first bred in *Persia*, heavy and doltish as asses in other countries are; the other originally of an *Arabian* breed, the most docile and useful creature of its kind in the world; these are used wholly for the saddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accoutrements because of their easy manner of going, and their being very sure footed. The clergy that have not great benefices, affect to ride much on these *Arabian* asses, and on this account these animals also are kept at a high rate, a good ass being worth at *Spaubawn* twenty-five pistoles. Camels are numerous in *Persia*, and so much in esteem that they are called *Kechty-krouch-konion*, i. e. the ships of the land, because the inland trade is carried on by the help of these camels, as the foreign by ships: To describe this animal particularly here, would be im-

[a] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 28. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 221. CARERRI, tom. ii. p. 212.

proper,

a proper, since they are rather more in use among the *Arabians* than among the *Persians*; we shall only observe, that the *Persians* make use of three sorts, a smaller, a larger, and a swifter kind of camel, than are common elsewhere. The largest camels will travel with a load of twelve or thirteen hundred weight, the swifter kind of camel is called *Revatrie*, i. e. the goer, because they trot as fast as a horse can gallop. It is worthy of notice, that these creatures are managed entirely by the voice, those who direct them making use of a kind of song, and according as they keep a quicker or slower time, the camel moves brisker, or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little eat in *Persia*, their oxen are generally employed in ploughing and other sorts of labour. Hogs are no where bred in *Persia*, if we except a province b or two on the borders of the *Caspian* sea; sheep and deer are very common throughout all *Persia*; and as to the former Sir *John Chardin* assures us, that he has seen flocks of them which covered four or five leagues of pasturage. As to beasts of chace, they are not so common here as in most of the countries of *Europe*, because it is generally speaking devoid of woods; but in *Hyrcania*, which abounds with them, deer of all sorts and gazels are found in great abundance. The gazel is a creature common throughout the east, and so many of them have been brought into *Europe*, that they need not any description. As to wild beasts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the same reason which has been before assigned with respect to beasts of chace, except in *Hyrcania*, where in the woods there are great numbers of c lions, bears, tygers, leopards, *&c.* so that the ancients spoke very truly of *Hyrcania*, when they called it the country of wild beasts. One thing however is to be remarked, that neither here, nor throughout all *Persia*, are there any wolves; but the chakal or jackal (a creature which makes a terrible noise, and which many good writers take for the *Hyæna*,) are common every where, and have this peculiar quality, that they tear up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched. As to insects the dryness of the air prevents our having much to say about them; there are however in some provinces prodigious numbers of locusts or grass-hoppers, which come in such clouds as to obscure the air. In certain parts of the *Persian* dominions they have large black scorpions, so venomous, that such as are stung by them die in d a few hours; in others they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their skins being as hard and tough as that of the sea-dog; they are said to attack and kill men sometimes, but that may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country there is a long worm called by the inhabitants *Hazar-pey*, i. e. thousand feet; its whole body is stuck with small feet, with which it runs prodigiously fast; it is longer and smaller than a caterpillar, and its bite is dangerous, and even mortal, if it get into the ear [a].

*Birds.* THERE are in *Persia* all the several sorts of fowl which we have in *Europe*, but not in such quantities, because they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the *Armenians*, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing e but their grease. There are however vast numbers of pigeons wild and tame; and as the dung of pigeons is the best manure for melons, they keep great stocks of them all over the kingdom, so that it may be on just grounds presumed, that no country in the world has such a number of pigeon-houses; they are most of them six times as large as any we have in *Europe*, they are built of brick and plaistered on the outside, every thing being disposed in the most convenient manner possible for the preservation of these creatures. In the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn* they reckon more than three thousand of these pigeon-houses, chiefly erected for the preservation of the dung, which is sold for about three-pence the dozen pound. The *Persians* call this manure *Tchalgous*, i. e. enlivening. It is a great diversion among the lower sort of people in town and country to catch pigeons, though it be forbidden; for this f purpose they have pigeons so taught, that flying in one flock, they surround such wild ones as they find in a field and bring them back with them to their masters. People who follow this trade are called *kefter-perron*, or pigeon-stealers, and there are some so addicted to it, that they will lie out whole days in the very depth of winter, in order to carry on this foolish and wicked employment; for under the notion of wild pigeons they take every body's pigeons they can find. The partridges of this country are the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our fowls. As to water-fowl, they have geese, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other

[a] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 32. TAVERN. tom. i. l. v. c. 3. p. 423. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 215.

sorts,

sorts, but they are more plenty in the northern than the southern provinces. The a
singing-birds here are of the same kinds we have in *Europe*; the nightingale is heard there all the year, but chiefly in the spring; martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them; and another bird of the same size, called by them *Noura*, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleasantly whatever it hears. As to birds of a larger size, the most considerable is the *Pelican* called by the *Persians Tacab*, i. e. *water-carrier*, and also *Misc*, i. e. sheep, because it is as large as one of those animals. Its feathers are white and soft like those of a goose, its head is much larger in proportion than its body, and its beak from eighteen to twenty inches long, and as thick as one's arm; under this beak it has a sack or pouch, in which it preserves a quantity of water for moistening its food; it usually rests this long beak on its back, which would b
otherwise incommode it very much. The *Pelican* lives chiefly upon fish, in taking of which it shews an admirable contrivance, by placing its beak in such a manner under the water, as to catch them as it were in a net; when it opens its throat, the passage is large enough for a lamb. It is called the water-carrier, because in *Arabia* and other places where water is hard to be had, it makes its nest at a great distance from streams or wells, foreseeing as is supposed that there will be less danger of disturbance in such places, though this situation obliges the bird to fly sometimes two days journey for a supply of water for her young, which she brings in the sack beforementioned; and hence the fables of the ancients of the pelican's tearing her breast open to feed her young. There are in *Persia* various birds of prey, and in the c
mountains about fifteen or twenty leagues from *Schiras*, there are some of the largest and finest in the world. The people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game, and the king has generally eight hundred of these birds, each of which has a person to attend it. The *Persian* lords are likewise great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practise it much; for neither this, nor shooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meanest man in *Persia* [b].

*Fish.* We shall divide the fishes of *Persia* into fresh and salt water fish: As to the first they are not very plenty, because there are no great rivers in *Persia*; however there are of these three kinds, those of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the kerises or subterraneous passages. Those in the lakes are carps and shads; the river fish is chiefly d
barbel, which is also the sort of fish commonly met with in the subterraneous channels; they are very large, but they are by no means good, and their eggs are particularly dangerous, which is generally attributed to their never beholding the light of the sun, but living altogether in these foul and cold streams. There are in the river at *Spauhawn* a great number of crabs, which crawl up the trees, and live night and day under the leaves whence they are taken, and are esteemed a very delicious food. As to sea-fish, no country is better served; the *Caspian* sea, as we have seen before, contains very fine fish on one side, and the *Persian* gulph on the other is believed to have more fish in it than any other sea in the world. They fish there twice a day morning and evening, and such fish as are not sold by ten o'clock e
in the morning, or before sun-set, are thrown back into the sea. There are taken on the coasts of this gulph a sort of fish, for which they have no particular name, its flesh is of a red colour, very delicious, and some of them weigh two or three hundred pounds; its flesh will take salt like beef, but it cannot be kept long, because the salt in this country is very corrosive: for which reason, whenever they intend to keep either fish or flesh, the inhabitants content themselves with drying it either in the air, or by the help of smoke [c].

*Natural rarities.* As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of *Persia*, we are next to speak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large em-
pire. Of these the first we are to take notice of is a certain poisonous shrub or plant, called by the *Arabians Chark*, by the *Persians Gulbad-Samour*, i. e. the wind-poisoning flower; it flowers like the thistle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor of the consistence of cream, sharp and sour to the taste; it is affirmed, that wherever the wind blows over a number of those plants, as it does frequently in *Carmania* the desart, it thence contracts a poisonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that respires it [d]. There is likewise another shrub in the same country, *viz.* *Carmania* the desart, singularly noxious; it is called *Kerzehre*, i. e. asses poison, be-

[b] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 38. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 225. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 214.
[c] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 44. Tavern. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 11. p. 424. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 210.
[d] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 13.

cause

a cause those creatures are apt to eat of its fruit which generally proves mortal. The very water that washes its roots is likewise held to be poisonous, the trunk of this shrub is as large as one's leg, and it sometimes grows to the height of six feet; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour, its leaves perfectly round with a rising point in the middle; it bears a sort of flower exactly resembling the rose, of a kind of flesh-colour, whence it is apprehended that the *Greeks* called it *Rhododendron*; the *Arabians* as well as the *Persians* call it the gall or poison of an ass. Some are of opinion, that it is the Nerium of our herbalists, and the same plant that is called in *French* Rosage [e]. The goats both wild and tame which feed on the shore of the *Persian* gulph afford the bezoar so much esteemed in medicine, but the b very best is taken out of these creatures, in the province of *Corassan* or *Bactria*, and is thought to excel by far the bezoar of *Golchonda*, and the rest of the *Indies*. The naturalists in *Persia* give it as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is, on which the animal lives, the more salutiferous and efficacious the bezoar found in it proves. *Corassan* and the coasts of the *Persian* gulph are allowed to produce the dryest herbage in the world. It is no fable, what has been reported, as to the formation of bezoar, for there is generally found in the core of such stones one or more pebbles, a little sprig of bramble or other bush, sometimes a thorn-stick, *&c.* round which by a continual accession of matter the ball of bezoar conglomerates and is formed; this stone is here found in sheep as well as in goats, but it is not so in the *Indies*. Its very name is of oriental extract, and should be wrote *Pe-zaor*, i. e. c poison-killing, for the eastern people held it heretofore to be one of the strongest counter-poisons; quacks however were those who commended it most, and its virtues were rather taken upon trust, than supported by experience: the number of the credulous, however, being great, raised its price very high: but of late years it is much sunk in its reputation, as well in the east as in *Europe*, it being now regarded chiefly as a sudorifick, and even reckoned no very extraordinary thing in that class. The manner of giving it in *Persia*, is thus, they either scrape or powder it, and put about two or three grains for a dose into a spoonful of rose-water. While it was dear, it was often counterfeited, and the materials made use of to this end, were, generally speaking, some alexipharmic powders mingled with resin d and *Spanish* wax. It may not be amiss to observe, that the polish which bezoar stones generally have is artificial; for when they are taken out of the creature, their outside is of a rough greenish hue, just as the stone appears within [f]. The *Abmelec*, or eater of locusts, or grashoppers, is a bird which deserves to be described better perhaps than most others of which travellers have given us an account, because the facts relating to it are not only strange in themselves, but are also so well and so distinctly attested, that however surprizing they may seem, we cannot but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locust, or grashopper. It is of the size of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its flesh of a greyish colour; they fly generally in great flocks, as the starlings are wont to do with us: but the thing which renders these birds wonderful is, that e they are so fond of the water of a certain fountain in *Corassan*, or *Bactria*, that whereever that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preserved; for wherever the locusts fall, the *Armenian* priests who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it, and place it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields, the next day whole troops of these birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locust [g], (R). The river *Mahmoudker*, i. e. *Mahmoud the deaf*, is

[e] Chardin, ubi supra. [f] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 19. [g] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 40. Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 3. p. 426.

(R) Sir *John Chardin* has given us in his description of *Persia*, the following passage from an ancient (77) traveller in relation to this bird. "In *Cyprus*, about the time that the corn was "ripe for the sickle, the earth produced such a "quantity of cavalettes, or locusts, that they "obscured sometimes the splendor of the sun. "Where-ever these came they burnt and eat up "all; for this there was no remedy, since as fast "as they were destroyed the earth produced more; "God however raised them up a means for "their deliverance, which happened thus. In "*Persia*, near the city of *Cuerch*, there is a "fountain of water, which has a wonderful "property of destroying these insects; for a "pitcher full of this, being carried in the open "air, without passing through house or vault, and "being set on a high place, certain birds which "follow it, and fly and cry after the men who carry "it from the fountain, come to the place where "it is fixed; these birds are red and black, and fly "in great flocks together like starlings, the *Turks* "and *Persians* call them *Musulmans*. These birds "no sooner came to *Cyprus*, but they destroyed the "locusts

(77) *Voyag. de Villamont. p.* 97. *ap. Chardin, tom.* iii. *p.* 40.

a surprizing natural rarity. At some distance from *Spaubawn* there is a range of rocks, a
plain and equal for a considerable space, except that here and there they have openings, like the embrasures in bastions, through which the winds pass, with surprizing velocity; through these rocks falls the river we mentioned into a noble bason, partly wrought by the water itself, and partly formed by art. As one ascends the mountain, certain natural chinks shew the water at the bottom of it, like a sleeping lake covered with rocks and mountains; it is thought to be of unfathomable depth, and when stones are thrown into it, they cause a most amazing noise, which almost deafen the hearers, whence this river is supposed to derive its name. After its descent from the bason before-mentioned, it rouls along the plain, till at last it falls into the river *Zenderoud*. Some are of opinion that this river does not derive its water from springs, b
but from the snow on the tops of the mountains, which melting gradually, distils through the chinks of the rocks into the vast lake before-mentioned; and this they think is in some measure proved from the acrimonious taste of these waters, which is however lost after it joins the *Zenderoud* [h]. Under a certain mountain called *Tagte-Rustan*, so called from the ruins of a building on the summit thereof, supposed to have been erected by the great *Rustan*, there runs a grotto, which deserves a place among the natural rarities of *Persia*. From the top of this grot there distils through the whole mountain, in two or three places, fresh water, which falling into proper receptacles, forms two or three distinct streams, which issue from thence to water the plain. In this grotto, about the beginning of *April*, a great number of *Indians* c
assemble to celebrate a feast in honour of a hermit or saint of theirs, who lived long here, and the whole cave is full of shreds or rags of people's garments, who have come hither to be cured of their diseases, and have found relief. Not far from hence there is a mountain, where they pick up a sort of blue stones, very hard and shining, which they make use of in adorning their mosques, tombs, and other publick buildings. We might add a multitude of other articles of this nature, if the description of *Persia* did not already begin to swell under our hands; though we have used all the caution in our power to prevent its containing any thing, which may not be useful and instructive, as well as entertaining to the reader. Let us now pass to the artificial rarities of the country. d

*A description of* Persepolis.

To begin then with the ancient *Persepolis*, the ruins of which still testify the truth of what some ancient writers have affirmed, that in the times of its prosperity it was one of the most august cities in the world; nay, when we consider all things, when we compare the descriptions of travellers one with another; when we consider what is recorded of other cities, and what is still to be seen of those that were most famed; we shall be induced to confess that the *Persian* empire in all its grandeur could boast of nothing more glorious, nor have left any thing more astonishing to posterity, than the venerable ruins of this city. Should we pretend to give a full account of these noble remains, it would extend much farther than it is reasonable e
this chapter should go. We are writing a geographical description of *Persia*; in which we ought to omit nothing that may give the reader a distinct idea of this country, or which may give him a clearer light into the history which is to follow; but in doing this we are to remember that this geographical description, and this history are but sections of a far greater work, and therefore we must have a care that it be of a piece, and not resemble a statue, with the body and arms of a man, and the hands or even the fingers of a giant. For this reason we shall contract the many and diffusive accounts, which have been given us, by eye-witnesses of these noble remains, into such a compass as may give our readers an idea of their grandeur and magnificence, and shew them at the same time, how useful fine draughts and exact f
relations of them may be towards settling many points of ancient history, and giving us just notions of the spirit and genius of that nation, whose metropolis this was. In doing this we shall not involve ourselves in the disputes of travellers, or attempt

[h] Chardin, tom. ii. p. 2.

[i] Le Brun, tom. i. p. 246.

" locusts with which the island was infested; but " if the water be spilt or lost, these creatures immediately disappear; which accident fell out when " the *Turks* took this island, for one of them " going up into the steeple of *Famagusta*, and finding " there a pitcher of this water, he fancying that it " contained gold or silver, or some precious thing, " broke it, and spilt what was therein, since which " the *Cypriots* have been as much tormented as ever " by the locusts" (78).

(78) *Voyag. de Villamont*, p. 97. *ap. Chardin*, tom. iii. p. 40.

a to decide whether *Le Brun* be in the right in his criticisms, or whether they be not rather invectives against Sir *John Chardin*; our business is to give a succinct prospect of what has been said of *Persepolis*, by authors antient and modern; and as to what is controverted among them, we shall give it in a note (S) to avoid both the swelling of the description, and interrupting the thread of the history.

(S) In order to give the reader some idea of the difficulty we have met with in collecting this article, we shall here give him a concise account of such authors as have written on this subject, and whose descriptions we have perused. The first is Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who in his travels has a long relation not only of what himself saw at *Persepolis*, but of what has been said by ancient authors on that head. He has given us also a specimen of the characters which are to be seen in the tablets belonging to these ruins, which agrees perfectly well with the drawings of *Le Brun*. He has likewise inserted his conjectures concerning these antiquities which are neither improbable nor injudicious, but as we shall be obliged to mention most of these from M. *Le Brun*, it would be unnecessary to trouble the reader with them here; we shall therefore only add to what we have already said concerning the remarks of our worthy countryman, that the draught which he has left us of these ruins is far from being exact, and can hardly be said to bear any resemblance to the accurate descriptions of *Chardin* and *Le Brun*(79). Prior in point of time to Sir *Thomas Herbert*, but far inferior to him in every other respect, is the concise description of these remains of antiquity given by our countryman M. *Geofry Ducket*, who in 1568 passed this way. The main of what he says may be reduced to this, that *Persepolis* was 12 miles broad from gate to gate; whether this deserves any credit, or whether it was the slip of an inadvertent author, or credulous relator, we will not pretend to determine (80). *John Albert de Mandelsloe*, who observed these ruins in the year 1638, has left us a better description of them than most of the writers who went before him; and as there is something very plain and instructive in what he writes on this subject, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to compare what he has said with what we have recorded in the text. "The "foundation or ground-work on which this vast "structure was erected is raised 22 geometrical "feet, having at each of its four corners a pair of "stairs of white marble of 95 steps, so flat and "broad that twelve horses may go up conveniently "together in a breast. Before you come to the "main body of the structure itself you pass through "a square, where you see the ruins of a wall and "the remainders of two great gates, each of which "have a horse harnessed and saddled after a very "antick manner, carved on one side, and on the "other two creatures resembling a horse, except "that they have wings on each side, and the head "is crowned, and like that of a lion. On the "one side you see the ruins of 19 pillars of white "and black marble, the least of which are 8, and "some 10 ells high without the bases; but whether they had been intended for the support of "some large hall, or were built purely in the air, "is not to be distinguished at this time." The same author speaking of some unintelligible characters engraven on a square pillar tells us, there are twelve lines of them so well proportioned and nicely engraven, that they carry not in them the least mark of barbarity, but seem rather to have been wrought in a nice well-judging age; he complains of the rudeness of the inhabitants, who without the least regard to so noble and so ancient a palace, carry away large quantities of marble and other stone for the quicker dispatch of common and private buildings; he also deplores the want of perfect draughts of these wonderful fragments of the ancient magnificence of *Persia* (81). Sir *John Chardin* in the year 1674, took a view of these ruins, examined them with great care and pains, as appears from the large and particular account of them inserted in the second volume of his travels. It is true, M. *Le Brun* who stayed there a much longer time than he, and who had consequently a better opportunity of studying and describing what he saw than this gentleman had, attacks him very warmly on the head of his description; but whoever reads with calmness and candour, what Sir *John Chardin* with great perspicuity and without the least affectation of learning has delivered on this head, will be of opinion, that how much nicer and more exact soever the descriptions of M. *Le Brun* may be, yet both the narration and the cuts of Sir *John Chardin* are excellent in their kind, and serve to communicate to us a multitude of useful particulars which are no where else recorded (82). Dr. *Gemelli Carreri* has written a whole chapter under the title of a description of the palace of *Darius*, and the ruins of the ancient *Persepolis*; it is concise as all his descriptions are, and the observations he makes are short and weighty, according to the custom of *Italian* authors. He has illustrated his narration with a few prints which serve to give a competent idea of the magnificence of this ancient city, and to demonstrate the conformity there is between the several accounts of these ruins contained in the works of intelligent writers (83). M. *Le Brun*, who arrogates to himself a great superiority over all the writers on this subject, spent a long time in surveying, measuring, and drawing views of these fragments of antiquity, he has taken up upwards of thirty folio pages in describing what he saw, and remarking on the intentions of those who designed the several figures, of which he has given us copies which are certainly very useful, as well as very beautiful ornaments to his book. Besides, he has written a long dissertation on the difference between his account and that of Sir *John Chardin*, wherein the antiquities of *Persepolis* are farther explained (84). From these materials a very copious description and very curious observations might have been thrown together, especially when we consider, that besides travellers, several other writers of great eminence have left us their thoughts on this subject; such as the most judicious doctor *Hyde* in his learned book of the religion of the ancient *Persians*, wherein he has explained with great knowledge and learning some of the enigmatical figures represented on the walls and pillars of these ancient buildings (85); but it is our business to hint only where the curious and inquisitive reader may be informed at large, as to all the extraordinary particulars relating to these monuments of the *Persian* glory, our description being no more than the outlines of a regular dissertation on this head, for which what has been said above, and what we have advanced in this note, will, we hope, serve for a sufficient apology.

(79) *Sir Thomas Herbert's travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I. p.* 429. (80) *Account of Mr. Geofry Ducket's Travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I. p.* 526. (81) *J. A. Mandelsloe's travels in Harris's collect.* (82) *Chardin voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 140—197. (83) *Carreri voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 246. (84) *Le Brun, voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 285. (85) *Hyde hist. relig. vet. Pers. p.* 344.

THE

*The plain of Persepolis.*

The plain in which this famous city stood, is one of the finest in *Persia*, and a indeed in all the east; its length is eighteen or nineteen leagues, its breadth in some places two, in others four, and in some places six; it is watered by the great river *Araxis* or *Bendemir*, and by a multitude of rivulets besides. Within the compass of this plain, there are between a thousand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning those in the mountains, all adorned with pleasant gardens, and planted with shady trees. The entrance of this plain on the west side has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from industry or art. It consists of a range of mountains steep and high, four leagues in length, and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a rising terrace in the middle, the summit of which is perfectly plain, and even all of native rock. In this there are such openings, and b the terraces are so fine, and so even, that one would be tempted to think the whole the work of art, if the great extent, and prodigious elevation thereof did not convince one, that it is a wonder too great for aught but nature to produce. Undoubtedly these banks were the very places where the advanced guards from *Persepolis* took post, and from which *Alexander* found it so difficult to dislodge them. One cannot from hence descry the ruins of the city, because the banks are too high to be overlooked, but one can perceive on every side the ruins of walls and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are speaking. On the west and on the north this city is defended in the like manner, so that considering the height, and evenness of these banks, one may safely say with a late c ingenious traveller, that there is not in the world a place so fortified by nature [k]. The ancient palace of the kings of *Persia*, called by the inhabitants *Chil-minar*, i. e. forty columns, is situated at the foot of the mountain; the walls of this stately building are still standing on three sides, and it has the mountain on the east. The front is in extent six hundred paces from north to south, and three hundred and ninety from east to west, quite to the rock, without any stair-case on that side; till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged stones, it is easy to get to the lowest part of the wall, where it is not above eighteen feet seven inches in height, and in some places not so high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length, on the north, and one and twenty foot high in some places; d but in most thirty quite to the mountain, where there is still a corner of wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may get up to the top by broken pieces of the rock. One finds also before the west side several rocks, which rise towards the north, till they are even with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces before it. It seems as if there had been a stair-case anciently on this side, and some buildings without this curtain, the rocks being very smooth in many places. On the top of this edifice there is a platform of 400 paces, which extends itself in the middle of the front-wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three sides, runs a pavement of two stones joined together, which fill up a space eight foot broad; part of these stones are eight, nine, and ten feet e long, and six in breadth, but the rest are smaller. The principal stair-case is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer the north end than the south, being six hundred paces distant from this, and only a hundred and sixty-five from that; this stair-case is composed of two flights of stairs, forty-two feet asunder at bottom. Its depth is 25 feet 7 inches to the wall, from whence proceed the steps, which are as long as the stair-case is deep, within two inches; each of these steps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth, so that nothing can be more commodious. There are fifty-five on the north side, and fifty-three on the south, but the latter are not so whole as the former. Ascending thus high, one meets with a landing-place, fifty one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the f stair-case; the stones of this landing place are of an extraordinary size. The two flights of the stair-case are separated by the wall of the front, but in such a manner, that they decline from each other from the bottom up to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top, which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and suits perfectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

The upper part of this stair-case consists of 48 steps on one side, and on the other, some of which are damaged, notwithstanding they are cut in the rock. At the

[k] Chardin, tom. ii. p. 141. La Bruyn, tom. ii. p. 261.

top

a top of these there is another landing-place, between the flights of stairs 75 feet broad, paved with great stones, some 13 or 14 feet long, and 7 or 8 broad[1], (T).

*The ruins of Persepolis.*

To speak now of what is to be seen when one is amongst these ruins: The first thing that salutes the eye in a strait line, 42 feet distant from the front, before described, are two great porticoes and two columns. The pavement of the first is much damaged by time, and the second is sunk five feet lower than the former; these porticoes are 22 feet 4 inches in depth, and 13 feet 4 inches in breadth. One sees in the front of each pilaster a large figure cut in bass relief, 22 feet in length b from its fore to its hind feet, and 14 feet and a half high. The heads of these animals are entirely destroyed; their breast and feet project from the pilaster, and their bodies are very much damaged. Those of the first portico front towards the stair-case, and those of the second, which have wings on their bodies, towards the mountains. One sees above the pilasters certain characters, but they are so small and so high that one can make nothing of them. The first portico is still 39 feet high, and the second 28. The bases of the pilasters are five feet two inches high. The animals are not carved out of one stone, but out of three joined together for that purpose. In the present condition, it is not easy to decide what they were intended for, though many authors have given the world their conjectures, of which c the reader will find some account in the authors cited at the bottom of the page, and will judge for himself which is the most probable of those taken notice of there.

The two columns which stand between the two porticoes are more entire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is as to their chapiters and other ornaments, for as to their bases they are covered with earth; they are 26 feet from the first portico, and 56 from the second, 14 feet in circumference, and 54 high. There were certainly two others between these and the last portico, of which there are still some remains, great pieces of marble lying about half buried in the earth: 52 feet from the last mentioned portico southward, there is a large cistern cut out of a whole stone 20 d feet long, 17 feet 5 inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence to the wall there is a space of about 150 paces, in which one finds nothing but broken pieces of stone, and the remains of a column which appears to have been

[1] Le Brun, ubi supr. Chardin, ubi supr.

(T) In the description in our text we have adhered pretty closely to M. *Le Brun*, and that for many reasons; first, because his profession, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of describing minutely, and of designing exactly all the wonders of *Persepolis*, than any former traveller whom either business or curiosity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman had, as we have more than once hinted, determined with himself to consider more attentively, and to examine more nicely these relicks of *Persian* architecture than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only all the authors we have mentioned in our last note, but Monf. *Chardin*'s curious plans to direct him, and it may be to correct him in his notions on this head. Fourthly, there is such an agreement, in material points at least, between his accounts and those of *Chardin*, notwithstanding his affecting on all occasions to quarrel with that gentleman's sentiments, that we did not think it at all necessary to trouble the reader with any particulars of a dispute of no great importance in itself, and which, though prosecuted with warmth, seems to have been commenced out of vanity. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the fame of these ruins has for the two or three last centuries been so great, and the desires of the *Virtuosi* to see exact plans of them so strong, that some have ventured to publish the conceptions of their own brains for the antiquities of *Chelminar*. Such was the view of *Persepolis* sent into the world by *Sebastian Serlio* an *Italian* architect, in his account noble buildings ancient and modern, since therein are found just forty columns adorned with chapiters of the *Corinthian* order, which no traveller ever had the happiness to see. In the voyages of *John Struys*, amongst a multitude of other strange things, and temerarious assertions, we have a wild description of these ruins and a wilder plan, said in the title-page of the book to be drawn by the author's own hand, which if it were, he certainly drew by guess; since it is not only quite different from the plans published by others, but contains also such palpable mistakes, as never could have been committed by an eye-witness of these noble works, especially one who looked on them with a design of describing them to the rest of mankind. We are not however to fancy that where-ever travellers differ in their accounts, one of them must be mistaken. M. *Le Brun* and Sir *John Chardin* vary very little in what they say relating to the pillars yet standing at *Persepolis*; but there is a considerable difference on this head between what they say, and what we find recorded in the writings of *Figueroa*, *Herbert*, and *Thevenot*, all of whom testify nearly to the same point. Time and the barbarity of the modern *Persians*, who make very little account of these ruins, have made considerable alterations since they were first described; and it is very probable that whoever, sees them twenty years hence, will find them not exactly answerable to what is said of them by M. *Le Brun* (86).

(86) *Chardin. Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 152.

unfluted, and therein differs from all the rest; it is about two feet in compass, a
and 12 and a half long: from it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with but wild heaps of broken stones.

*The ruins of* Persepolis.

Turning from these porticoes to the south, one sees at the distance of 172 feet another stair-case, consisting of two flights of steps in the same manner as the former, one fronting towards the east, t'other towards the west. The wall is still about six feet 7 inches high, but in the middle 'tis almost entirely ruined. The extent is 83 feet of the east flight of stairs, and it is evident enough from the lowermost of them, that they were adorned with figures in bassre-lief. On the top of the stair-case are still some foliages visible, with figures in bass-relief, of a lion tearing a bull, larger b
than the life. The stair-case is half buried in earth, and one sees certain small figures on the wall, on both sides. The west flight consists of 28 steps; the other having suffered more by the accession of the earth, has now but 18, each 17 feet long, three inches high, 14 inches and a half broad. There are many of these towards the top broken, and two or three entirely destroyed, though cut out of the rock. At the end of the landing-place, from this stair-case, there is another front, whereon there are three rows of small figures, one above another; of the first row there is nothing now to be seen but the parts below the girdle, the rest being destroyed by time; the second row, which is the best preserved, has notwithstanding received great injuries; and as to the third, there is nothing now above ground but c
their heads. These figures are two feet nine inches high, and the wall, of which there is still five feet 3 inches above ground, is 98 feet in extent from the first step to its left corner, where there is another stair-case, the steps of which are exactly of the same size with those before described. From what remains of the inner wall it appears that it also was covered with small figures. At the end of the stair-case there is another wall which extends 90 feet beyond the landing-place; the corner turns a little to the south, and goes no farther, because the earth is there at the same height; returning to the west flight of steps of the stair-case before mentioned, we meet with a wall 45 feet in length, beyond the bottom of the stair-case, with an interval of 67 feet to the west front. This side like the former is adorned with three d
rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull or an ass, with a horn in its forehead; between these animals and the figures there is a square space filled with characters, of which the highest are quite effaced; the figures on this side are fairer than on the other, the ground being less elevated; there are 25 steps here. The wall from the stair-case westward extends quite to the front; but beyond the stair-case, is unadorned with figures.

At the step of the stair-case, between the two flights of stairs there is an open place, paved with very large stones between the stair-case and the first columns, which are 22 feet and two inches distant; they stand in two rows, each consisting of six columns, of which there is only one remaining entire, eight bases and some broken e
pieces of the rest. There are six rows of columns 70 feet eight inches distant from these, each row consisting of six columns. These thirty-six columns are 22 feet two inches one from the other, as the former are. There are still seven of these entire, with the bases of all the rest, but much broken and defaced. Of those which are left, there is one of the first row, one of the second, two of the third, and one of each of the rest. One finds between these columns, and those before mentioned, several large stones, heretofore part of some subterraneous building. Seventy feet eight inches west from these columns towards the front of the stair-case, there were 12 columns more disposed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The bases of seven more are visible, and the ground is covered with ruins of those which f
are decayed. One can discover however among the fragments of those ornaments, which lie half interred, that each of these columns was surmounted by the figure of a camel kneeling. To the south of these columns stands the edifice most elevated of any in these ruins; but it is necessary for us to observe, that on the east there are still discernable two rows of columns, consisting of six each, of which the bases of four or five remain still above the earth, and in all appearance these were opposed to other rows of columns which were in the front. Advancing still towards the mountain, one finds the ruins of many buildings, consisting of porticoes, passages and windows, the porticoes are adorned with figures, and these ruins take up a great space; but to return to the edifice spoken of before, it extends 118 feet from the columns, and the wall of its front is yet five feet seven inches high, composed of

a of one row of stones only, some of which are eight feet broad, extending from east to west 113 feet. There is before the edifice certain stone foundations still visible, but what end they served cannot be guessed, since there is no stair-case on this side. This wall is adorned with no sort of ornament as the rest are; there are, however, two stair-cases, one on the north, the other on the south side, but almost entirely ruined; on the landing-place, however, we still discover the remains of porticoes which an earthquake threw down; all the rest of the building, which consists of great and little porticoes, is entirely ruined, the ground covered with the fragments is about 147 feet in length, and nearly square. On the north there are two porticoes, and three niches or windows walled up, and on the south a portico and four windows b open. There are two other porticoes which are not covered on the west, with two openings; and a third to the east with three niches or windows walled up. Six of these openings are without cornices, and there remains but half a one to the east. One sees under the two porticoes on the north, on each side, the figure of a man, and two women from the knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth; under one of those on the west side, there is the figure of a man fighting a bull, which has a horn in its forehead, the man holds this with his left hand, and strikes a poignard into the belly of the beast with his right; on the other side the figures are the same, excepting only that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and stabs the beast with his left. In the second portico there is the figure of a man holding a beast, resembling either a deer or a lion, by such a horn in its forehead, c and with wings upon its back. Under the portico to the north, the same figures are visible, only the man combats here a true lion, which he holds by the mane; these figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both sides of the portico towards the south, there is the figure of a man with an ornament on his head, resembling a crown, attended by two women, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has some ensign of authority in her hand. Above these figures are three niches full of characters. On the pilasters of the first portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of stairs last mentioned, there are two men each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands, the other only in his left; one of these only is entire. Behind this edifice one finds d another of much the same kind, except that it is 38 feet longer, with a niche or window blocked up, and another open, with two stones standing up, one on the right hand, the other on the left: Of these, that towards the east is broken, the other towards the west is still 28 feet high. There are on the top of this stone three niches or tablets full of characters, and a fourth below, which seems to have been cut after the rest. The like inscriptions are seen in the niches or windows before-mentioned, each tablet consisting of one stone only. To the south there are two flights of stairs, the one to the east, the other to the west; but of these only five steps are remaining; and on the wings as well as on the wall which separates them, there are still visible some small figures and foliages, though half buried in the e ground: a hundred feet from thence to the south, the last ruins are found of these edifices, consisting chiefly of porticoes and enclosed spaces of ground, and between these two heaps of ruins another stair-case, of which only seven steps are remaining, which serve however to shew that anciently they were adorned with figures and foliages. On the east side of this stair-case there are certain subterraneous passages in which the inhabitants imagine great treasures are hid. *M. Le Brun* entered them, as several travellers have done before, but was quickly obliged to return without making any discoveries, the passages being so narrow, and so dark and moist, that it was impossible to go far. However, even these experiments are sufficient to shew that the conjectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, since from f the structure of these vaults, we are left to judge they were rather intended for carrying off water, or some such like purpose, than to be made the repositories of royal treasures[m].

*The view of Persepolis.*

THERE would be no difficulty in following *M. Le Brun*'s description much farther, or in adding thereto his particular delineations of the pillars, niches and figures spoken of before; but for the reasons already given we shall stop here, that we may have room to say somewhat as to the conjectures of the learned, concerning these remains of the magnificence of ancient times. The processions delineated on the walls, the vases in the hands of many of the figures, the several tablets of

[m] LE BRUN, Vol. II. p. 268.

unknown characters, and the many hieroglyphical representations which are still seen in these ruins, have led some great men into an opinion that this ancient structure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worshiped in *Persia*. Others, with much greater reason, have delivered it as their sentiment, that these ruins are the sad remains of the ancient palace of *Persepolis*, which they think strongly confirm'd by the descriptions left us by ancient authors of that noble pile of building. As to the figures in procession, those who adhere to this notion, say that they represent a birth-day feast of one of the *Persian* emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him presents; as to the inscriptions they are, generally speaking, illegible even by the *Persees* or ancient *Persians* themselves, so that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphicks might as well serve for ornaments to a b palace as to a temple, and, it may be, were some of the spoils of *Egypt*, brought thence by *Cambyses*'s army, led by *Smerdis* the *Magian*. However this be, certain it is, that the habits of these figures agree perfectly well with the descriptions of the old *Median* and *Persian* robes, as they are recorded in *Greek* writers. On the whole therefore, it may be presumed that whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the first race, since nothing seen there carries the aspect of latter times; but whether *Cyrus* was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by *Darius*, and finished by *Xerxes*, is a point not easily, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures visible on the walls, pillars, *&c.* it seems probable to us, that they were enigmatical representations, at least for the most part, c of the course of the heavenly bodies, and of the effects produced by them; but of this and of the reasons which incline us to believe it, we shall take occasion to discourse more largely in our section on the religion of the ancient *Persians*. The traditions of the natives in respect to these antiquities are generally represented by travellers, as confused, extravagant, and not to be depended on. This may however in some measure arise from their want of acquaintance with oriental history, which is not always so fabulous and incoherent as it is represented to be; there are and there ever will be a wide difference between the narrative style of these eastern nations, and that in use amongst us; but as we shall elsewhere shew, even in respect to these ruins, certainty may be deduced as well from the hyperbolical relations of d eastern writers, as from the artful memoirs of some of our western historians (V).

At

(V) In this note we intend to examine, in as short a compass as possible, what ancient writers have delivered concerning the city and palace of *Persepolis*; to begin then with what is said by *Diodorus Siculus* (87) on this subject. He relates that after passing the river *Araxes*, *Alexander* met with near 800 *Greeks*, most of them old men, some having their hands, others their feet, some their ears, and some their noses cut off, which had been done by the *Persians* of that district. This sight so incensed him, especially against the inhabitants of *Persepolis*, that he called, says our author, the *Macedonians* together and told them, "That *Persepolis*, the metropolis of "*Persia*, of all the cities of *Asia*, had done most "mischief to the *Grecians*, and therefore he gave it "up to the plunder and spoil of the soldiers, except "the king's palace. This was the richest city of "any under the sun, and for many ages all the "private houses were full of all sorts of wealth, "and whatever was desirable. The *Macedonians* "therefore forcing into the city put all the men to "the sword, and rifled and carried away every "man's goods and estate, amongst which was abun-"dance of rich and costly furniture, and ornaments "of all sorts. From this place were hurried away "here and there vast quantities of silver and gold, "great numbers of rich garments, some of "purple, others embroidered with gold, all which "became a plentiful prey to the ravenous sol-"diers. And thus the royal seat of the *Persians*, "once famous throughout the world, was now ex-"posed to scorn and contempt, and rifled from top "to bottom. For though every place was full of "rich spoil, yet the covetousness of the *Macedoni-"ans* was insatiably still thirsting after more. And "they were so eager in plundering, that they "fought one with another with drawn swords, "and many who were conceived to have got a "greater share than the rest, were killed in the quar-"rel. Some things that were of extraordinary va-"lue they divided with their swords, and each took "a share; others in rage cut off the hands of such "as laid hold upon a thing that was in dispute. "They first ravished the women as they were in "their jewels and rich attire, and then sold them "for slaves. So that by how much *Persepolis* ex-"celled all the other cities in glory and worldly fe-"licity, by so much more was the measure of their "misery and calamity. Then *Alexander* seized upon "all the treasures in the citadel, which was a vast "quantity of gold and silver, of the publick reve-"nues that had been heaping up, and deposited there "from the time of *Cyrus*, the first king of *Persia*, "to that day. For there was found an hundred "and twenty thousand talents, reckoning the gold "after the rate of silver. Part of this treasure he "took for the use of the war, and ordered ano-"ther part of it to be treasured up at *Susa*. To "this purpose, he ordered that a multitude of mules "both for draught and carriage, and three thousand "camels with pack-saddles should be brought out "of *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Susa*, and with these "he conveyed all the treasures to the several places "he had appointed. For by reason of his great "hatred to the inhabitants, he was resolved not to "trust them with any thing, but utterly to ruin "and destroy *Persepolis*: Of whose palace in regard "of its stately structure, we conceive it will not "be impertinent if we say something. This stately "fabrick or citadel was surrounded with a treble wall:

(87) *Histor.* lib. xvii. c. 7.

At two leagues distance from these ruins, there is a famous mountain seated between two of the finest plains in the world, and which is called by the inhabitants by several names; sometimes they stile it *Kabreston-Gauron*, i. e. the sepulchres of the *Gaurs*; sometimes *Nachs Rustan* the pictures of *Rustan*, and sometimes *Takt-Rustan*, i. e. the throne of *Rustan*. This *Rustan*, as we have observed before, is the *Hercules* of the east, or rather the *Amadis*, for the stories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantick. Our business however is not with them, but with the mountain, which is an entire rock, harder and capable of a better polish than marble; it is levelled by art, its sides are perfectly perpendicular, so that it looks like a large wall, and upon it there are figures represented in bass-relief with great skill and beauty. The first of these, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, represents b a combat between two knights, mounted on horseback, each of them having an iron mace in his left hand. He on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight seems to take hold with his right hand; at the foot of each of their horses lies a man grovelling on the ground. All these figures, as well of horses as of men, are gigantick; and as to the meaning of the piece, if we trust tradition and the *Persian* poets, it is thus to be understood; they say, that one of these cavaliers was *Rustan* or *Rustem* the son of *Sal* the white, the son of *Sam*, the son of *Noramon* king of the *Indies*; the second *Rustan* or *Rustem*, the son of *Tahmour* king of *Persia*: These two princes are said to have been engaged in long and bloody wars, and at last to have agreed to determine their c quarrels by a combat. The manner in which this was to be performed was thus: one extended a ring of iron in his right hand, which the other laid hold of, it being previously agreed that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, should be esteemed the conqueror, and should be obeyed for the future by him who lost it; they say too, that the king of *Persia*, who is the person represented by the figure, having a long beard, vanquished the king of the *Indies* in this engagement. Besides this ring and mace, these combatants have iron bullets hanging by chains at the sides of their horses, which it is to be supposed they let fly at each other in the same manner as peasants sometimes fight with their flails. Joining to this figure there is another, wherein the men are represented as of a less stature than in that before described, d *viz.* not above seven foot high; there is a person represented in the middle of the piece armed from head to foot, leaning on a naked sabre with both his hands; he is

" wall: the first was sixteen cubits high, adorned " with many sumptuous buildings, and lofty turrets. The second was like to the first, but as high " again. The third was drawn like a quadrant four " square, sixty cubits high, all of the hardest marble, and so cemented as to continue to the latest " time. On the four sides are brazen gates, near " to which there are curtains or pallisades of the " same metal, twenty cubits high, these were raised " as well to strike the beholder with terrour, as the " strengthening and security of the place. On the " east side of the citadel about four hundred feet " distant stood a mount called the royal mount, for " here are all the sepulchres of the kings, many " apartments and little cells, being cut into the " midst of the rock; into which cells there is made " no direct passage, but the coffins with the dead " bodies are by machines hoisted up and so let down " into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately lodgings both for the king and his soldiers, of " excellent workmanship, and treasury chambers " most commodiously contrived for the laying up " of money. Here *Alexander* made a sumptuous " feast for the entertainment of his friends, in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods. At this feast were " entertained whores who prostituted their bodies " for hire, where the cups went so high, and the " reins so let loose to drunkenness and debauchery, " that many were both drunk and mad. Among " the rest there was at that time a curtesan called " *Thais* an *Athenian*, that said *Alexander* would perform the most glorious act of any that ever he " had done, if while he was feasting with them he " would burn the palace, and so the glory and renown of *Persia* might be said to be brought to " nothing in a moment by the hands of women. " This spreading abroad, and coming to the ears of " the young men (who commonly make little use " of reason when drink is in their heads) one of them " presently cried out, *Come on, bring us fire-brands*, " and so incites the rest to fire the citadel, to revenge " that impiety the *Persians* had committed in destroying the temples of the *Grecians*. At this " others with joy set up a shout, but said, that so " brave an exploit belonged only to *Alexander* to " perform. The king stirred up at these words " embraced the motion, upon which as many as " were present left their cups and leaped from the " table, and said that they would now celebrate a " victorious festival to *Bacchus*. Hereupon multitudes " of firebrands were presently got together, and all " the women that played upon musical instruments " which were at the feast were called f r, and then " the king with songs, pipes and flutes, bravely led " the way to this noble expedition contrived and " managed by this whore, *Thais*, who next after " the king, threw the first fire-brand into the palace. This precedent was presently followed by " the rest, so that in a very short time, the whole " fabrick by the violence of the fire was consumed " to ashes." We have transcribed this long passage to avoid a multitude of quotations, since several authors have either copied *Diodorus*, or the authors made use of by him. *Plutarch* in his life of *Alexander*, gives us an account of this transaction, little different from that which we have just

said to be the same king of the *Indies* before mentioned, because his bonnet and a
beard resemble those of the figure so called in the former piece; he turns his head towards five men, who have their bodies hid by the wall from the shoulders downwards, perhaps to signify that they are prisoners; behind him, there are three other men in the same position, who seem to be making signs to the five over-against them. As to this representation it is impossible to say any thing with certainty, since we are furnished with no lights by ancient writers, and the traditions of the modern *Persians* on such subjects are little to be depended on; though, to say the truth, the common people in *Persia* are rather more modest than elsewhere, for when they are asked about the meaning of these figures, they generally say God knows. Nay, their men of learning content themselves with affirming, that they b
relate to the ancient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into particulars. At a hundred and twenty paces distance from this figure one finds the first tomb, but before one comes thither, one sees here and there on the mountains several tablets, which seem to have been designed for such representations as have been before described; whence it is evident, that the works on this mountain have been left unfinished. One sees before this first tomb the representation of a combat between a knight and a giant; but as to the meaning thereof we know as little as of that of the former. At sixty paces from this tomb there is another, thirty paces from thence a third, and at the distance of a hundred paces a fourth, which is the last. There are two inscriptions near the third tomb, one fifteen lines in c
length, in the character made use of in the inscriptions at the palace of *Persepolis*. There are many other curious representations carved on this mountain, some perfectly whole and sound, others much defaced either through the injuries of time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the Mohammedans, who make it a piece of high merit to destroy all kind of imagery. We shall not detain the reader any longer on so obscure a subject, since our descriptions, however prolix, would never afford him the same idea he may gain at once by looking on the prints inserted in their travels by *Chardin* and *Le Brun*[a]. Besides, should we run into a long discourse on the conjectures which have been or may be made in relation to these sepulchres, it would certainly lead us far out of our road, and turn very little to the improvement of the reader. On d
the whole therefore, we shall content ourselves with saying, that these stupendous

[a] Vid. Chardin, tom. ii. p. Le Brun, tom. ii. p.

just seen; indeed he speaks less confidently of the story of *Thais* than *Diodorus* does, whence some have suspected the truth of it, and whether *Thais* had any concern therein or no. *Arrian* says, that *Alexander* seized at *Passagardon* on the money which had been laid up there by *Cyrus*, and then adds, "The royal palace of the *Persian* monarchs, he burnt, "much against the will of *Parmenio*, who intreated "him to have it untouched, not only because it "was improper to spoil and destroy what he had "gained by his valour, but that he would thereby "disoblige the *Asiatics*, and render them less be-"nevolent to him, for they would then suppose "that he would not keep *Asia* in his possession, but "abandon it as soon as it was conquered and laid "waste. To which *Alexander* made answer, that "he was resolved to revenge the ancient injuries "his country had received from the *Persians*, who "when they arrived with their army in *Greece* sub-"verted *Athens*, burnt their temples, and commit-"ted many other barbarous devastations there. But "this, in my opinion, seems to have been no pru-"dent or politick action of *Alexander*, and was no "revenge upon the *Persians* at all (88)". *Strabo* speaks very concisely on this subject, his words are these; "*Alexander* destroyed the temple of *Persepolis* "in revenge of the injuries done the *Greeks*, whose "cities and temples the *Persians* had formerly de-"stroyed with fire and sword (89)". *Curtius* has nothing singular upon this head except the following observation: "The city of *Persepolis* was so "far from being rebuilt, that unless the river *Araxes* "ran near it, there had not been the least sign left "to have guessed where it stood; that it was situ-"ated twenty stadia from the banks of this river, "the inhabitants rather believe than know with "any certainty (90)". In this point however, he seems to have been mistaken; for first, he is the only author who says that *Persepolis* was ruined. *Diodorus* says indeed that it was plundered; but as to burning and destroying, what he relates is confined to the palace; besides, after the death of *Alexander*, he informs us, that *Antigonus* taking five thousand talents of silver out of the treasury at *Ecbatana* marched into *Persia*, and after twenty days arrived at its capital *Persepolis* (91). *Arrian* also speaks of this city as still standing after the destruction of the palace; and if we may believe the author of the book of *Maccabees*, it continued a great and noble city. What he says on this subject, stands thus in our translation: "About that time "came *Antiochus* with dishonour out of the coun-"try of *Persia*. For he had entered the city called "*Persepolis*, and went about to rob the temple, and "to hold the city, whereupon the multitude run-"ning to defend themselves with their weapons "put them to flight; and so it happened, that *An-"tiochus* being put to flight of the inhabitants, re-"turned with shame (92). In the first book of *Maccabees*, there is still a more extraordinary passage in respect to the point before us. "About "that time, says the author, king *Antiochus* tra-"velling

(88) *Exped. Alex. lib.* iii. *c.* 18. (89) *Geogr. lib.* xv. *p.* 730. (90) *Curt. lib.* v. *c.* 7. (91) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xix. *c.* 3. (92) 2 *Mac. c.* ix. *ver.* 1.

monuments

a monuments of ancient magnificence are sufficient to fill us with high ideas of the wisdom and magnificent genius of the ancient *Persians* before superstition and slavery took place (X).

" velling through the high countries, heard say, that " *Elymais* in the country of *Persia*, was a city greatly " renowned for riches, silver and gold. And that " there was in it a very rich temple, wherein were " coverings of gold, and breast-plates and shields " which *Alexander*, son of *Philip*, the *Macedonian* " king, who reigned first among the *Grecians*, had " left there. Wherefore he came and sought to take " the city, and to spoil it; but he was not able, " because they of the city having had warning " thereof, rose up against him in battle: so he fled, " and departed thence with great heaviness, and re- " turned to *Babylon* (93)". That by *Elymais* the author meant *Persepolis*, we have all the reason in the world to believe, since we are certain, that the latter is only a *Greek* appellation, and not the true name of the city; nor in all probability did the *Greeks* ever commit the *Persian* name thereof to writing. One thing we will venture to observe here, which has not hitherto been remarked by any author; it is this; *Persepolis*, or *Persepolis* signifies in *Greek* no more than the city of the *Persians*. *Elymais* signifies the same thing, as also *Phars-abad*, which Sir *John Chardin* conjectures to be its ancient name in the *Persic* tongue; hence therefore, we may with probability conclude, that its most ancient name was *Elymais*, derived from the ancient name of *Persia*, *Elam*, that in process of time when *Persia* was called *Pharas*, this city might be stiled *Pharas-abad*, and that the *Greeks* might translate either of these appellations into their own language by the word *Persepolis*; all which we submit to the curious and inquisitive reader.

(X) Besides the tombs spoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of *Persepolis* which Sir *John Chardin* says, appeared to him the most curious remnants of antiquity which he beheld there. They are about six hundred paces from the columns, and in order to reach them, there is a necessity of climbing three hundred paces up the rock. These monuments are cut and hollowed into the rock. The one is on the north over against the great stair-case of the palace, the front is 72 feet broad, and its height about 130. The platform is square, and like the landing-place of a stair-case; it is about 4 feet deep, and is cut into the mountain: On each side there are six figures finely cut, and exactly resembling those in the procession; in the wall of the palace there are four columns fronting the spectator, and exactly in the middle there appears a door, but it is only the figure of a door cut in the rock, and does not seem ever to have been designed for a passage into any cavity behind it. Over this there is another fine piece of workmanship full of figures; and on the summit there appears an altar with fire burning on it, and a reverend person holding a bow in his hand, kneeling on a kind of ascent, over against it, as if at his devotions. In the corner of the piece there is a round figure which seems to represent the sun, and in the middle, as if in the air, there is a small figure of the same person whom we see praying below as if he were ascending into the heavens. The other tomb which is on the east side, differs not much from this which we have described. It has four columns, a false door, and has over it an altar with fire, and a prince or high-priest praying before it with the other decorations mentioned before. Some inconsiderable differences there are in the architecture and in the disposition of things in this second tomb, but we do not think them of consequence enough to be mentioned here. Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that the inhabitants of the country say that *Nembroth* or *Nimrod* was buried in the first, and *Dar-ab*, i. e. *Darius*, in the second; but he thinks the first fabulous. And as to *Darius* being interred here, he owns it is in some measure warranted by the account given us by *Arrian*, that *Alexander* caused the body of that unfortunate prince to be embalmed, and to be sent to his mother, that she might cause it to be interred in the tomb of his ancestors. It is allowed, that the sepulchres of the kings of *Persia* were at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and that at the time *Alexander* sent back *Darius*'s body that country was new conquered and in great disorder. It is not impossible therefore, that his mother might cause him to be buried at *Persepolis*. However, Sir *John Chardin* himself is of opinion that the thing was otherwise, and that these tombs were actually closed up before the reign of *Darius* (94). It is the firm opinion of the present inhabitants of *Persia*, that in these tombs and also in those described in the text, there are concealed great quantities of treasure and valuable effects. It must be said in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its side, since we know that when *Alexander* conquered this country, it was expected that mighty sums would be found in the tomb of *Cyrus* (95). As on the other hand, we know that *Josephus* (96) reports a mighty mass of money to have been laid up in the sepulchre of *David*. As we are writing here a note only, and not a dissertation, we shall not expatiate further upon this subject, but confine ourselves to these very tombs in the mountain of *Nachs-Rustem*. It is certain, that not only the common people, but people of distinction and learning, concur in believing that there are vast heaps of gold, silver, and other rich things, contained in these repositories of the dead, but at the same time they affirm this, they assert with equal confidence that the passages within the tombs form a kind of labyrinth, out of which a man can hardly ever find his way, so that many have perished in search of these supposed mountains of riches. Sir *John Chardin* however, tells us a story of one who actually found and bore away some of these shining spoils; he had it from the mouth of the bailiff of *Mirkasskum*, a little town in the neighbourhood of *Persepolis*. This man informed him that about two hundred years before, when this country was subject to a prince of its own, who resided at *Schiras*, the farmer of his revenues in this part of the country, having dissipated his effects, and not being in a condition to pay what was due from him to the royal treasury, was under the greatest dejection of mind, on the receipt of a message from the grand vizier, threatening him in case he did not make a speedy payment, with a cruel death, and with the selling of his wife and children for slaves in order to produce the sum he was in arrear. The poor man distracted with fear, and knowing not which way to turn him, thought of laying violent hands on himself; but checking this thought on a sudden, he said in his mind, Why should I destroy myself without attempting to throw off this load of misfortunes by some other means? in yon house of idols (so the *Mohammedans* call all places where there are figures in bas-relief) every body agrees there are vast quantities of wealth concealed, why should not I go look for it? If I succeed, I shall not only pay the king, but have wherewithal to live splendidly myself all the rest of my days; and on the other hand, if I perish, I perish, death is the same thing in those tombs or here. Having taken this resolution, he provided himself with

(93) 1 *Mac. c.* vi. *ver* 1. (94) *Chardin, Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 166. (95) *Arrian. Exped. Alex lib.* vi. *ult.* *Strab. Geogr. l.b.* xv. *c.* 730. (96) *Antiq. lib.* vii. *c.* 15.

THE great perfection which appears in these ancient works and those of *Persepolis*, a leaves us no room to doubt that those who were the authors of them, might, if they had so pleased, have left marks of their skill and genius in other parts of this empire also, or at least that their successors might have done something in the same way. We have already put our selves under such restrictions, as forbid a prolix prosecution of this hint, and therefore we shall content our selves with remarking here, that Mr. *Le Brun* takes notice in his travels of some remains of antiquity, which he with two *English* gentlemen, saw near a mountain a league and a half from *Schiras*, on the left of the plain. There stood here a mosque, called the mosque of the mother of *Solomon*, square, and about twenty paces from one corner to the other, b having three porticoes exactly resembling those at *Persepolis*, the first on the east, the second on the north-west, and the third on the north-east. They are eleven feet high, and have on each pilaster the figure of a woman as big as the life, with something in her hand, in the same attitude with the figures on the wall at *Persepolis*. North-east from this ruined mosque, the same author says, there are seen on the side of the rock nine small figures, much damaged by time, and only half of them appearing above-ground; and on the north-west a stone of prodigious magnitude representing a cask or tun. All the ground thereabouts is covered with stones, and most of the pilasters are out of their places, which could not possibly have happened but by an earthquake; the cornice however of the middle one is very little damaged. c A quarter of a league farther, the ruins are seen of that wall, which anciently surrounded this mosque; and about a league from the mosque the same gentleman tells us that he saw several figures cut in the rock, divided into three tables. The first table contains three figures, one of which is represented leaning with its hand on a great sword. The second represents a man with something not unlike a turban on his head. The third figure has a mitre on its head, and like the first, leans its hand on the guard of a great sword; they are very much broken and damaged, so that it is difficult to describe them particularly [k]. For which reason we may suppose the author has omitted the descriptions of the other two tables. If we may be allowed to found any thing on the representations given us in the prints of this accurate traveller; we may say with some assurance, that these figures are neither so old, nor executed near so well as those on the mountain of *Nachs-rustem*, which they resemble much more than any thing which is to be seen at *Persepolis*. Mr. *Le Brun* speaks frequently of the traditions of the inhabitants relating to such things as these; but there is no necessity of examining their accounts here, since we shall be obliged to give an ample account of these matters, when we speak of the *Persian* history, as has been written by oriental authors. In the mean time the reader will be pleased to observe, that the foregoing relation is a direct proof of the opinion we advanced, that on a strict enquiry, many more fragments of antiquity might be found in *Persia*, than those hitherto described and so highly magnified

[k] Le Brun Voyag. Vol. ii. p. 299.

with lights and with some provisions, and then essayed to enter the tombs; in this exploit he was so lucky, that he fell into a path which led him to a large square room full of pieces of gold, of which he took as many as he could carry away, and returned home on the fourth day. But as the sum he brought back was not quite sufficient to pay his debts, he determined to make another experiment which proved as unfortunate as his first had been happy; for, by some means or other losing his way, he perished in the mountain, and was never heard of more. Many travellers have taken great pains themselves, and where their spirits have failed, have hired others to attempt the finding out the rooms which are said to be in this mountain, but most of them have toiled in vain, though not all; for *Pietro della Valle*, an author worthy of credit, affirms, that he saw a square room built up in the form of a tower, close on all sides except a door which was almost at the top, and altogether inaccessible; this he took to be a sepulchre. Sir *John Chardin* could find nothing like it, but he declares, he does not doubt the fact, and tells us farther of his own knowledge, that these subterraneous passages are really very perplexed frequently cross each other, and are full of moist vapours, which quickly extinguish the lights (95.)

(95) *Chardin. voy. vol.* ii. *p.* 171.

SECT.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the antiquity, government, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the antient* PERSIANS.

a THE *Persians* were without all doubt, a very antient nation. Their country was first peopled by *Elam*, or as *Josephus* calls him [a] *Elymus*, the son of *Shem*; whence *Persia* is constantly called by the sacred writers *Elam*; nor does it appear that it was known to the *Jews* before the captivity by any other name. The descendants of *Elam* settled first in that province, which from them was called *Elemais*, and by degrees, as their numbers increased, spread themselves into *Susiana* and other adjoining provinces; as appears from *Daniel*, who places *Susa* the metropolis of *Susiana* in the province of *Elam* [b] (A). All the *Greek* interpreters by *Elam* understand *Persia*, and in the *Acts* the *Persians* are called *Elamites* [c]. Whence b it is probable that they were descended from *Elam*, of whom both the country and inhabitants borrowed their name. How this name was changed into that of *Persia* we have shewn already [*].

*The origin of the* Persians.

THE government of *Persia* was monarchical, and the crown hereditary. The kingdom of *Elam* seems to have been pretty powerful even in the time of *Abraham*; for *Chederlaomer*, king of *Elam*, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is said in scripture to have invaded the *Zumzummins* and *Emins*, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorra*; tho' he was at last overthrown by *Abraham*, who came to the rescue of *Lot*, whom the *Elamite* had taken prisoner [d]. In the time of *Jeremiah Elam* must have been a c great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy where he foretels the increase of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s dominions, and particularly that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tigris* (B).

*Their government.*

BUT to speak here of *Persia* as the second of the four great empires, (for of the kings who preceded *Cyrus*, we shall have occasion to give some account hereafter,) the *Persian* monarchs were under no controul, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleasure. They were revered by their subjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne without prostrating themselves on the ground with a kind of adoration. *Sperchies* and *Bulis* both *Lacedemonians* refused, as *Justin* informs us [e], to comply with this ceremony, as did also *Conon* d the *Athenian*; and *Ismenias* the *Theban* declined it, as we read in *Ælian* [f], by letting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himself on the ground to take it up. *Timagoras*, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* [g], was put to death by the *Athenians* for paying this veneration to a *Persian* monarch. In the time of *Apollonius* none were allowed to appear before the king who had not done the same honours to his image. While they were in the king's presence, they were to hold their hands, so long as their audience lasted, within their sleeves; for neglecting this ceremony *Antosaces* and *Mitræus* were put to death, as we read in *Xenophon*, by *Cyrus* the younger. None were suffered to enter the royal palace without the sovereign's leave, except the princes who slew *Smerdis*; all others of what rank

*The majesty of their kings.*

[a] JOSEPH. antiquitat. c. 8. [b] DANIEL, viii. 2. [c] ACT. ii. 9. [*] Supr. p. 26. A. [d] GEN. xiv. 5. DEUT. ii. 20, 21. [e] JUSTIN. l. vi. [f] ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. [g] VALER. MAXIMUS, l. vi. c. 3.

(A) *And I saw in a vision*, says the prophet, *(and it came to pass, when I saw that I was at* Shusham *in the palace, which is in the province of* Elam*) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river* Ulai. *Shusha* is without doubt the city of *Susa* in *Susiana*, which stood on the river *Eulæus*, or, as the prophet stiles it, *Ulai*.

(B) *Behold I will break the bow of* Elam, *the chief of their might. And upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of the heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of* Elam *shall not come. For I will cause* Elam *to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in* Elam, *and I will destroy from thence the king and his princes, saith the Lord* (1).

(1) *Jerem.* xlix. 35, *& seq.*

 soever

soever before they set foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a messenger that they desired to attend him, and wait his royal pleasure. What respect and obedience his vassals pay'd him we learn from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Xerxes* being once in danger by sea, many at the king's desire strove who should be the first in leaping over-board to lighten the vessel, and save their prince's life, at the expence of their own [h]. They all lived in no less dread of the king's wrath, than of the anger of the Gods; whence they lookt upon the incurring of his displeasure as the greatest misfortune that could befall them in life, and were ready at the least intimation given them by their prince to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and bestowed on the eldest of the deceased king's lawful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all contests, the heir apparent was named by the reigning king before he set out on his journey or march. The new king was crowned at *Pasargada*, or as *Pliny* calls it, *Pasagarda* [i], by the priests, who bore a great sway in the court of *Persia*. This ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddess of war; where the king used first of all to clothe himself with the garment, which *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* monarchy had wore before he was raised to the throne. Being thus attired, he used to eat some figs with a small quantity of turpentine, and drink a cup full of four milk, then * the tiara or crown was placed on his head by one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary, and deemed all over *Persia* the greatest honour a subject could enjoy. The king's tiara was by a peculiar name called *Cidaris*, being a kind of turbant rising up with a sharp point without bending; whereas the other *Persians* wore their turbants bending downwards to their foreheads in token of subjection. However, the descendants of those, who with *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* slew the usurping *Mage*, were allowed to use a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that of the other subjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band, or diadem; for nothing else is meant by the word *Diadem* in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead [k]. This tiara with the purple and white band is the only ensign of royalty we find among the *Persian* kings of the first dynasty. The king's birth-day was kept as sacred, and celebrated with publick sports with the utmost pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by shutting the tribunals of justice for five days, and that fire, which was worshipped in private families as a house-hold god, was on that occasion alone extinguished [l]. The king's abode was, according to the season, seven months at *Babylon*, three at *Susa* (C), and two at *Ecbatan* [m]. Whence they are compared by *Ælian* [n] to cranes, and by *Aristotle* to the *Scythian Nomades*, who by often shifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate season. They likewise removed sometimes to *Pasargada*, and sometimes to *Persepolis*, which at last became their ordinary residence. The king's court or palace had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whose duty it was not only to defend the king's per-

[h] Herodot. l. viii. [i] Plin. l. vi. c. 26. * Plut. in Artaxerx. [k] Drus. observat. l. xii. c. 12. Bris. l. i. p. 44. [l] Diodor. Sicul. l. viii. [m] Zonar. Annal. l. i. [n] Ælian. hist. natur. l. ii. c. 3.

(C) *Susa*, called in scripture *Shusham*, was the metropolis of the province *Susiana*. It was built on the banks of the river *Eulæus*, called by *Daniel Ulai*, by *Memnon*, as some say, the son of *Tithonus*, who was slain by the *Thessalians* in the *Trojan* war (2). *Strabo* (3), and *Pausanias* (4), compare the walls of *Susa* even with those of *Babylon*. *Cassiodorus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. *Polycletus*, as we read in *Strabo* (5), would make us believe that it had no walls, which is no less improbable, considering the kings of *Persia* resided there three months in the year, and that great part of the treasures were lodged in it, as *Diodorus* informs us (6). It was called *Susa* from the many lilies which grew in that neighbourhood, says *Stephanus*, and in the *Persian* language bore that name. It is also called *Memnonia* by *Herodotus* (7) and others from its founder *Memnon*. In scripture it is constantly named (8) the palace; but besides the king's palace there was, without all doubt, a city, as is plain from all the prophane writers. The city was sheltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agreeable during the winter; but in summer the heat was so parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houses, as *Strabo* writes, with earth two cubits deep (9). *Susa* was in ancient times a wealthy and magnificent city; *Alexander* found in it 50000 talents of gold, besides jewels of an inestimable value, and an immense quantity of gold and silver vessels. Here *Ahasuerus* kept his great feast, which lasted 183 days. It lies now in ruins, and is known, as *Tavernier* informs us, by the name of *Schouster* or *Suster*.

(2) *Strabo, l.* xv. *p.* 500. (3) *Strabo ubi supr.* (4) *Paus. Messen. c.* 31. (5) *Ubi supra.* (6) *Diodor. Sic. l.* xvii. *c.* 66. (7) *Herodot. l.* v. *c.* 54. (8) *Dan.* viii. 2. *Nehem.* i. 1. *Esth.* i. 2. (9) *Strabo, l.* xv.

son-

a son, but to inform him of whatever they saw, or heard done in any part of the kingdom; whence they were called, some the kings ears, others, as *Aristotle* * informs us, the king's eyes. To these, messengers were sent from the most remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge; and besides, they received immediate intelligence of any sudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at small distances from each other, and lighted when occasion required; so that they could in one day receive notice of any tumult, rebellion or invasion, in what part soever it happened of that vast empire.

b THE king's palace was deemed sacred and respected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furnished with utensils of an inestimable value. The walls and roof of the rooms were all covered with ivory, silver, amber or gold. The throne was of pure gold, supported by four pillars richly set with precious stones. The king's bed was likewise of gold, and *Herodotus* ° mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold presented to *Darius* by *Pythius* a *Lydian*, who after the kings of *Persia* was accounted the richest man in the world (D). The body and branches of this vine, says *Athenæus* ᵖ, were enriched with jewels of great value, and the clusters of grapes were all precious stones; which hung over the king's head as he sat on the throne. At his bed's-head stood always a chest or coffer containing five thousand talents, which was called the king's bolster, and another at his feet, with c three thousand talents ᵍ; adjoining to the king's palace were large gardens and parks stocked with all sorts of game for his diversion. *Tully* tells us out of *Xenophon* ʳ, that *Cyrus* planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hand. *Alexander* enriched them with trees and plants out of *Greece*. The *Persian* kings drank no other water but that of the river *Choaspes*, which was carried about with them in silver vessels whithersoever they went (E). ˢ They drank only *Calybonian* wine made at *Damascus* in *Syria*, and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of *Assos* in *Phrygia*, and their salt was brought from *Egypt*. The magnificence of their publick feasts exceeds, as appears from holy writ ᵗ, what we read of in histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with d somewhat of the product of each nation subject to them ᵘ. Among the prisoners taken by *Parmenio* at *Damascus* were, as *Athenæus* ᵛ informs us, 277 cooks, 29 who took care of the dishes, 17 who ministered water, 70 who had in charge the wine, 40 employed about ointments, and 66 whose province it was to prepare garlands used, according to the custom of those times, in banquets. During their repast their ears were feasted with the harmony both of vocal and instrumental musick, and 300 women of the sweetest and most melodious voices were in constant attendance to divert the king at his unbending hours. It was likewise their

*The king's palace described.*

* ARIST. l. de mundo. ° HERODOT. l. vii. ᵖ ATHEN. l. xii. vide BUDÆUS de ass. l. iv. ᵍ BUDÆ. ubi supra. ʳ CIC. de senect. ˢ HERODOT. l. 1. c. 159. ᵗ ESTHER. i. ᵘ ATHEN. l. viii. ᵛ Idem, l. xii.

(D) *Pythius*, if we believe *Herodotus* (10), entertained at *Cælene* in *Phrygia Xerxes* and all his army, as he was marching against *Greece*, and moreover offered him towards the charges of the war two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold, all bearing the stamp of his father *Darius*. *Xerxes* with no less generosity not only refused the treasures offered him, but ordered seven thousand *Darien* pieces or *Darics* to be giving to *Pythius* as a reward of his affection and good will, nor did he leave *Cælene* till the sum was paid.

(E) It is matter of dispute among geographers whether the *Choaspes* and the *Eulæus* be one and the same, or two different rivers. *Pliny* (11) distinguishes them, and says that they both rise in *Media*, but that the *Choaspes* discharges itself into the *Pastigris*, and the *Eulæus* into the lake *Characenus*. *Polycletus* likewise, as we read in *Strabo* (12), supposes them to be two different streams, though he makes them disembogue themselves into the same lake. On the other hand *Salmasius* (13) takes them to be one and the same river under different names; for the *Choaspes* rising in *Media* buries itself under ground, and again appears not far from *Susa* in *Media* he thinks it is called *Choaspes*, and in the province of *Susiana Eulæus*. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Ptolemy* (14), who mentions two springs of the *Eulæus* (for he no where names the *Choaspes*) one in *Media* and the other in *Susiana*. Besides, *Herodotus* tells us (15) that the *Choaspes* washed the walls of *Susa*, and that the *Persian* kings drank no other water; whence it is manifest, that the *Choaspes* and *Eulæus* are one and the same river at least at *Susa*, and even *Pliny* (16) and the other writers who distinguish them, place the city of *Susa* on the banks of the *Eulæus*, and all the interpreters take the river *Ulai* mentioned by *Daniel* (17) to be the *Eulæus*. Nor is there any thing more common than that the same river should be known in different places by different names; thus the *Danube* was called by the *Latins Danubius* and *Ister*, the *Weser Vierra* and *Visurgis*, the *Po Padus* and *Eridanus*, &c.

(10) *Herodot. l.* vii. (11) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 27. (12) *Strabo, l.* xv. *p.* 501. (13) *Salmas. in Solin p.* 493. (14) *Ptol. l.* vi. *c.* 3. (15) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 153. (16) *Plin. ubi supra.* (17) *Dan.* viii.

province

province to lull him asleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as soon as he awaked in the morning [x]. Most of the *Persian* kings were so dissolved in pleasures, that they scarce minded any thing beside their own satisfaction. *Xerxes* was not ashamed to propose by a publick edict, an ample reward to any one who should devise a new pleasure [y]. The king seldom admitted others to his table, besides his wife and mother; such as received this honour, were so placed as not to see, but only be seen by the king; for they thought it was, in some degree, a degrading of their majesty to appear subject to the same necessities with other mortals. This desire of appearing above the level of other men, was the motive that confined them within their palaces, and scarce ever suffered them to appear abroad. Their lust and voluptuousness sufficiently appears from the book of *Esther*; and *Tully* [z] adds, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of some of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to supply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, *&c.* Nay, *Socrates* [a] mentions an embassador, who being sent into *Persia* spent a whole day in travelling thro' a country, which was called the *Queen's girdle*, and another day before he reached the borders of a rich territory stiled *the Queen's head-dress.*

*The king's children.*

THE king's children, more especially the eldest, were presently after their birth committed to the care of *Eunuchs.* At seven years old they learnt under experienced instructors to ride and hunt, which were lookt upon as the most manly exercises; at the age of fourteen they were put under the discipline of four learned preceptors, of which one was to teach them prudence, another justice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude [b].

*The king's guard.*

THE king's ordinary guard consisted mostly of *Persians. Curtius* mentions a guard which attended the king's person, consisting of 15000 men, who were called the king's relations; there was also a body of 10000 choice horse-men, all *Persians*, who accompanied him in all his expeditions, and were called *immortal.* His guards received no pay, but were very plentifully provided with all necessaries of life.

*The manners of the Persians. How they educated their children.*

BUT the grandeur and magnificence of the *Persian* kings appeared no where greater than on occasion of the publick sacrifices, at which they often assisted, as we shall have occasion to take notice of in the next section, as also of their funerals and other religious ceremonies in use among the *Persians.*

IT is time now to say something of the customs and manners of the antient *Persians.* They had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father, but was brought up by women of the best character, till he attained the age of five years, lest if he should die before that time his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old the children of such as could afford it, were committed to the tuition of learned masters or *Mages*, who carefully taught them more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying and contracting debts. They learnt also to ride, to shoot with bows, and fight on horse-back. This was their education till seventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him at home when he went a hunting, or abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with such an aweful respect to their parents, that they never offer'd to sit down in their presence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children, but was restrained by the laws from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime alone.

*The miscellaneous customs of the Persians.*

THE *Persians* were antiently all trained up to military exercises, but more especially to handle a bow, which they did with great dexterity; whence it is, that we find the *bow of Elam* mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah* [c], and the *quiver of Elam* by *Isaiah* [d], as the arms peculiar to this nation. From the age of five years to that of twenty they taught their sons chiefly three things, as *Herodotus* informs us [e], to manage a horse, to use the bow with dexterity, and to speak truth. A numerous issue was lookt upon by them as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow, and such as could shew a numerous offspring received early pre-

[x] ATHEN. lib xii. [y] CIC. Tusc. quæst. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. [z] CIC. in Ver. act. v. [a] SOCRAT. in PLAT. Alcibiad. [b] XENOPH. l. i. c. ii. BRISSON. Polit. [c] JEREM. xlix. 35—38. [d] ISA. xxii. 6. [e] HERODOT. l. i.

sents

a sents from the king [f]. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furnishing their tables on such occasions in a very plentiful manner, tho' at other times they lived very sparingly, at least under their first kings. In their diet they were very temperate, but were always inclined to drinking; they used even to debate the most important matters in their cups; but the master of the house, where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions taken the day before were approved or rejected [g]. When they met they saluted with a kiss on the mouth, if they were equal; on the cheek, if one was somewhat inferior to the other; but those who were of a much lower rank used to prostrate themselves on the ground when they b met or accosted their superiors. They shewed most value for those that lived next to them, and very little to such as lived at a great distance, as if men were more or less worthy in proportion as they lived at a greater or smaller distance from them [h]. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign customs. They no sooner conquered the *Medes*, but they assumed their dress; in war they used the *Egyptian* armour after they had subdued that kingdom; and imitated the *Greeks*, as soon as they became acquainted with them, in the worst of vices, as *Herodotus* himself owns [i]. They were indulged many wives, and besides as many concubines as they were able to maintain; those who had many children, being lookt upon as heroes of as great prowess as those who had distinguished themselves in military exploits. c They bore such respect to their parents, that they thought it impossible a man should ever put to death his father or mother, whence no punishments were inflicted by their laws on such offenders; and if any one was indicted for committing so heinous a crime he was always declared by the judges spurious or supposititious. To affirm a falshood was accounted the utmost infamy, and next to that the being in debt, because it exposed a man to the necessity of lying. If any among them happened to be infected with a leprosy, or any other distemper of that nature, he was not permitted to stay within the city, nor to converse with the others, having, as they believed, drawn this punishment upon himself by committing some offence against the sun. All strangers that were subject to this distemper were expelled the country. These customs, and some others, relating to their funerals, of which we d shall speak in the next section, we have learnt of *Herodotus*, who tells us, that he can with certainty affirm them to be true.

*Their punishments.*

The most severe punishment in use among the *Persians* was that of shutting them up between two boats, which was done in the following manner. They made two boats on purpose, so even that the one was neither broader nor longer than the other; then they laid the offender in one of them on his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet and head being left uncovered, and appearing thro' an opening made for that purpose. In this posture he was supplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by threatening sharp iron-tools in his eyes, to eat what was necessary to support nature lest he should starve himself, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the sun, they poured honey, which inviting the flies and wasps, tormented him no less than the swarms of worms that were bred of his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under such a complication of unrelenting torments the unhappy offender lived many days; for *Plutarch*, who describes this cruel man- e ner of putting to death [k], tells us, that *Mithridates*, whom *Artaxerxes* condemned to this punishment for pretending to have killed his brother *Cyrus* [*], lived seventeen days in the utmost agony, and that the uppermost boat being taken off at his death, they found his flesh all consumed, and swarms of worms gnawing his very bowels. Such as were convicted of high treason were condemned to have their right hand and then their head struck off, which sentence was by order of *Artaxerxes* executed even on the dead body of his brother *Cyrus* [l]. But by the antient laws of *Persia* the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime; and besides, the judge was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent, and if his faults were found to over-balance his former services, the king was allowed to punish f him at pleasure; if not, he was either pardoned or punished less severely [m]. Poisoners were pressed to death between two stones, which punishment we find inflicted upon *Gigis*, a woman greatly favoured by *Paryfatis*, mother to *Artaxerxes*, for having conspired with her to poison queen *Statira* [n].

[f] Herodot. ubi supra. [g] Herodot. ibid. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Herodot. ubi supra. [k] Plutarch. in vita Artaxerxis. [*] See hereafter p. 140. [l] Plutarch. ibid. [m] Herodot. ubi supra. [n] Plutarch. ubi supra.

*Their marriages and incestuous commerce.*

THE *Persians* were beyond any other people jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to speak to them, or even to come near them or their coaches as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own sisters and daughters; thus we are told that *Artaxerxes* married two of his daughters, *Amestris* and *Atossa*, though he had promised them to others. *Minutius Felix* [o] reproaches them with marrying or criminally conversing with their mothers; and *Eusebius* quotes a saying of *Bardesanes*, which shews that they were indulged by law to marry their sisters, daughters, and mothers. This incestuous custom they observed also in other countries, namely in *Egypt*, *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*, as *Eusebius* witnesses [p], where they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants, and nicknamed *Magussæi*, or addicted to magick [q]. They were the first that introduced those amphibious animals called *Eunuchs*, which *Petronius Arbiter* [r] and *Seneca* [s] impute to their unsatiable leachery.

*Their money.*

THE first that caused gold and silver to be coined in *Persia* was *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares*, or as he is called in scripture *Darius the Mede*, the founder of the *Medo-Persian* monarchy (F). In his reign were coined those famous pieces of gold called *Darics*, which for many ages were preferred, being of pure gold, to all other coins throughout the east. They were stamped on one side with an archer cloathed in a long robe, and crowned with a spiked crown, holding a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other side was the effigies of *Darius* [t]. To these pieces alluded *Agesilaus*, when finding himself obliged to quit *Asia* in order to suppress the tumults which *Artaxerxes* had by dint of gold stirred up in *Greece*, he said that the king of *Persia* had driven him out of his dominions, *with thirty thousand Archers* [u]. The *Darics* were of the same weight and value with the *Attic Stater*. *Darius* seems to have learnt the art and use of money of the *Lydians*, for the *Medes* had no money before they conquered *Lydia* [w]; whereas *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* had coined innumerable pieces of gold, called *Cræsei*. As it was not reasonable that the coin of *Lydia* should continue current after the downfal of the kingdom, we may suppose that *Darius* recoined the *Cræsei* with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value [x]. All these pieces of gold, that were afterwards coined of the same weight and value, by the succeeding kings, not only of the *Persian*, but also of the *Macedonian* race, were called *Darics* from this *Darius*, in whose reign they were first coined (G).

*Their arts, sciences, &c.*

THERE was, it seems, no great learning among the *Persians* before the time of *Zoroastres*, whom the *Persians* call *Zerdusht* or *Zaratush*, who flourished in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, and was the great mathematician and philosopher of the age he lived in. The *Mages* being instructed in mathematicks, astronomy and natural philosophy partly by him, and partly by *Hystaspes* the father of *Darius*, were reputed above all others skilled in those arts. *Hystaspes* had travelled into *India*, and lived there some time among the *Brachmans*, in order to learn their mysteries and sciences, for which they were famed at that time, and on his return communicated to the *Mages* what he had learnt, improving that sect not only in religion, but in all natural knowledge [y]. But this subject shall be treated more at length in the following section; we shall only add here, that this knowledge was lockt up among the priests, and seldom communicated to any except those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct [z].

[o] ARNOB. contra gentes. [p] EUSEB. de Præpar. Evangelic. l. vi. c. 8. [q] Idem ibid. [r] PETRON. ARB. Satyr. [s] SENECA controver. 4. l. x. [t] PLUTARCH in Artaxer. [u] PLUTARCH. ibid. [w] HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. [x] Sir *Isaac Newton*'s chronolog. p. 320. [y] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii. [z] PLATO in Alcibiad. i. STOBÆUS 496. CLEM. ALEXANDR. in Pædagogo.

(F) We are told by *Suidas*, *Harpocration* and the scholiast of *Aristophanes* (18), that the first pieces of gold were coined not by *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*, but by a more ancient *Darius*, who must necessarily have been *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, since we know of no other *Darius* reigning so early in the east.

(G) In those parts of scripture that were wrote after the *Babylonish* captivity (19), these pieces are mentioned by the name of *Adarkonim*, and by the *Talmudists* are called (20) *Darkemoth*, both from the *Greek* Δαρεικοὶ, that is *Darics*. They were probably coined by *Darius* during the two years he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was absent on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions. According to Dr. *Bernard* a *Daric* weighed two grains more than one of our guineas.

(18) *Harpocr. Scholiast. Aristoph.* p. 741, 742. *Suidas in* Δαρεικός. (19) 1 *Chron.* xxix. 7. *Ezra* viii. 27. (20) *Buxtor. Lexic. Rabbinic.* p. 577.

THE

*Their trade and navigation.*

a THE poverty of the antient *Persians*, and their contempt of riches, shews them to have been quite strangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a prospect of gain. Before the conquest of *Lydia* they had no money, nor any cloathing but skins; they used water for drink, and had neither wine nor any other thing, but what their barren country produced, as appears from the excellent speech of *Sandanis* to dissuade *Crœsus* from invading *Persia* [a]. After they subdued *Lydia*, and were masters of so many rich provinces, they very likely applied their minds to trade and navigation to supply themselves with those commodities, which their country wanted, and at the same time to dispose of those which they could easily spare. But as we can advance nothing with respect to their trade warranted by good
b authorities, we shall dismiss this subject, and hasten to their military discipline.

*Their soldiery.*

THE *Persians* learnt from their childhood to ride, and handle their bow, as we have hinted above, and by the manly exercise of hunting inured themselves to the toils of war [b]. They never parted with their swords, quivers, and bows, even in time of peace, but when they went to repose, and had them even then always ready at hand [c]; which custom the *Romans*, who never used any weapons but in the field, lookt upon as unbecoming a civilized nation [d]. As soon as they were able to bear arms they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers, but received no pay till the age of twenty [e]. In time of war they were all bound on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age or otherwise, to appear under their
c respective standards, and attend the king in his expeditions [f] (H). They used no mercenaries in the time of *Herodianus* [g], nor maintained a standing army, but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their respective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, but their share of the plunder.

*Their armour and discipline.*

IN war they wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all kinds of offensive arms; on the body a coat of mail wrought in likeness of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours; their thighs were defended with cuisses; their shields, or rather targets, were of wicker, their javelins short, their bows of an uncommon length, their arrows of reeds; they
d wore short swords (H 2) hanging from a belt on the right side [h]. Their horses were likewise covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in *Xenophon* [i], *Curtius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, &c. They were sure marks-men, and quicker than any other nation in discharging, especially on their flight, which was peculiar to them and the *Parthians*; however, in the time of *Procopius* their arrows

[a] HERODOT. l. i c. 71. [b] STRABO, l. xv. [c] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 23. [d] OVID. Trist. l. 5. [e] STRABO l. xv. [f] HERODOT. l. iv. [g] HERODIAN. l. iii. & 5. [h] HERODOT. l. vii. XENOPH. l. vii. [i] XENOPHON. l. viii. c. 190.

(H) *Herodotus* tells us, that while *Darius* was marching from *Susa* with his forces against the *Scythians*, *OEobazus*, a noble *Persian*, who had three sons in his army, begged that one of his sons might be left at home to comfort him in his old age. The king received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and told him, that he would grant him more than he asked, for he designed to leave him all his sons. This answer gave the old man great joy, for he did not doubt but the king would be as good as his word. *OEobazus* was scarce departed, when *Darius* commanded the officers appointed for such purposes to put all his sons to death, and sent their dead mangled bodies home to their father's house (21). We have another, still more dreadful, instance of the *Persian* severity on such occasions. *Pythius* the *Lydian*, as we have hinted above, entertained with great magnificence *Xerxes* and all his army, and offered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold to defray the expences of the war which he was carrying on against *Greece*. The king was so taken with his zeal and affection, that he promised to grant him whatever he should ask. *Pythius* had then no request to make; but some time after being frightened with an eclipse of the sun, and confiding in the merit of his late liberal offer, and the king's unlimited promise, entreated him to discharge the eldest of his five sons who were all in his army, that he might have somebody to take care of himself in his old age, and of his estate. He had no sooner uttered this request, but the king transported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promise, and the former merits of *Pythius*, commanded the body of his eldest son to be cut asunder, and one part laid on the right hand of the way, and the other on the left, that the army might pass between both (22). So heinous a crime it was, according to the *Persian* discipline, to exempt one's self from the service, or even ask an exemption for others.

(H 2) These were rather daggers than swords; for *Josephus* (24) compares them to the poniards used by ruffians, and *Darius* finding in his first engagement with *Alexander* that the length of the *Macedonian* swords did not contribute a little to the victory, caused the *Persian* swords, or *Acinaces* as the *Latins* call them, to be considerably lengthened (25).

(21) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Seneca, l.* iii. *de ira, c.* 16. (22) *Herodot. l.* vii. *Seneca, l.* iii. *de ira, c.* 17. (24) *Joseph. Antiquitat. l.* xx. *c.* 7. (25) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii.

did

did but small execution, which he ascribes to the slackness of their bows; whereas no shield or armour was proof against the *Roman* arrows [i]. The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end, and in the following manner. Before they took the field they passed before the king or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a basket; these baskets were sealed up with the royal signet till they returned from the campaign, when they pass'd muster in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same baskets; when they were all pass'd, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they reckoned the number of their dead. This antient custom continued even in the time of *Procopius* [k]. They wore over their armour great-coats of purple, but the king's was white, by which badge he was known and often aimed at by the enemies [l]. They excelled all nations in horsemanship, being accustomed thereunto from their very infancy; among them it was disreputable ever to appear in publick but on horse-back; on horse-back they transacted all their private and publick affairs, held their assemblies, visited their friends, *&c.* [m]. This custom in process of time began to degenerate into luxury, the *Persians* striving to outdo each other in the richness of their caparisons, their very horses, as *Dionysius* expresses it [n], champing the purest gold. They fought not only on horse-back, but likewise from chariots drawn by four, six, and sometimes eight horses [o]. They were the first, if we believe *Xenophon* [p], that introduced the use of chariots armed with scythes (I). When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, *&c.* follow'd the camp [q], which custom was observed amongst all the eastern nations; their presence, they thought, inspired them with courage, since they were to lose at once whatever was dear to them in the world, if they did not behave as they ought. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers being loaded with no other burden but that of their arms [r]. In what manner they marched we learn from *Herodotus*, who describes the march of *Xerxes*'s army thus [s]. The baggage, whether carried by servants or beasts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body without distinction. Between these and the rest of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thousand horsemen, and the like number of spear-men with their spears pointing downwards. After these came ten great horses bred in the plains of *Media*, called the *Nisean Plains* (K), caparisoned with rich furniture, and consecrated to *Jupiter*. The chariot of that God immediately followed, drawn by eight white horses, the driver on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the seat. After *Jupiter* appeared the king in a chariot drawn by *Nisean* horses. A thousand chosen spear-men, all *Persians*, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horse, consisting of a thousand chosen men of the same nation. After the horse ten thousand *Persian* foot advanced, and of these one thousand were armed with javelins, which instead of the common ornaments were embellished with pomegranats of gold. The other nine thousand had pomegranats of silver. The ten thousand foot were followed by ten thousand *Persian* horse, and at the distance of two stades. The rest of the forces advanced promiscuously. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner. Ten thousand men were crouded into as narrow a piece of ground as they possibly could, and a kind of furrow being drawn round them, they caused the like number to enter the ground, and continued so doing till the whole army was computed [t]. When they

*Manner of mustering.*

*Marching.*

*Manner of declaring war.*

[i] PROCOP. l. i. de Bell. Pers. c. 18. [k] PROCOP. ubi supra. [l] HERODOT. l. ix. XENOPH. l. vii. p. 136. PLUT. in Artaxerxe. [m] XENOPHON. l. iv. p. 81. & l. viii. p. 190. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 3. [n] DIONYS. de situ orbis. [o] XENOPH. l. vi. p. 124. [p] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. viii.. prope finem. [q] CURT. l. iii. 8, 12. XENOPH. l. iv. p. 76. [r] HERODOT. l. viii. [s] HERODOT. l. vii. [t] HERODOT. ibid.

(I) *Xenophon* ascribes to *Cyrus* the invention of chariots armed with sithes (26). But *Diodorus* tells us out of the fabulous *Ctesias* that *Semiramis*, in the war which she waged with the *Bactrians*, had in her army 700 chariots armed with sithes (27), and seems to make the *Assyrian* kings the first inventors of them. Whence it is plain from *Xenophon* and *Diodorus*, that *Hesychius* was mistaken when he ascribed this contrivance to the *Macedonians*.

(K) The *Mifean* or *Nisean* fields in *Midia* are celebrated by all the antients for the large, strong and fleet horses that were bred there (28), and which alone the *Persian* monarchs used after they became masters of that country.

(26) *Cyropæd. l.* viii. *prope finem.* (27) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iii. (28) *Herodot. l.* vi. *Ammian. Mar. l.* xxiii. *Themistius Orat.* v. *&c.*

intended

a intended to make war upon any nation they sent heralds or embassadors to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to submit and acknowledge the king of *Persia* as the sovereign lord of their country [u] (L). This manner of declaring war they borrowed of the *Medes* as *Plutarch* informs us, and the *Medes* seem to have imitated in that, as in many other things, the *Assyrians*, who, as appears from the book of *Judith* [w], used in that manner to require an entire submission. In time of action the king was always in the center [x], and used to encourage his men with a speech [y]. The signal was given with the sound of trumpets, *And engaging.* and followed by an universal shout of the whole army [z]. The watch-word was in use even among them, for *Xenophon* speaking of *Cyrus*, tells us that his was *Jupiter*
b *our leader and protector* [a]. The royal banner was a spread-eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long spear [b]. They reckoned those happy who died in the field, and inflicted exemplary punishments on such as abandoned their posts, or fled from their colours [c]. They used no stratagems nor cared for any advantages that were not owing to their valour [d], or, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* expresses it, thought it unfair and base to steal a victory [e]. They never fought in the night, unless attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the rising of the sun [f]. Duels or single combats were in use among them, as is plain from the stories of *Darius* [g] and *Polydamas* [h]. This is what we have been able to gather from unquestionable authorities relating to the military discipline of the antient *Persians*.

c As to their laws, they are greatly commended by *Xenophon*, who prefers them to those of any other nation whatsoever [i], and observes that other lawgivers only appointed punishments for crimes committed, but did not take sufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main design of the *Persian* laws was to inspire men with a love for virtue and abhorrency of vice, so as to avoid the one and pursue the other, without regarding either punishment or rewards. To attain this end parents were not by their laws allowed to give their children what education they pleased; but were obliged to send them to publick schools, where they were educated with great care, and never suffered, till they had attained the age of seventeen, to return home to their parents. These schools were not trusted to
d the care of common mercenary masters, but were governed by men of the first quality and best characters, who taught them by their example the practice of all virtues; for these schools were not designed for learning of sciences, but practising of virtue. The youths were allowed no other food but bread and cresses, no other drink but water [k], at least from the age of seven to seventeen. Those who had not been educated in those schools were excluded from all honours and preferments [l], (M).

[u] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Herodot. l. iv. [w] Judith, c. ii. [x] Xenoph. l. i. *Anabas.* [y] Stobæus. ser. xlii. Curt. &c. [z] Curt. l. iii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. [a] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. vii. p. 137. [b] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. vii. p. 136. Philostrat. Iconum. l. ii. c. 32. [c] Plutarch. in Artaxerx. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. [d] Justin. l. xi. [e] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. [f] Curt. l. v. 12. 6. [g] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. [h] Pausanias. in Eliac. [i] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. i. [k] Xenoph. ibid. Justin. l. xli. Cic. l. 5. Tusculan. quæst. [l] Xenoph. ibid.

(L) Some have erroneously imagined that by this demand nothing else was meant but that those to whom it was directed should furnish the *Persian* army with such a quantity of provisions. But the contrary is plain from all the ancients, especially from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Darius* dispatched a messenger to *Indathyrsus* king of *Scythia*, commanding him *to own the king of* Persia *for his sovereign, and to present him with earth and water in token of his submission.* To this message the *Scythian* returned answer, that he acknowledged no other lords but *Jupiter* his progenitor, and *Vesta* queen of the *Scythians*; and that instead of presenting him with earth and water, he would send him such a present as he deserved, and perhaps might make him repent of his insolence in assuming the title of his master. And accordingly he sent him some time after a messenger to present him on his part with a bird, a mouse, a frog and five arrows, which *Darius* would fain have interpreted as a tacit submission, and a giving him possession of the land and water; for said he, the mouse is bred in the earth and lives on the same food as man; a frog lives in the water; a bird may be compared to a horse, and by the arrows they seem to deliver their whole force into my hands. But *Gobrias* was of opinion that the king of *Scythia* gave them to understand by such a present, that unless the *Persians* could ascend into the air like a bird, or conceal themselves in the earth like mice, or plunge into the fens like frogs, they should inevitably perish by those arrows (29).

(M) These schools the *Persians* called *Liberal markets*; for they allowed no publick place for buying or selling, as appears from *Cyrus*'s answer to the *Lacedemonians*, telling them that he was not afraid of those who in the midst of their cities have a place of publick resort, where they cheat one another by mutual oaths; which words, adds *Herodotus* (30) were levelled at all the *Greeks*, who in every city had some publick place for buying and selling, whereas the *Persians* allow of no such places, nor any place at all of publick resort.

(29) *Herodot. l.* iv. (30) *Herodot. l.* i.

There were particular laws against ingratitude, and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a suitable return, could bring an action against the ungrateful person, who upon conviction was punished with great severity [m] (N). When any one went to give advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order, in proposing his opinion he stood upon an ingot of gold, which he was rewarded with, if his advice was found wholesome; if otherwise, he was publickly whipt [n]. a

Before we close this section we shall add some particulars relating to the *Persian* kings, gathered from the best authors. The kings of *Persia* were above all others the most arbitrary and absolute, and look'd upon their subjects, however distinguish'd by birth or fortune, as the meanest of slaves. None, their own children not excepted, durst address them with any other title, than that of *Lord, great king, king of kings* [o]; which high sounding titles they seem to have borrowed from the *Assyrians*: for *Daniel* [p] in speaking to *Nebuchadnezzar*, gives him the title of *king of kings*. As the *Persians* imitated in this the haughtiness of the *Assyrians*, so did the *Parthians* that of the *Persians* [q], and continued this stile even to the time of the emperor *Constantius*, to whom *Sapor* king of *Parthia* wrote himself, *king of king, partaker of the stars, brother of the sun and moon*, &c. But to return to the *Persian* kings, as they assumed high titles to themselves, so they bestowed no other on their subjects, by what dignity soever distinguished, but that of slaves [r]; and treated them as such, not in words only, but in all other respects. To this slavish spirit, which is altogether inconsistent with true courage, *Plato* ascribes the downfall of the *Persian* monarchy [s]. This spirit of slavery prevailed to such a degree among the *Persians*, that even those who were by the king's order publickly whipt, used to return him thanks for vouchsafing to remember them [t]. Whoever betrayed the least reluctancy, to put in execution the king's commands how difficult soever, was sure to forfeit his head and right arm [u]. The custom of adoring their kings, and putting them on the same level with the gods, is by *Justin* [w] fathered upon *Cyrus the great*. None durst appear before the king without prostrating themselves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. Nor did they exact it only on their own vassals, but also of foreign ministers and embassadors, the captain of the guard being charged to enquire of those, who asked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him; if they refused to comply with that ceremony, they were told that the king's ears were open to such only as were willing to pay him that homage, so that they were forced to transact the business they were charged with, by means of the king's servants or eunuchs [x]. Nor did their pride and ambition stop here; they sometimes ordered the same reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the history of *Haman* and *Mordecai* [y]; nay, even to their statues and images, for *Philostratus* acquaints us, that in the time of *Apollonius* a golden statue of the king was represented to all those that entered *Babylon*, and that such only as adored it were admitted within the gates [z]. When they appeared before the king, their common salutation was, *Live for ever* [a], *Let the king live for ever*. To sit in the king's chair or throne (O), to wear any part of the apparel which he had used, to b c d

*The great respect paid to the* Persian *monarchs.*

[m] Xenoph. ibid. Ammian. Marcell. l. iii. 5. Themistocles orat. 3. [n] Ælian. var. histor. l. xii. c. 12. [o] Dio. Chrys. orat. 3. de regno. Arrian. l. vi. Strabo. lib. xv. 1 Esdras vii. 8, & *seq.* [p] Dan. ii. 37. [q] Plutarch. in Pomp. & Lucullo. [r] Xenoph. l. i. Ἀναβασ. Q. Curt. l. v. Aristot. de Mundo. Ezra, c. iv. 5, & *seq.* [s] Plato. lib. iii. de legib. [t] Stobæus serm. ii. [u] Strabo l. xv. p. 733. [w] Justin. c. iv. l. xi. [x] Plutarch. in Themist. [y] Esther iii. 2. [z] Philostrat. l. i. de vita Apollonii. [a] Ælian. var. histor. l. i. c. 32. Nehem. c. ii, iii. Daniel, c. vi. 6. & *alib.*

(N) *Seneca* therefore was mistaken when he said, that laws against ingratitude were to be found among the *Macedonians* alone; *excepta Macedonum gente*, says he, *non est in ulla data adversus ingratos actio* (31), that is, in no nation, except the *Macedonian*, ingratitude is actionable; where some read *Medorum* instead of *Macedonum*, but all the ancient copies have *Macedonum*.

(O) *Q. Curtius* tells us (32) that when *Alexander* marched his army thro' a certain province called *Gabaza*, one of his soldiers arrived at the place, where they were to encamp, was so benummed with the excessive cold of the season and climate, that he had almost lost the use both of his limbs and senses. The king, who had likewise suffered greatly by the cold, and was then sitting by a fire which they had kindled in the open fields, no sooner saw the soldier in that pitiful condition, but starting up and with his own hands pulling off his armour, placed him in the chair where himself was sitting. The soldier by degrees recovered, but was very near fainting away again, when he found himself seated in the royal chair and the king standing by him. But *Alexander* encouraged him to lay aside all fear, saying,

(31) *Seneca l.* iiii. *de Benefic. c.* 7. (32) *Q. Curt. l.* viii.

a (P), to look into the litter wherein his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the palace (Q), to shoot in hunting, or strike at the game before the king (R), were all capital crimes [b]. Such as betrayed any secret, which they had been trusted with by the king, or gave intelligence to the enemies of his designs, were punished with great severity; whence *Alexander*, as his historian tells us [c], could never have any notice before-hand of their designs, the captives chusing rather to suffer death than betray the designs of their prince. Nobody, of what rank soever, appeared before the king without a present, which custom prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went on his progress or marched out with his army, all the inhabitants of the countries or provinces through which he passed were obliged to b declare their vassalage by some present or other; even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flocked to him with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, wine, *&c.* others milk, cheese, dates, *&c.* every one according to his ability [d] (S).

*How they administred justice.*

The *Persian* kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and criminal, and though transcendently vicious in other respects, were nevertheless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence [e]. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeach-c ed, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life, and condemned or cleared him according as his crimes or deserts prevailed [f] (T). Their humanity and good nature even towards those, who according to the laws deserved death, is very remarkable. Thus *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ordered that the turbants of the condemned persons should be struck off instead of their heads; that the strings, with which they tied them, should be cut instead of their ears, and their garments whipt instead of their persons [g]. Beside the king there were several other judges, all men of unblemished characters, and well skilled in the laws of the kingdom. These were called *royal judges*, administred justice at stated times in

[b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Val. Maxim. l. v. c. 16. Q. Curt. c. xviii. Frontin. Strategem. c. vi. Plutarch. in Artaxerx. & Themist. [c] Q. Curt. l. iv. & Ammian. Marcel. l. xxi. [d] Ælian. var. histor. l. c. 31. [e] Philostrat. l. i. de vita Apollon. Epiphan. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. [f] Id. ibid. Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xi. c. 3. Herodot. l. i. [g] Plutarch. in Artaxerx. & Apophthegmat. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxx.

saying, *Do not fear, O fellow soldier, but reflect how much happier is your condition under me, than that of the* Persians *under their king; had you rested in the* Persian *king's chair, it had cost you your life; to have rested in mine, has saved it.* Hence it was that *Artabanus*, as we read in *Herodotus* (33), though uncle to *Xerxes*, shewed so great reluctancy to comply with his orders, when he commanded him to put on the royal robes, sit on the throne, and repose in his bed.

(P) *Plutarch* tells us (34) that one *Trebazus*, who was very familiar with *Artaxerxes* whom he used to divert with his wit and humour, having one day begged of him an old gown, obtained what he demanded, but with this condition, that he should not wear it, that being contrary to the laws of *Persia*. *Trebazus* not minding the king's prohibition or the laws of the realm, soon after appeared in it at court; which the *Persians* resenting as an affront against the majesty of their king, were for punishing him according to the rigour of the law. But *Artaxerxes* saved him by telling them, that he had commanded *Trebazus* to appear in that garb as his fool.

(Q) In one of these litters *Themistocles*, who was desirous to have a private conference with *Artaxerxes* was conveyed to the king's apartment without being observed by the *Persians*, who began to be jealous of him (35).

(R) This law was abrogated, as we read in *Plutarch*, by *Artaxerxes Macrochir* (36) or *Longimanus*.

(S) we read in *Plutarch* (37) and *Ælian* (38) of one *Sineta* a *Persian*, who meeting by chance *Artaxerxes* at a great distance from his poor cottage, and having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river, and filling both his hands with water, made an offering of that to the king, which was by him graciously received.

(T) To this purpose *Herodotus* tells us (39) that *Darius* having pronounced sentence of death against a corrupt judge, and afterwards finding that his former deserts over-ballanced his present crime, ordered him to be taken down from the cross and set at liberty. This does not agree with what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the sentence of death once pronounced, could not be repealed even by the king himself; for after relating how *Darius* pronounced sentence of death against *Charidemus*, he adds, that the king immediately repented, as if he had been over-hasty in a matter of the utmost consequence, *but it was not in his power to undo what he had done* (40). Perhaps he means nothing else but that the king could not restore him to life again; for, as both he (41) and *Xenophon* (42) inform us, the sentence was no sooner pronounced, but the criminal was hurried away to execution.

(33) *Herodot. l.* vii. (34) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (35) *Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.* (36) *Plutarch. in Apophthegmat.* (37) *Id. ibid. & in Artax.* (38) *Ælian. var. hist. l.* i. *c.* 32. (39) *Herodot. l.* vii. (40) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv.* (41) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xii. (42) *Xenoph. l.* i. Ἀνάβασις. *p.* 105.

different

different provinces, and some of them attended the king whithersoever he went [h]. a
The king often advised with them, and in matters concerning himself referred the whole to their judgement [i]. They were nominated by the king, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer such only as were famed for their integrity (U).

*Their concubines.*

The *Persian* kings had several wives, besides what number of concubines they pleased. *Darius* maintained as many as the days of the year [k]. *Artaxerxes* had by his concubines 115 children [l]. The concubines were introduced to the king, each in their turn [m], whence some have concluded that the antient *Persian* year consisted of 360 days, seeing that several of the *Persian* monarchs had the like num- b
ber of concubines, who went to their kings in constant courses [n] (W).

*Their revenues.*

We shall end this section with some account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treasure and treasurer, as is plain from all the antient writers, both sacred and profane; and from the great sums, which *Alexander* found in several particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immense treasures they possessed. In the city of *Damascus* he found 2600 talents, and silver uncoined to the value of 500 more; in *Arbela* 4000 talents, in *Susa* 40,000, and 9000 *Darics*, in *Persepolis* 120,000, in *Pasargada* 6000, in *Ecbatan* 180,000 [o]. These immense sums arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay according to the assessment of *Darius Hystaspes*. For during the reigns of *Cyrus* and his son *Cambyses*, no tributes were imposed, the people voluntarily contributing for the c
maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit; from the imposing of these taxes, and other things of the like nature, the *Persians* gave *Darius* the nick-name of *Merchant*. The sum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of *Herodotus* [p], amounted to 14560 *Euboic* talents [q], besides other smaller sums. These revenues were gathered from the provinces of *Asia* only, but in process of time the islands of several provinces of *Europe*, with *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. were likewise taxed, which increased the king's revenues to such a degree, that, if we believe *Justin* [r], *Alexander* after the conquest of *Persia* received yearly from his subjects the sum of 300,000 talents. The *Persian* kings preserved d
their treasures in the following manner; they caused the gold and silver to be melted down and poured into earthen vessels, which they broke, when occasion required, and took such a quantity as seemed necessary [s]. The lands of the *Persians* were free from all taxes, but other provinces, besides money, were obliged to contribute considerably, each something of their proper product, towards the maintenance of the king, and in the time of war, of his army [t]. Thus the provinces of *Syrene* and *Barca* were, besides the ordinary taxes, assessed at such a quantity of corn as was sufficient to supply 120,000 men; the *Satrapi* of *Babylon* maintained the king and his court for four months, and moreover paid him a yearly tribute of 500 young eunuchs. The *Ethiopians* and adjoining people made a present every e

[h] Ælian. var. histor. c. xxxiv. [i] Herodot. l. iii. [k] Diodor. Sic. l. xvii. [l] Justin. l. x. [m] Esther, ii. 12—15. [n] See *Whiston*'s theory of the earth, Book II. p. 149. [o] Curt. l. 5. Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Arrian. l. iii. c. 16. Plutarch. in Alexand. [p] Herodot. l. iii. [q] See our preface to the first volume. [r] Justin. l. xiii. [s] Herodot. ubi supra. [t] Herodot. ubi supra. Strabo, l. xv. Xenoph. l. iv. Αναβασ. p. 261.

(U) *Artaxerxes* raised one to that dignity, as *Ælian* (43) informs us, who was not a *Persian*, but a *Mede* by birth, for having condemned his own son to death, according to the power which parents had in those days over their children. And *Cambyses* being informed that one of the judges had received a bribe, caused him upon conviction to be flay'd alive, and having covered the seat, on which he pronounced the unjust sentence, with his skin, appointed his son in his room, ordering him to sit in the same chair when he pronounced sentence (44). These judges, according to *Josephus* (45) and *Zonaras* (46), were seven in number, which they gather from the commission of *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra*, who *was sent of the King and his seven counsellors* (47).

(W) This conjecture is not altogether groundless: but we cannot help thinking it somewhat strange that the same writer should alledge the authority of *Q. Curtius* to prove that the ancient *Persian* year contained but 360 days, when that author tells us, in express terms, that the *Persian* year consisted of 365 days; his words are, *Magos trecenti & sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur — diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus* (48); that is, the *Mages* were followed by 365 youths, answering in number to the days of the year; for among the *Persians* too, the year is divided into 365 days. But *Curtius* in this, as in many other particulars, was certainly mistaken, since *Herodotus*, whose authority is of more weight, in speaking of the tributes which *Darius Hystaspes* laid on the provinces subject to the *Persian* empire, says, *that the* Cilicians *were obliged to furnish* Darius *with* 360 *white horses, that is, one for every day of the year* (49).

(43) *Ælian. l.* i. *var. histor. c.* xxxiv. (44) *Herodot. l.* v. *Val. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 3. (45) *Joseph. Antiquit. l.* xi. *c.* 6. (46) *Zonar. tom.* I. (47) *Ezra c.* vii. *v.* 14. *vid. & Esther* i. 14. (48) *Q. Curtius* iii. 3, 8. *& seqq.* (49) *Herodot. l.* iii.

third

a third year of two *Chenix's* (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* children, and twenty elephants teeth of the largest size. The *Colchians* or *Colchi* presented the king every fifth year with a hundred boys, and the like number of young women; the *Arabians* with a quantity of frankincense, answering the weight of 1000 talents, *&c.* [u]. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and hasten to the most entertaining and important point of the *Persian* history, their religion and religious ceremonies.

[u] Herodot. ubi supra.

(X) *Chenix* was a *Greek* measure containing such a quantity of wheat as served a man one day.

## SECT. III.

### *Of the Religion of the* Persians.

c THERE is hardly any subject which hath employed the pens of authors ancient or modern, that deserves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention than this which we are now about to discuss. The religion of the *Persians*, if we may credit the most learned and industrious writers [a], is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy of admiration, from its having subsisted now some thousand years, in as great or greater purity than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts which are still extant of the religion of the ancient *Persians* are far from corresponding exactly, and the descriptions which modern travellers have given us of those who profess this religion in *Persia* and *India*, even in our time, differ so widely, though not indeed in essential articles, d that it requires no small degree of patience to separate the ore from the dross, and to present the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed among heaps of fables and misrepresentations (A).

*The importance of this subject, and the difficulties which occur in treating of it.*

[a] Vid. Hist. Relig. Veter. Persar. per Thomam Hyde, 4to, Oxon. 1700. The religion of the *Persees* by Hen. Lord, 4to, London 1630. Relation de l'Etat present de Perse par Sanson, Paris 1695. Hist. of Chaldaick Philosophy by Thomas Stanley, Book ii. p. 67. London, Folio, 1662. Philos. General. per Theoph. Galeum, lib. i. c. 4. 8vo, London, 1676. Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, by Dean Prideaux, Vol. I. p. 299. 8vo, Lond. 1729. Herbert's, Della Valle's, Tavernier's travels, *&c.*

(A) The accounts we have of the *Persian* religion, are as we have stated them above of two sorts; first, such as have been collected from books; and these again may be divided into two classes, one extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, the other from *Oriental* historians; the second consists of what travellers deliver from their own knowledge, concerning the doctrines and practices of the present *Persians*, who themselves affirm, and are allowed by others, to practise the religion of their ancestors with little or no variation. As to such as have drawn their materials from books, they have been, as we shall frequently have occasion to shew, prodigiously misled in their opinions by authors who have too confidently delivered their own on this subject. For as to the *Greek* writers, such as *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *&c.* they delivered what they had from others, and that likewise under this disadvantage, that being polytheists themselves, they of course conceived that other nations had variety of gods as well as their own; and therefore reported that the *Persians* worshipped the fire, because they prayed before it; the air, because in their devotions they lift up their eyes towards it; and the sun, because they professed to reverence that glorious planet (1). Nor was this all, they forged for the sake of making their histories uniform, such sacrifices and other religious rites as seemed to correspond best with the notions which they had framed of the *Persian* religion, and attributed them to the *Persians*. Thus *Herodotus*, speaking of the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, relates impossible things of the *Magi*, with as much boldness as if he had been eye-witness of them. "The country "(says he) that lies about the mountain *Pangæus* is "called *Phillis*; on the west side, extending to the "river *Angites*, which falls into the *Strymon* itself. "At their arrival the *Magi* offered a sacrifice of "white horses to this river; and after they had "thrown them into the stream with a composition of "various drugs, the army broke up, and marched "to the *Nine Ways* of the *Edonians*, where they "found bridges prepared for their passage over the "*Strymon*. But being informed that this place was "called by the name of the *Nine Ways*, they took "nine of the sons and daughters of the inhabitants, "and buried them alive, as the manner of the *Per*-"*sians* is. And I have heard that *Amestris*, the "wife of *Xerxes*, having attained to a considerable "age, caused fourteen children of the best families in "*Persia* to be interred alive, for a sacrifice of "thanks to that god, who, they say, is be-"neath the earth (2)." We have shewn in the text, that the *Persians* were indeed reverencers of water as well as fire, but that they sacrificed to it, or threw any thing into a running stream, is a flat contradiction to this very notion of theirs, which consisted in preserving the purity of those elements, and

(1) *Herodotus, Clio, p.* 25. *Strab. Geograph. lib.* vx. *Diog. Laertius in Proœm.* (2) *Herodotus Polymn. p.* 183.

IF we had still any considerable collection of the ancient *Persian* records, we should doubtless find in them what would satisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wise men; but as these are most of them either long since destroyed, or at least are hidden from us, we must be content to follow such lights as yet remain, and where we cannot make the reader understand things as clearly as we would, it is our duty to make them however as clear as we can. This is certain, that the *Persians* have preserved the worship of one God, and other essential articles of true religion [b] through a long course of ages, without suffering themselves to be drawn over by fraud, or submitting through force, to any new faith, though they have so often changed their masters; a thing very singular, and in some sort commendable, if we consider how much they have been depressed, since the death of *Yezdegberd*, the last king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the *Mohammedans*, who are wont to call them and christians with like contempt infidels; though the principles of the former as well as the latter are far more reasonable than the ill connected legends of the *Arabian* impostor; and though the modern *Persians* (taking that proper name in a religious, not a civil sense) are unanimously acknowledged to be as honest, as charitable and inoffensive a people as any upon earth. So that in God's due time, we have just reason to believe they will at last acknowledge the truth of the gospel dispensation, and be included within the pale of the christian church (B).

WE c

[b] Hist. relig. veter. Pers. c. xxxiii. Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 303.

and not in polluting them with blood and dead carcasses; and in respect to sacrifices, *Herodotus* himself in another place acknowledges as much (3). Q. *Curtius* with like hardiness describes the chariot of *Darius*, in which he appeared in the field against *Alexander*; "it was adorned (says he) with images "of their gods in silver and gold, the axle-tree "thereof glittered with precious stones; upon it "were two images of gold, the one representing "*Ninus*, the other *Belus*, of a cubit stature each; "between them was an eagle of gold displaying "her wings over both, &c. (4)." All this is downright fiction; *Ninus* and *Belus* were never worshipped by the *Persians*; they were not wont to erect images, or to worship them; what makes it probable, that *Curtius* was the inventor of this whole story, is this; that *Arrian* (5), an author of great accuracy, and who wrote from excellent materials, says not one word of all this; nor indeed does any other ancient historian. But *Curtius* was so great a rhetorician that he could not write plainly, but on the contrary loaded all his descriptions with ornaments without any regard to probability or truth. As to the relations of travellers, we need not wonder that they differ about the religious opinions, rites and ceremonies of the *Persians*, or as some call them *Persees*, since they very seldom agree exactly, even in their descriptions of less intricate things than these. As for *Henry Lord*, whose small treatise in relation to these people has been received as a kind of oracle, merely because he ventured to talk very authoritatively therein; it is scarce possible to determine from what he says, whether they are idolaters or no: he calls them so, it is true, and speaks of their worshipping the fire in an idolatrous manner; yet the better part of his book, which consists of what he heard from one of their priests, contains nothing which can justy his opinion (6). On the whole we have thought it necessary to peruse, and shall on occasion make use of whatever is related by *Herbert*, *Ovington*, *Tavernier*, *Thevenot*, *Chardin*, or other travellers concerning the *Persees*, their tenets and customs; but it is our happiness to follow a more capable guide than any of these; the very learned and judicious doctor *Thomas Hyde*, who from the mighty stores of various learning, which he possessed as well as from the curious observations he in his travels had made, composed his valuable history of the religion of the ancient *Persians*, wherein every thing he says down is supported by ancient monuments, or by the express authority of that law which this people professed to have received from *Zerdusht*, a compendium of whose writings contained in the book *Sad-der*, the *Enchiridion* of the modern *Persees*, is annexed to the doctor's treatise (7).

(B) Since the introduction of the *Mohammedan* religion into *Persia*, the ancient inhabitants have been exposed to various persecutions on account of their religion; for the *Mohammedans* being generally speaking bigots, they are not content with giving these unhappy men always ill language, but on every occasion are stirring up their princes to oppress and destroy under colour of religion these relicts of the ancient *Persians*. It is true the *Mohammedan Persians* have in all ages had amongst them some men of learning and genius; yet few or none have ever enquired thoroughly into the doctrines of these poor people: on the contrary, they are as ready as any to load them with opprobrious names, and such as they no way deserve; thus they call them *Noguscha*, i. e. *Zabian*, or deserter of the true faith; *Ghebri*, i. e. infidel: this word is differently spelt as it is differently pronounced, the most usual way of writing it is *Ghaur*; they likewise style an ancient *Persian Ateش-perest*, i. e. fire-worshipper; *Philiv* or *Caliv*, i. e. fool or madman; the most gentle term they make use of is *Mogh*, that is, *Magian*, but then they frequently say that a *Mogh* is *Ateش-perest* and *Zindik*, that is, a fire-worshipper and a Sadducee: for among other calumnies with which they load these poor men, that of denying a future state is one. However, though they may amongst themselves destroy their good name, yet with strangers their aspersions do the *Persians* no hurt; for they looking on the innocence and integrity of these poor peoples lives, cannot avoid affording them both pity and esteem: it would be an easy matter to support all that has been advanced in this note by quotations from the best accounts we have

(3) *Clio*, p. 25. (4) Q. *Curt. lib.* iii. *cap.* 3. (5) *lib.* ii. *cap.* 11. (6) *Lord's history of the Persees*, p. 10, 44. (7) *Magorum liber Sad der Zoroastris Præcepta & Canones continens: In usum Ecclesiæ Magorum & Fidelium eorum omnium.*

*Origin of the* Persian *religion*

a WE have heretofore shewn that the original inhabitans of *Persia* descended from *Elam* the son of *Shem* [c]; and from these two patriarchs, it is most probable they derived the true religion, which at first flourished among them with the utmost purity, but in process of time was corrupted by an intermixture of superstitious rites and heretical opinions; at such time as the rest of the oriental nations were overspread with that deluge of false religion, which generally goes under the name of *Zabiism*. From this, it is affirm'd by some ancient authors, they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch *Abraham*, who, they say, undertook the reformation of their religion, and having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had imbibed, as from the superfluous ceremonies they had adopted, left it them once more in its b pure and primitive condition and simplicity, wherein he transmitted it to his own descendants [d]. But if this were so, they were a second time corrupted and engaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in suspicious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconsistent with the true faith (C).

*The* Persians *pretend to derive their religion from* Abraham.

*They were always zealous in the service of One God.*

HOWEVER the splendor of their religion might be darkened with these spots, yet it was never so far obscured as to admit any degree of comparison between it and the worship of neighbouring nations (excepting the *Jews*;) for the *Persians* continued zealous adorers of one all-wise and omnipotent God; whom they held to be infinite and omnipresent; so that they could not bear that he should be represented by either molten or graven images, or that the creator and lord of the universe should c be circumscribed within the narrow bounds of temples [e]; on this account they overturned the statues and places of publick worship among the *Greeks* as unworthy of the deity, and not, as they have been falsely charged by the *Greeks*, from any sacrilegious contempt of the gods of other countries. In the decline indeed of the ancient *Persian* empire, the worship of *Venus* was introduced by one of their princes; but it was condemned by the *Magi* [f], who remained firm to this great article of their faith, *There is one God*, and took care to transmit it religiously to their posterity.

*An account of the nature of that respect shewn by them to fire and to the sun.*

THE only objection to which the ancient and modern *Persians* have rendered themselves liable, flows from the respect which they have constantly paid to fire and to the sun; yet if this matter be seriously and impartially considered, it will be found that d there is nothing of idolatry in this respect of theirs, but that they only worship God in the fire, and not fire as a God. That they should have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it than of any of the rest,

[c] Vol. I. p. 162. [d] Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. c. ii. & iii. Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 313. [e] Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 3. HERODOTUS, Clio, p. 25. [f] Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 90.

have of *Persia* and the *Indies*; but instead of fatiguing the reader, it may perhaps answer the same end, if we here set down the five precepts which these *Persians* acknowledge as the rule of life, which every *Behedin* or *Lay-man* is bound to obey, as they are reported by Mr. *Lord*.

I. "To have shame ever with them, as a remedy "against all sin; for a man would never oppress "his inferiors if he had any shame; a man would "never steal, if he had any shame; a man would "never bear false witness, if he had any shame; "a man would never be overcome with drink, if "he had any shame. But because this is laid aside, "men are ready to commit any of these, and there-"fore the *Behedin* or *Lay-man* must think of shame.

II. "To have fear always present with them, "and that every time the eye twinkled or closed "his lids together, they should stand in fear at those "times of their prayers, lest they should not go to "heaven; the thought of which should make them "fear to commit sin, for that God sees what man-"ner of ones they are, that look up towards him."

III. "That whensoever they are to do any thing, "to think whether the thing be good or bad that "they go about, whether commanded or forbidden "in the *Zundavastaw*; if prohibited, they must not "do it; if allowed by the book of religion, they "may embrace and prosecute the same.

IV. "That whosoever of God's creatures they "should first behold in the morning, it should be a "monitor to put them in mind of their thanks-"givings to God, that had given such good things "for mens service and use.

V. "That whensoever they pray by day, they "should turn their faces towards the sun; and "whensoever they prayed by night, they should in-"cline towards the moon: for that they are the "two great lights of heaven, and God's two wit-"nesses: most contrary to *Lucifer*, who loveth dark-"ness more than light."

(C) That the *Persian*, as well as other religions, receded by degrees from its first principles, and suffered by the introduction of some superstitions, cannot seem strange to any considerate person. The *Persians* themselves confess it, and acknowledge that their famous lawgiver *Zerdusht* came to restore their primitive doctrines, and to purge away those errors which time and the industry of *Zabian* hereticks had introduced. In what these errors consisted, the superstitious ceremonies which attended them, and the pains it cost this restorer of magism to root these foolish superstitions out, will be delivered in the life of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, which we shall give the reader at large in our history of the *Persians* from the *Oriental* writers under the reign of that monarch in whose days he flourished; for to have inserted so long a digression here, must have rendered this chapter very prolix, and at the same time obliged us to frequent recapitulations in the subsequent history.

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to be the symbol to them of the divine nature, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt-offerings at *Jerusalem* [g], that God revealed himself to *Moses* by a flame in a bush [h], and chose to testify his presence in the host of *Israel* by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of smoke in the day [i]. As to their veneration of the sun, it is founded on their belief, that he is the noblest creature of the Almighty visible to us, and that his throne is placed therein. Nor need we wonder either at the mistakes of ancient writers, or at the stories told us by some *Mohammedan* authors on this head, since it was very difficult for them to get a true knowledge of the religious tenets and customs of this people, because they were forbidden by their legislator *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, as appears from the book *Sad-der*, to teach either their ancient language, or its character to strangers, or to instruct them in their religion [k]. If any farther regard had been had to the sun in ancient times, it would certainly have descended with the other parts of their religion to the modern *Persians*; but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious doctor *Hyde* assures us: for an intimate friend of his being by him requested to enquire concerning the worship of *Mithra*, (so the *Persians* call the sun) he accordingly asked some of the priests of the *Persians* settled in *India*, *at what seasons, and with what ceremonies they adored the sun?* They answered, *That they never adored the sun, or paid any sort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets, but only turned themselves towards the sun when praying, because they looked upon it to come nearest to the nature of fire.* The same excellent author observes, that among the precepts of *Zoroaster*, his disciples are directed to pay daily to the sun certain *Niyâsh*, i. e. salutations consisting only in words (and those too addressed to God) without any mention of *Prestish*, i. e. worship by bowing of the body. Yet if any custom of this sort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of idolatrous adoration; for the *Persian Mohammedans* who are zealous detesters of that impiety, and the *Armenians* who dwell in *Persia*, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the sign of the cross, and bowing profoundly low at the sight of the rising sun [l]. To say the truth, adoration, that is, prostrating or bowing the body, was even among the *Hebrews* a civil as well as a religious rite, or to speak more properly the same word, *viz.* השתחוה *Hishtabhavaah* was used to express this act of reverence, when applied to God or man. An eminent rabbin says, that this as an act of devotion was not to be performed out of the sanctuary, that is, out of the temple [m]; it is forbid by the second commandment to be paid to idols, but as a civil rite, the *Jews* were at liberty thus to testify their respect to angels, and to persons of very high dignity. On the whole therefore there can be no more reason to suspect these *Persians* of idolatry on this account, than any other of the *Oriental* nations, since the sun is no more than the *Kibla* (D) of the *Persians*, as the temple of *Jerusalem* was to the *Jews*, and that of *Mecca* is to the *Mohammedans*, who in this respect are so scrupulous that they have tables to determine the bearing of *Mecca* [n], from whatever place they are in.

*The* Mithra *of the* Persians *never esteemed a deity.*

As to the notions which the *Persians* have of the sun, they are not, as we shall see hereafter, perfectly agreed in them; some believing the throne of God placed therein, and that it is the seat of paradise; others entertaining a different opinion as to paradise, but praying nevertheless towards the sun as a symbol of the deity on account of its purity. It is farther certain, that the *Persians* never called *Mithra* a god, or ascribed to it any name of the divinity; and so far from directing any

[g] 2 Chron. vii. 1. Levit. x. 1. [h] Exod. iii. 2. Acts vii. 30. [i] Exod. xiii. 21. Numb. xiv. 14. Neh. ix. 19. Psalm lxxviii. 14. 1 Cor. x. 1. [k] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 5. [l] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 5, & 6. [m] Iarchi sup. Levit. xxvi. 1. [n] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 95.

(D) That is the point of adoration, such as Daniel in particular is said to have practised when he prayed with his face turned towards the holy city [o]. This is not a proper place to inquire, how such a notion of directing one's prayers towards any holy place, or peculiar point of the compass, became so generally received. If the inquisitive reader would have a more exact account of this matter than it is proper in such a note as this to give him, he may have recourse to the works of the learned Mr. *John Gregory* of *Oxford* (8), who in treating of two texts of scripture which seem to have some relation to this point (9), hath shewn a consummate knowledge in various kinds of literature, as well as a genius perfectly well turned for such intricate and abstruse inquiries. For us it is sufficient that the fact is as we have stated it; since whether it be right or wrong, the *Persians* must be as much in the right, or as little in the wrong, as any other nation which hath fallen into this way of thinking.

[o] Dan. vi. 10. (8) *4to, London, A. D.* 1684. *p.* 73. (9) *Zech.* iii. 8. vi. 12.

a petitions thereto, they constantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the sun with the praises of the most high God, to whom alone their prayers are addressed [o]. As to the fire before which the *Persians* worship, taking that word in an extended sense, they acknowledge nothing of divinity therein, but esteeming it a symbol of the deity, they first prostrate themselves before it, and then standing up they pray to God. Thus among the ruins of the ancient palace at *Persepolis* there are seen many marble statues of kings standing praying to God before the figures of the sun and fire, which are also placed on the wall before them, only one figure is seen kneeling with the same symbols before it as the rest. As the fire in the temple b was reputed sacred among the *Jews*, so the *Persians* might from them take this custom of praying before sacred fires; which is the more likely, since it was the manner of God's chosen people to prostrate themselves before the altar, and then to offer up their petitions. It was also a custom among the *Persians* to tender oaths before the fire upon the altar, in which also they agreed with the *Jews*, as they did farther in offering their victims, and other offerings either by or upon it †, and in preserving it from being polluted by impure fuel, in which last case the *Persians* went so far as to punish offenders with death. Their kings also and principal persons were wont sometimes to feed the sacred fires with precious oils and rich aromaticks, styling these *Epulæ Ignis* or fire dainties [p]; but still all things done to or by fire were per- c formed to the honour of God, and terminated solely in him; at least, if we may credit the concurring testimonies of *Persic* writers yet remaining, and the constant asseverations of those who still profess this religion (E).

*Nor the fire.*

There is yet another point in which the *Persians* are to be vindicated before we can leave the learned reader satisfied, that they never were idolaters. It is this: they had amongst them after the time of *Zoroaster*'s reformation of their religion certain caves, adorned not only with figures of the sun but of the planets, and other heavenly bodies, which symbolical representations were called *Mithriac* figures, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worship; but they were far from being so among the *Persians*, who were a d wise and well-instructed people; for with them they served only as mathematical symbols for preserving the true system of the universe; to which end, and to no other, they were used, and perhaps invented by *Zoroaster* himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove at last, when we come to speak of the life, doctrines, and writings of that famous man [q].

*Nor any other symbolical representations.*

Having thus shewn in general the nature of the *Persian* religion, and that it was far preferable to any of the systems received in other nations either in the east or in the west, we shall proceed to shew what the *Persians* themselves have taught concerning the establishment of their religion, as well as what are the doctrines as to essential points universally received amongst them.

e The great fame of *Abraham*, which from a concurrence of various causes had diffused itself throughout the whole east, induced the *Persians* as well as the *Zabians*

[o] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. c. v. † See before vol. I. p. 523. d. 643, & seq. [p] Hyde, c. xxii. p. 290. [q] Hyde, c. 4. p. 118. Sect. v. of this Vol.

(E) When we consider the point in dispute, which is plainly this, *Whether the ancient* Persians *had rational or irrational notions of the deity or not?* and what degree of evidence there is on each side; it may seem surprizing, that it is yet made a matter of dispute among the learned. *Herodotus*, who elsewhere tells us strange stories of the religious ceremonies of the *Persians* on hearsay, speaking expressly on this head, says all that can be wished or desired in their favour; for he owns that the ancient *Persians* had neither temples, altars, nor images, and therefore we ought rather to regard this than the other parts of his book, wherein he manifestly relates what other *Greek* writers, full of spleen against *Xerxes* and his successor, had written of their inhuman sacrifices, and other acts of religious cruelty (10). *Xenophon*'s authority would be of great weight in the present case, if he had writ decisively, and spoken things of his own knowledge; but the high commendations he has given the *Persians*, and the mighty character he hath afforded their laws, hath begot a doubt in the minds of the learned, whether he did not mingle his own ideas with the accounts he gives us of the customs and manners of the *Persians* (11). *Plutarch* in a passage hereafter more fully cited speaks very respectfully of *Zoroaster*, and ascribes nothing to him unworthy of a very wise man. There were some, he tells us, of the ancients who asserted two supreme beings, the one the author of all good, the other of all evil. Others who admitted but one God, the father of good, but who acknowledged there was a demon from whom all evil proceeded; this last, says he, was the doctrine of *Zoroaster*, who flourished four thousand years before the *Trojan* war (12). The same author then proceeds to a succinct account of the doctrine of the *Magi*, which we shall have occasion to insert in our text. Dr. *Hyde* has produced an authentick relation.

(10) *Herodot. Clio.* (11) *Vid. Cyropædia.* (12) *De Isid. & Osir.*

to ascribe the system of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch, styling their faith at all times *Kish-Abraham*. They likewise ascribe the books which they hold sacred to this father of the faithful, and as much believe him to be the author of their *Sosh* or bible, as we believe the gospel to have come to us from Christ, or the *Mohammedans* that God revealed to *Mohammed* his *Koran* [r]. In attributing books to *Abraham*, they agree with the *Jews*, and with the *Mohammedans*, the latter ascribing to him no less than ten treatises, perhaps all with the like reason. The *Persians* say farther, that *Abraham*, while he resided amongst them, dwelt in the city of *Balch*, which they from thence style the city of *Abraham*. But though it must be allowed, that the old *Persian* religion agreed in many great points with the religion of *Abraham*, and though it should be admitted that his fame might even in his life-time be with very advantagious circumstances published throughout all *Persia*, yet it is so far from being evident, that it is scarce probable, he went himself into that country, much less that he executed the office of a prophet there, and resided at *Balch*. On the contrary it is far more credible, that this notion took rise from the suggestion of *Zoroaster*, who had his learning and his divinity out of the book of *Moses*, and other sacred books among the *Jews*, and that the city of *Balch* received the appellation of the city of *Abraham* from *Zoroaster* on account of his making it the residence of the archimagus or high priest of the religion of *Abraham*, and not from that patriarch's being supposed to live there at all in ancient times [s].

*Whether Abraham was the author of the Persee religion.*

THOUGH fire was held the symbol of the divinity among the *Persians*, yet the other elements were also highly honoured by them, insomuch that the *Greeks* and other foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them *Cultores Elementorum*, or worshippers of the elements; a flagrant calumny, since all the respect they paid them, arose from their conceiving them to be the first seeds of all things, wherefore they studied by every method possible to preserve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account they prevented as much as they could the air from being infected by ill smells; and for their officiousness on this head, *Herodotus*, according to his usual custom, represents them as believing the air a deity. *They hold* (says he) *the whole expanse to be* Jupiter [t]. That they might in like manner preserve the earth from impurities, they would not bury their dead therein, but suffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, that finding a tomb in their bowels they might not infect the air; in fine, the preserving all the elements pure, was by them esteemed an act of high piety, and as such, meriting the divine favour in this world, and in the world to come; for in all things they were great affecters of cleanliness, and studious in an especial manner, in avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were in a peculiar manner the objects of their care, because they were the most liable to be contaminated, and hence the *Greeks* mistaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without scruple, worshippers of those elements, and tell us formal stories of the sacrifices offered to both. It is very true, that kings often do extravagant things, and such as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern; so that it is not impossible that some of the *Persian* princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge: but it is not likely, because the *Persians* universally held that whoever wilfully polluted either fire or water, deserved death in this world, and everlasting punishment in that to come; and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters were certainly damned. For these reasons the *Magi*, where-ever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, assigning them keepers,

*The other elements revered by the Persees.*

[r] HYDE, c. ii. p. 28. [s] Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. ii. p. 318. [t] HYDE, c. iii. D'HERBELOT, Art. Balkhe.

lation of the sentiments of the ancient *Persians* on this subject, as collected from their successors the *Persees* settled in *India*, an abstract of which will likewise be inserted in our text (13), and the curious reader may peruse the whole of it in the treatise of the excellent author beforementioned. In the same place may be found the testimony of *Sharistan*, who wrote in *Arabick* an account of the religions of the east, and who in speaking of the faith of the *Persians*, does them all the justice that can be (14); but what is of far greater consequence to us than any authority of friends or enemies whatsoever, the book *Sadder*, containing the canon of the *Persian* faith, is not only extant among the *Persees*, but even amongst ourselves, and every page therein affords us instances of *Zoroaster*'s wisdom, and of the rectitude of the religion he established as to fundamental points, and especially as to the belief of one infinitely wise, eternal, self-existent being (15).

(13) *Relig. veter. Persar. c.* xxii. *p.* 292. (14) *Ibid.* (15) *Vid. Sadder liber Magorum ap. Hyde Relig. vet. Persar.*

a keepers, whose sole office it was to look carefully to this matter, and to see that no filthy thing was thrown or dropped into them, and for this they had stated, and well settled salaries. For abhorring, as they did, the representing the almighty lord of heaven and earth, by artificial images of stone or metal, they chose to preserve fire and water in their utmost purity, that they might serve for symbols of the divine nature, and put them in mind of the infinite purity of God. As they held the ministration of angels, so they believed that one of these celestial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general; this angel they called *Ardisur* or *Arduisur*, for whom a particular *Niyâish* or salutation was prescribed, the title of which in their ancient books runs thus, *Hymn to* Ardisur, *for the benefits received* b *from the sea, rivers, wells, and fountains.* In this hymn they praised him for taking care of all these places, and prayed that he might continue so to do, returning God thanks for the various uses made of water, and the mighty advantages resulting to mankind from his wise disposition thereof, throughout the earth. They were of opinion, that in paradise such people were peculiarly blessed, as had been careful of defiling water, and had in this sense preserved a respect for that element during their lives, for which cause they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is their private fires, and the water used in their houses; for it does not appear that they ever admitted women to minister in religious matters except in the mysteries of *Venus*, which, as we observed before, was a heresy, and as c such detested by the orthodox Magians. This love to purity, and especial regard to water, may stand sufficiently justified by the practice of the *Jews*, and the precepts in their law for corporal purification, as well as by the great advantage of preserving cleanliness in those excessive hot climates; especially if we consider that in washing the hands, *&c.* and putting on the garments, they were bound to use solemn forms of prayer, as indeed there were set ejaculations to be used in the performance of the most ordinary actions of human life *.

*The purity with which they preserved the elements.*

With respect to the use they made of fire in their national religion, the priests who attended it by no means deserved the appellation of *Igniarii Sacerdotes*; i. e. fire-priests, for they were truly *Sacerdotes Dei*, priests of the almighty, who though, d like the *Jewish* priests they waited on, and took care to preserve the sacred fire from being extinguished; yet this was far from being their only duty: for these, as well as those, read every day publick prayers, and did other sacerdotal offices, as we shall hereafter declare more largely. Yet such has been the hard fate of these people, that because their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill understood, they have been branded with the name of *Atesh-perest*, i. e. fire-worshippers, so dangerous a thing it is to carry to any excess even innocent ceremonies. They never confessed their sins to any but to God, nor besought a remission of them from any but from him; yet they inclined to perform these publick acts of devotion before the symbol of the deity; that is, before fire, or before the sun, as the witness of their actions. In like manner the *Jews* confessed their sins to God in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them, so that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not be altogether free from some spice of superstition (F).

*Their priests.*

In

* Hyde, c. vi. p. 137.

(F) If we were to undertake a critical review of what modern authors have written about these people and their opinions, it would require a far larger treatise than this whole chapter. This assertion, bold as it may seem, shall give such a pregnant instance of it, as will sufficiently prove the truth of my observation. *Mr. Tavernier* has spent about fifteen pages in his account of these people, in which there are at least fifty capital mistakes, which any man may discover who is at all versed in *Oriental* literature. In his section of the origine and prophets of this sect, he confounds *Zerdusht* with *Abraham* in such a manner, that it would cost a great deal of time to determine what part of the story belongs to the one and what to the other. He tells us of a king whom he calls *Nembrot*, probably *Nimrod*, and ascribes to him things that no body ever heard of before; nay the very name he has given the prophet is sufficient to shew how much he was confused on this subject, and consequently how little credit is due to what he relates of the religion of the *Gaurs* or *Gabres*, as he calls them. Their prophet's name, as set down by him, was *Ebrahim-zer-Ateucht*; he tells us of books he received from heaven, that they contain there ligious precepts of these people, and that he himself has seen a great book which was attributed to him. But I must desire the reader to take notice, that I do not arraign Mr. *Tavernier*'s sincerity as to facts which lay within the compass of his judgment; on the contrary, we are persuaded that he wrote nothing which he did not take to be true, as appears by the following account of their worship of the fire, which is the title of one of his sections: "The "*Gaurs* render no such honours to the fire as agree "with this term of worship, they are not idola-"ters, they acknowledge one God, the creator of "the heaven and of the earth, and him only they "profess to worship." In the rest of his sections he speaks distinctly enough of what he saw; but he relates what he heard in such a manner, that a person who knew as little of the matter as he, could

not

In the most ancient times the *Persians* had no temples at all, but rear'd altars, whereon they preserved their sacred fires on the tops of mountains, and other solitary places [x]. It was *Zoroaster* who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving these fires more conveniently, to erect over each of them a *Pyræum*, or fire-temple, but this had no relation to *Mithra*, or the sun, towards whom they could better testify their respect in the open air; neither did it subvert their ancient principle, that the lord of the universe ought not to be enclosed within walls, for their *Pyræa* did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image or semblance of the divinity, but only the symbol of his purity, and as it were a shadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the *Greek* temples by *Xerxes*, and other acts of a like nature, were perfectly consistent with their reverence for fire, and their respect for the sun. Of this though many *Greek* and *Oriental* writers were entirely ignorant, and were consequently prone to misrepresent them, yet authors of great candor, and more extensive knowledge, have readily acknowledged it, and testify'd to the honour of the *Persians*, that they worshipped only one God, without representing him by any image or picture whatsoever [y].

*Their Pyræa or temples.*

The *Persians* in early times acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent being, the creator and preserver of all things; him they called *Yezad*, *Izad*, or *Izud*, also *Ormuzd*, *Hormuz*, or *Hormizda*; joining this with the modern name they say *Hormizda Chodâ*; O supreme God. They acknowledge also an evil created being whom they styled *Abariman*, *Abreman*, or *Abriman*, and in verse *Abrimanan*, which signifies amongst them the devil. To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name in the ancient *Persian* books was thus wrote, *ωνωιαγαγ* to intimate that as he was the implacable and perpetual enemy of mankind, so they maintained an everlasting enmity against him and all his works. The modern *Persians* call the devil *Div* [z].

*Their notions of good and evil beings.*

Some have asserted that the ancient *Persians* held a co-eternity of these two principles, but writers better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation agree, that *Abariman* was created out of darkness, and that *Oromasdes* first subsisted alone, that by him the light and darkness were created, that in the composition of this world good and evil are mixed together, and so shall continue till the end of all things, when each shall be separated and reduced to its own sphere. *Plutarch*, who was a very ingenious and a very inquisitive man, hath given us a long account of the doctrines of *Zoroaster*, very conformable to what has already been said, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the ancient patriarchs, except in a few strokes of fable, which were either inserted by the mistake of the reporter of that abstract, or were invented by *Zerdusht* to account for those things which surpass human understanding [a]. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkness thus. *Oromasdes*, say they, said once within his mind, how shall

[x] Herod. Clio. [y] Shahristan, &c. ap. Hyde, c. iii. p. 105. [z] Hyde, c. xi, xiii.
[a] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir.

not fail of being deceived (16). Sir *John Chardin*, whom we have often commended, and who without all question was one of the most intelligent men that ever obliged the publick with an account of his travels, speaks very contemptibly of these people, and would have us believe there is no sort of learning amongst them, but a little astrology; he says, their priests talk confusedly of their religion, and that they were not positive themselves as to the place where their sacred fire was kept (17). But though this gentleman was not so happy as to meet with intelligent persons of this religion, others have; and the accounts they have written are clear and satisfactory, nay and supported by undeniable evidence. M. *Le Brun* by the interposition of the *English* agent had a conversation with one of their priests, from whom he learned many things exactly conformable to what we have delivered. It would therefore be needless to insert that conversation here, but it may not perhaps be amiss to give the answer of the priest to M. *Le Brun*'s first question what he thought of the creation of the world, and the power of God. He said he believed God to be the being of beings, a spirit of light, above the comprehension of human understandings, infinite, in all places, almighty, from whom nothing could be hid, and against whose will nothing could be done. This conference happened in the month of *January*, 1707 (18). As to the *Pyræa* or fire-temples, they were formerly as frequent as parish churches in other countries; but since the destruction of the ancient *Persians* these structures are by no means common. The *Persees* content themselves with saying their prayers before the common fires, and their priests officiate before them likewise. They have however fire-temples or fire-chapels still in some places, and the chief of them is supposed to be in the province of *Kermnan*, where there are more *Gaurs* than in any other part of *Persia*. Anciently their temples were splendid, and said to have been dedicated not only to the sun, but to the rest of the planets, in which however there was no more idolatry, than there is in our dedicating churches to this or that saint (19).

(16) *Tavern. lib.* iv. *c.* v iii. *p.* 480. (17) *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 179. (18) *Le Brun, tom.* ii. *p.* 387
(19) *Hyde Relig. veter. Pers. c.* xxix. *p.* 253.

my

a my power appear if there be nothing to oppose me? this reflection called *Abriman* into being, who thenceforward opposed all the designs of God, and thereby in spite of himself contributes to his glory. The souls of men according to them were at first unbodied spirits, but the Almighty resolving to make use of them in warring against *Abriman*, clothed them with flesh, promising them that the light should never forsake them till *Abriman* and all his servants were subdued; after which the resurrection of the dead is to follow, with the separation of the light from the darkness, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. To say the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of all things, the state of our first parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkness, the last judgment, the salvation of the good, b and the punishment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in the scripture on these heads. Only they have a long account of the war between God and the author of evil, which they say ended in a complete victory gained over the latter, and his adherents, who were constrained to surrender at discretion. That the Almighty did not annihilate his enemies, because without opposition his attributes could not have appeared with such lustre as they now do (G). That the world had existed three thousand years before this decisive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thousand. That after this defeat, God by holding up three fingers, gave the evil-one leave to chuse which three thousand years of the nine thousand yet to come he would please to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind, c whereupon he chose the middlemost. Before, say they, this power was given to *Abriman*, man lived in a state of innocence; but that since his fall, war, and all other evils, have been introduced; that these however shall in time pass away, and man live again for a certain space in peace and glory. They place the day of judgment at the end of twelve thousand years; and as to the damned, they assert that they shall be punished according to the heinousness of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inspectors of their sufferings: at last however even these are to be pardoned, but never to be admitted to the joys of the blessed, but to remain in a certain place by themselves, and to wear in their foreheads a black mark as a badge of that state from whence through the mercy of God they were freed [b].

*Of God's creating* Abriman, *or the devil.*

*Of the duration of the world.*

d THE point in which the *Persians* differ most from us is as to the manner of God's creating the world, which they say happened not in six days, but in six seasons, each season containing many days; the first of these they style *Mid-yuzeram*, containing forty-two days; in this, say they, the heavens were created with all things belonging to them. The second they style *Mid-yusham*, containing sixty days, wherein the waters were created. The third is by them named *Pitishahim*, including seventy-five days, in this the earth was made. The fourth they called *Iyaseram*, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees. The fifth goes under the name of *Midiyarim*, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures received being. The last they style *Hamespitamidim*, comprehending seventy-five days, wherein e was made man [c].

*Of its creation.*

IT is now time for us to speak of the rites and ceremonies of the *Persees*, antient and modern, in the exercise of their religion, and every thing relating thereto. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in asserting an uninterrupted suc-

[b] HYDE, c. ix. [c] LORD's Religion of the Persees, c. viii. p. 41.

(G) In the course of ages it is not to be wondered, that false notions crept into their religion in some places; as among the *Magi* of *Cappadocia*, who not only worshipped with idolatrous circumstances their sacred fires, but also introduced images in their temples. But that heresy, which of all others threatened the religion of *Zoroaster* most was *Manechæism*; for *Manes* that arch-heretick resided long in *Persia*, and there broached his absurd notion of two eternal self-existent beings, and by mingling the doctrines of *Magiism* and Christianity, made up a monstrous system of incredible doctrines, attended with very ridiculous practices (20). However these notions were rooted out, as will be hereafter shewn by the authority of the civil magistrates, so that the present *Persees* have amongst them none of these whimsical chimæras, but retain the doctrine of their ancestors in all its purity, and are a religious as well as a most inoffensive people, tenacious of their own principles, but complaisant to other people, though very reserved; from whence proceeds the many mistakes that have been made about them. When they do speak they never fail to express themselves in such a manner as fully purges all suspicion of their being idolaters; but they cannot help shewing on such occasions an inveterate dislike against two persons celebrated by the greatest part of mankind as heroes and conquerors, but looked on by them as murderers and robbers. These are *Alexander* the Great and *Mohammed*, both capital enemies of their country and nation (21).

(20) *Hyde, R. P. P.* c. xxi. p. 275. (21) *Chardin, tom.* ii. p. 180.

*Their ceremonies and publick worship.*

cession of persons instructed in their sacred mysteries, from the time of *Zerdusht* a to this day. Their ordinary priests are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more severe than those given to the laity, as the reader will perceive at the bottom of the page. Their high priests were under still stricter obligations, and all of them were bound to discharge their sacerdotal offices with mighty exactness and devotion [d]. As to their publick worship, it was, and is still thus performed: in every pyræum, or fire-temple, there stood an altar, on which burnt the sacred fire, which was always kept alive by the priest. When the people assembled in order to their devotions, the priest put on a white habit, and a mitre, with a gauze or cloth passing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the *Liturgy*, which he held in one hand, speaking very b softly, and in a whispering sort of tone, holding in his left hand certain small twigs of a sacred tree, which as soon as the service was over he threw into the fire. At these times all who were present put up their prayers to God, for such things as they stood in need of, and when prayers were finished, the priest and people withdrew silently, and with all other tokens of awful respect. All these rites are still observed. But to prevent, as far as possible, the people from falling into idolatry, the priest now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reasons why they worship before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it with reverence. This exhortation runs usually in these words: "Forasmuch as fire was "delivered to *Zerdusht* by the almighty, as the symbol of his majesty, wherefore c "it was required that we should esteem it holy, and respect it as an emanation from "the fountain of light, and that we should love all things which resemble it, espe-"cially the sun and moon, the two great witnesses of God, the sight of which "should put us in mind of his omniscience; therefore, let us, without superstition, "keep the command given us, evermore praising God for the great usefulness "of this element, and beseeching him to make us always bear in mind the obli-"gations we are under to do our duty towards him, which is as necessary to the "health and happiness of the mind, as light and fire are to the ease and welfare of "the body [e] (H).

*Festivals.*

They keep yearly six festivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of d the six seasons, wherein all things were created; after each of these feasts they keep a fast of five days in memory of God's resting five days as they believe at each of those seasons. As often as they eat either flesh, fowl, or fish, they carry a small

[d] Hyde, c. xxviii. Lord's account of the *Persian* religion. [e] Beauchamp's essays on important subjects, sect. iii.

(H) Among the ancient *Magi* there were three degrees of priests, ordinary priests, overseers of these, and an archimagus like our archbishop, or rather a metropolitan, who was acknowledged for the successor of *Zoroaster*, and held the supreme head of their church. These in the old *Persian* language were stiled *Mugh*, i. e. *Magus*, *Mubad*, i. e. superintendant, and *Mubad*, *Mubadan*, or high priest (22). *Lord* in his account of the religion of the *Persians* calls them by other names, *viz. Daroos*, *Herbods*, and *Dissecoos*: the last he makes equivalent to *Mubad Mubadan*, and says there is never any more than one chief of the clergy of the *Persees* at a time. As to the duty of their priests, the same writer tells us, that it is comprised in the eleven rules following, *viz.* 1. The observing the rites prescribed in the liturgy of *Zoroaster*, because God is best pleased with that form of prayer which he has prescribed. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another's, for God having given to every man what seems meet for him in his eyes, to desire that which is another's, is not only shewing a dislike of God's providence, but is likewise affronting him by challenging that for our due which he hath denied us. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth, for all truth cometh from God; all lyes from the devil: all priests therefore should speak truth, because they are the servants of the God of truth, and as such are credited in what they say. 4. To keep close to his business, and not meddle with worldly matters, for it belongs to the layman to see the priest wants nothing that is necessary, and to the priest not to desire any thing which is superfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the poor layman, and that he may see just cause to reverence his priest. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled, because God loves the pure and undefiled, and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, shewing himself a pattern of meekness that he may be thought one come from God, for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deserve that he should pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, to go and pray with them for publick benefits when they desire it, and to perform constantly the known duties of his function. 9. To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together, and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greatest part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to assist all who come to him, because thereto God hath appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by *Zerdusht*, to add nothing thereto, nor to take any thing from it, seeing to this end it was revealed (23).

(22) *Hyde, R. V. P. c.* xxviii. *p.* 348.

(23) *Lord's religion of the Persees, p.* 32.

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a part of it to the temple as an offering to God, beseeching him that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures in order to their own subsistance. They have none of those out-of-the-way notions relating to cleanness and uncleanness in meats, which expose some religions to ridicule; but as they are a very complaisant as well as inoffensive people, they abstain from swines-flesh, and from the flesh of kine, that they may neither offend the *Mohammedans* nor the *Banians*, among whom they are obliged to live. They eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness; they likewise drink every man out of his own cup[f].

*Education of children.*

When their children are initiated into their religion they send for a priest, and this is usually done as soon as the child is born. The priest calculates its nativity, b afterwards he asks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the priest telleth it to its mother, who then says, my child is called so or so, with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the *Pyræum*, where the priest first pours some water into the rind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseeching God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from its mother. At seven years of age the child is led to church to be confirmed there, the priest teaches him some prayers, and instructs him in the first principles of religion. These are repeated daily, till he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith; then he is permitted to pray for the c first time before the holy fire, after which the priest gives him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew; then he causes the lad to wash his body with clean water, after which he puts on a linen cassock next his skin, which descends below his waist, and is girt with a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the priest's own hand. These ceremonies over, the priest blesses him, bids him be a true *Persee* all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the precepts given by *Zerdusht*[g] (I). Of their marriages we are told by a very intelligent author, that they have five sorts: First, that of children in their minority. Secondly, that of widowers with a second wife. Thirdly, of such persons as marry by their own choice. Fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occa- d sioned by an opinion they have entertained, that married people are peculiarly

*Marriages.*

[f] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 40. Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxix. [g] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 45. Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxxiv.

(I) As to the high-priest, he over and above the duties enjoined the priests in general is desired to observe the following thirteen precepts (24): 1. He must have a care of polluting himself in any manner, because God hath chosen him to be holy. 2. In order to this he must do all things for himself to preserve himself from being contaminated by the uncleanness of others, as also to shew his humility in so high a station. 3. He is to take the layman's tythe, *i. e.* the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own use; for he is to consider himself as the almoner of God, who makes use of him only to dispense to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he must avoid all pomp and superfluity, and at the year's end must give away the last farthing, since his revenue is settled, and always paid with good will. 5. His house must be near the temple, and he must give a good example to his flock by staying much at home, and by giving himself up to prayer. 6. As in his publick so in his private life he must be extremely frugal and temperate in all things. 7. He must not only be acquainted with the law, but with all the sciences, seeing he is to instruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He must keep a low diet, because high eating or strong liquors disturb the faculties of the mind, and discompose that serenity of disposition which should be always found in the man of God. 9. He must fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. 10. As he is supreme in all spiritual causes, he must reprove sinners without any regard to their rank, and they must hear him patiently, since he speaks not in his own cause, but God's. 11. He must above all things study to distinguish truth from error. 12. Though in consequence of his high office, he may for his consolation receive visions and other manifestations from God, yet he is not to publish them, for that would but confound the people who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He must preserve the ever-living fire brought by *Zerdusht* from heaven, that it may endure through all ages till the world shall be destroyed by that element (25).

It is very possible, that the reader in the perusal of this section may incline to wish, that in some things we had delivered ourselves more copiously, and therefore it may not be amiss to inform him, that in treating of the *Persian* history as delivered by *Oriental* writers, we shall take occasion to retouch various points relating to the religion of the antient *Persians*, because much of their history depends upon them as to inconsiderable customs, such as wearing this or that colour, this or that kind of cap; these we have purposely omitted, as deeming them not worthy of being mentioned in so great a work as this. Let us however note one thing, that their priests at confirmation tell the youth a girdle which he is bound to keep all his life long, and to use it constantly, because when he lays it aside, he no longer enjoys the benefits of the priest's benediction. Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that the *English* saying *ungirt, unblest*, has some allusion to this (26).

(24) *Hyde, R. v. Persar. c.* xiii. (25) *Lord's religion of the Persees, p.* 36. (26) *Relig. veter. Persar. c.* xxxiii.

happy

happy in the other world; wherefore, when a young person dies in celibacy, they a
hire one to be married to him, or her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial. The last kind of marriage is where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage, which is also founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made use of on this occasion, they are very singular, but at the same time have nothing in them wild or irrational. The parties designing to contract matrimony, are seated together on a bed, about midnight; opposite to them stand two priests, the one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulness which they wish the new married couple; on each hand of the priests stand the relations of the bride and b
bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his fore-finger on the woman's forehead, and says, Wilt thou have this man to be thy wedded husband? The woman assenting, her priest lays his fore-finger on the man's forehead, and asks the like question; which being answered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands, the man promises that he will provide her a suitable maintenance, the woman acknowledges that all she has is his; the priests then scatter rice over them, wishing that they may be fruitful, and beseeching God that they may have many sons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in possession of all the joys of wedlock. The ceremony over, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feast of eight days is kept for joy of the c
marriage[h].

*Their burials.* As to their burials two things are remarkable, first the place, secondly the manner. First as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which, the bodies of the dead are laid to be devoured by the fowls of the air; some affirm that they have separate towers for the good and for the bad; others that men, women, and children are placed on several towers, the reason of thus exposing them we have elsewhere given, *viz.* the preserving the elements pure: for they conceive that by not interring the dead they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corps unprotected from birds of prey, they provide in some measure against the infection of the air. However this custom was anciently esteemed so barbarous by other nations, d
that one of the [i] apologists for the christian faith, speaking of the good effects it had on mens minds in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions this expressly, that the *Persians* since they had received the christian doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe what is practised among them, when a man is on his death-bed; a priest is in such a case always sent for, and he drawing near the bed, prayeth thus in the ear of the sick man: "O Almighty "Lord, thou hast commanded we should not offend thee, this man hath offended; "thou hast ordained that we should do good, yet this man hath done evil; thou "hast required that we should duly and exactly worship thee, which however this e
"man hath neglected. Now, O merciful God, at the hour of death forgive him "his offences, his misdeeds, and his neglects, and receive him to thy self!" When he is dead the priest comes not near him; but the corpse is put on an iron bier and carried to the place of interment, the bearers being forbid to speak as they go along out of decency, and also because in the grave there is an unbroken silence. The dead body being placed on the tower, the priest standing at a distance performeth the funeral service, which he concludes thus: "This our brother while he lived consisted of "the four elements, now he is dead, let each take his own; earth to earth, air "to air, water to water, fire to fire." They suppose that the spirit wanders for three days after its departure from the body, and is in that space pursued and f
tormented by the devil till it is able to reach their sacred fire, to which he cannot come. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night during these three days for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins, and to cancel all his offences. On the fourth day supposing his fate to be decided they make a great feast, which closes the ceremonies used on this occasion[k].

[h] LORD's Religion of the Persees, p. 48. [i] THEODOR. de curand. Græc. affectib. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 128. [k] LORD's Religion of the Persees, p. 49.

THUS

a THUS far we thought necessary to say on this copious and controverted subject, chiefly to justify the much misrepresented *Persees*, from the charge of so senseless an idolatry as the worshipping either the luminaries, planets, or elements. To have enlarged farther upon it, would have led us too far, and exceeded the bounds we must prescribe ourselves in so extensive a work. The curious reader may however, from the authors quoted in the margin, collect himself such a system of the *Persee* religion, both with relation to their doctrine and practices, as will amply reward all his pains and study. But it is time for us to pass to another part of their history.

## SECT. IV.

### *The reigns of the kings of* PERSIA.

b AS we know but very little of the state of *Persia* before *Cyrus*'s time, we shall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already shewn [a], that *Elam* or *Persia* was governed in the earliest times by its own kings, and those very powerful. *Chedorlaomer*, the first king of *Elam* mentioned in scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of *Asia*; for *Bera* king of *Sodom*, *Birsha* king of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*, *Shemeber* king of *Zeboiim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*, were his tributaries [b]. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to *Chedorlaomer*, but in the 13th uniting their forces made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of

*The state of* Persia *before* Cyrus.

c *Elam* no sooner heard that they were up in arms, but entering into an alliance with *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, and *Tidal* king of nations, he marched out against them, and having first reduced the *Rephaims*, the *Zuzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites* of *Hazezontamar*, at last he fell upon the revolters, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and having pillaged their cities, marched back towards *Elam* loaded with the spoils of the conquered nations †. *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* [c] informs us, assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on this occasion, and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at *Dan* the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with

d his brother and all his family redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow *Chedorlaomer* lost the sovereignty of the *Pentapolis*, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of *Cyrus* we know nothing to be relied on but what we have already hinted at in the history of the *Medes*, viz. that the *Elamites* or *Persians* were a great and powerful nation, that they were in all likelihood subdued by the *Assyrians* *, but afterwards recovered their ancient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior and his ally *Cyaxares* king of *Media*. While they lived in subjection to the *Assyrians*, *Medes* and *Babylonians*, the throne was still filled

e with natives of *Persia*, though tributaries to those greater powers. The only royal family we find upon record is that of *Achæmenes*, which must have been very conspicuous, since *Xerxes*, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner [d]:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Achæmenes.* | *Teispes.* | *Hystaspes.* |
| *Cambyses.* | *Ariaramnes.* | *Darius.* |
| *Cyrus.* | *Arsames.* | *Xerxes.* |

[a] Vol. II. p. 15.
[b] Gen. xiv. 4. & Joseph. antiquit. l. i. c. 10.
† See before vol. I. p. 294. c. 297, & seq.
[c] Joseph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 10.
* vid. supr. p. 952, c. & (G)
[d] Herodot. l. vii.

Of this great family there were two branches; from the first was descended *Cyrus* a the great, whose issue-male failed in his two sons *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. Some place the kings of this race in the following manner [e]:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Perses.* | *Cyrus.* | *Cambyses.* |
| *Achæmenes.* | *Cambyses.* | *Smerdis.* |
| *Darius.* | *Cyrus the great.* | |

They will have *Perses*, of whom, say they, *Persia* borrowed its name, to be the first of this family that reigned in *Persia*. We are told, that *Achæmenes* was nursed by an eagle [f]; and of this fabulous eagle the no less fabulous wolf of *Romulus* was perhaps a transcript. *Darius* is mentioned by *Herodotus* [g], and supposed by some to b have coined the famous *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, which supposition is disproved by *Herodotus* [h], who plainly affirms that the *Persians* had neither gold nor silver before the conquest of *Lydia*. *Cyrus* had two children, *Cambyses* and *Atossa*; *Atossa* married *Pharnaces* king of *Cappadocia* [i], and *Cambyses Mandane* the so much celebrated daughter of *Astyages* king of *Media*, by whom he had *Cyrus the great* (A). But as nothing occurs worthy of notice, especially that we can depend upon, in the history of the *Persian* kings before *Cyrus*, we shall proceed, without dwelling on so dark and barren a subject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

Cyrus. THE name of *Cyrus* is equally famous in sacred and profane history; in the latter his valour and conquests have rendered his memory immortal, as has in the former his c kind treatment of the captive *Hebrews*, whom he restored to their ancient state, country and temple, having been by the divine will appointed thereunto by name [k] many years before he appeared in the world; an honour bestowed upon none but him, and that excellent prince *Josiah* [l] king of *Judah*. Profane historians are at no small variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education and accession to the crown. *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* are the only two original authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, some adopting the accounts of the one, and some of the other. They are both very minute in their re- d lations, and agree in some particulars, but widely differ in others. We shall in the first place hear *Herodotus*, the father of history, as *Tully* calls him; but whether his accounts be genuine, or rather interwoven, and seasoned to the *Greek* taste, with several fabulous and surprizing incidents, is what we shall have occasion to examine afterwards.

*Account of the birth, education, &c. of* Cyrus *according to* Herodotus.

*Astyages*, the last king of the *Medes*, being warned by a dream that the son, who was to be born of his daughter *Mandane*, should one day be lord of all *Asia*, resolved to marry her, not to a *Mede* worthy of her bed, but to a *Persian*; and accordingly chose one *Cambyses*, sprung from an antient family, but of a peaceable disposition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a *Mede*, even of a middling condition. A year after they were married, *Astyages* was frightened by another e dream portending anew, according to the interpretation of the *Mages*, the empire of *Asia* to his grandson (B). Hereupon *Astyages* sends for his daughter then big with child, and upon her arrival in *Media* puts her under a guard, determined to destroy the child she should be delivered of; for the *Mages* had assured him, that the issue of his daughter was to fill his throne. *Mandane* not long after her confinement was brought to bed of a son, whom *Astyages*, mindful of the interpretation of the *Mages*, delivered to one *Harpagus*, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born son of *Mandane*, to carry him to his house, and there dispatch him with his own hands, in what manner he should think best. *Harpagus* promised to put the king's orders in execution, and having received from the guards the infant richly dressed, went home under great concern, to see himself employed in so hateful and inhuman an office. He acquainted his wife as soon as he came home f

[e] REINECC. hist. jul. p. 37. [f] ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xii. c. 21. [g] HERODOT. l. i. [h] HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. [i] DIODOR. SICUL. in Fragm. l. xxxi. [k] ISA. xliv. 28. & xlv. 1. [l] 1 KINGS xiii. 2. See also vol. I. p. 841, *& seq.* and hereafter vol. IV. p. 1, *& seq.*

(A) *Ovid* (1) mentions one *Orchamus* king of *Persia*, and makes him the 7th after *Belus*.

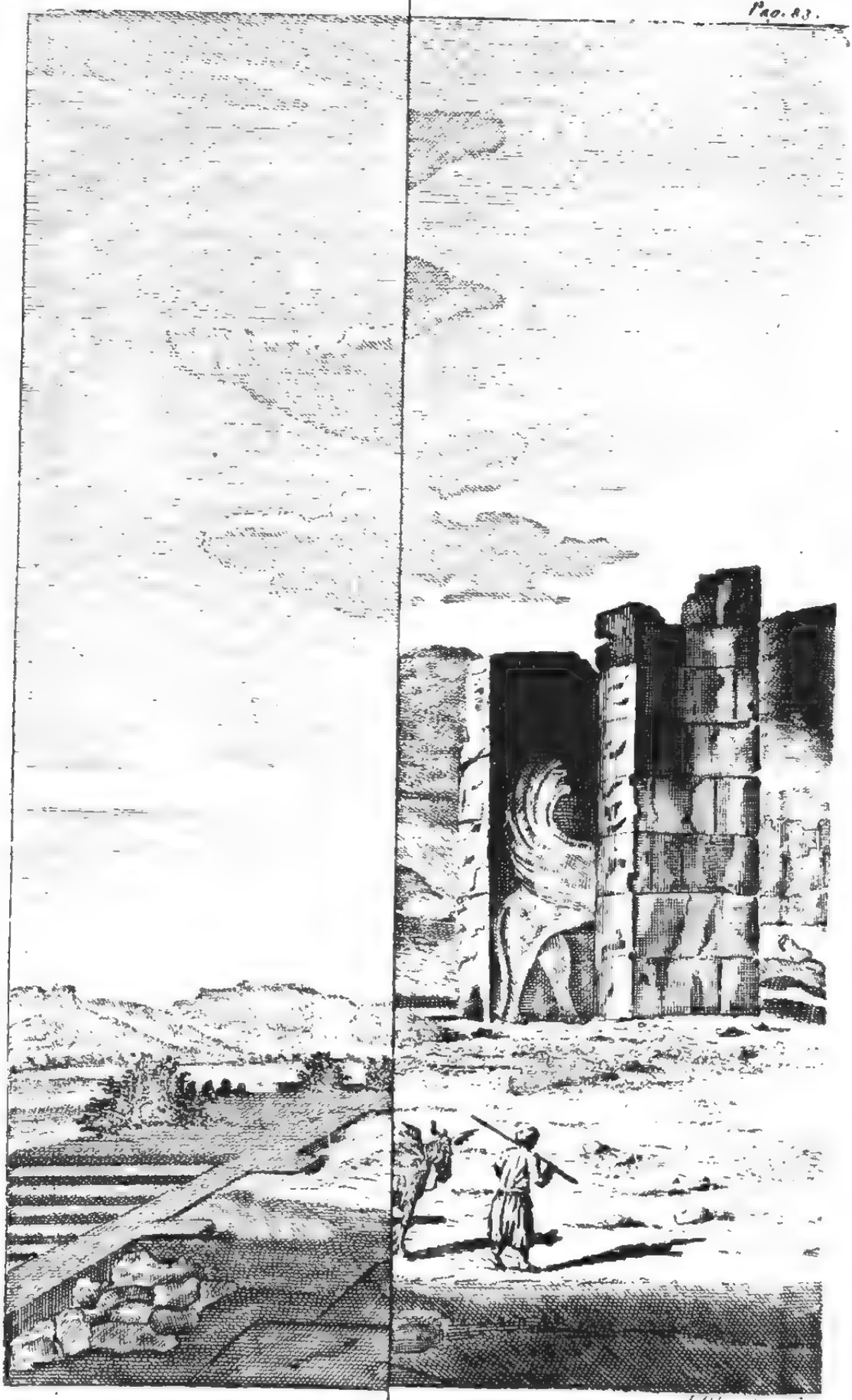
*Rexit Achæmenias urbes pater* Orchamus, *isque*
*Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo.*

As this king is no where to be found but in *Ovid*'s metamorphoses, what is said of him deserves no more credit than they do.

(B) His first dream was, that his daughter *Mandane* had voided so great a quantity of water as not only filled the metropolis of the kingdom, but overflowed all *Asia*. In the other he saw a vine shooting from the womb of his daughter, and extending its branches over all *Asia*.

(1) *Ovid. Metam. l.* iv.

with



J. Blundell Sc.

a with what had passed between *Astyages* and himself, and resolved not to execute the sentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this design he immediately sent for one of the king's herdsmen, who kept his cattle in pastures lying at the foot of certain mountains on the north of *Ecbatan*, towards the *Caspian* sea. The herdsman's name was *Mithradates*, and his wife's, in the language of the *Medes*, *Spaco*, which signifies a bitch, and answers to her *Greek* name *Cyno*. *Mithradates* without delay waited upon *Harpagus*, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant and expose it in the most dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the most exquisite tortures that b could be invented. He added, that the king had charged him to see his orders put in execution. The herdsman, not daring to make any remonstrance against the king's commands, returned with the child to his cottage; where he found his wife just delivered of a son. During her husband's absence, she had been in great trouble and perplexity on account of the message from *Harpagus*, who had never before sent for him; so that he no sooner set his foot within the door, but she asked him in great surprize, why *Harpagus* had sent for him in such haste? He told her he had been in the city, where he had heard and seen such things as grieved him beyond expression; that when he arrived, the house of *Harpagus* was all in tears, and that as he went in, he was struck with horror at the sight of an infant, dressed in gold and the c richest colours, panting and crying on the floor; that *Harpagus* had commanded him to carry away this child and expose it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beasts, upon pain of incurring the king's displeasure and undergoing the severest punishments that could be inflicted; that at first he had supposed the unhappy infant to belong to some person of the family of *Harpagus*, but that he had been afterwards informed by the servant that attended him out of the city and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of *Mandane* the king's daughter, and son to *Cambyses* of *Persia*, and that *Astyages* had commanded it should be put to death[1].

*Cyrus preserved, and nursed by a shepherd.*

Having thus spoke, he disclosed the child to his wife, who no sooner saw it, but being ravished with the innocent smiles of the infant, embraced her husband, d and with many tears intreated him not to execute the orders he had received. But he remonstrating the absolute necessity he was under of obeying or forfeiting his own life, since the spies of *Harpagus* would without fail keep a watchful eye over him, and see whether he performed what had been so strictly enjoined him, she suggested to him to take their own child that was still-born, to expose it instead of the other, and bring up the son of *Mandane* as their own; for by that means, said she, we shall sufficiently consult our own safety without injuring others; the dead child will be honoured with a royal sepulchre, and the surviving infant be preserved from an untimely death[m].

*Mithradates* approved of this expedient, and delivering the infant he was charged e to destroy into his wife's hands, dressed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living, and carried it in the same basket, in which he had brought the other, to the most unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after he acquainted *Harpagus*, that, if he pleased, he could shew him the dead body of the infant, and he accordingly dispatch'd some of his friends, in whom he most confided, to see that the sentence had been put in execution, and to inter the royal infant. Thus was *Cyrus*, for so was the infant afterwards called, delivered from the snares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdsman's wife as her own[n].

When he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the pastures with other children of his age, he was chosen king by his companions, and in virtue of that dignity having distinguished them into several orders and f classes, the son of *Artembares*, a lord of eminent dignity among the *Medes*, who was one of his companions in the play, refused to obey his orders. Whereupon *Cyrus* commanded him to be immediately seized and whipt very severely. The boy with many tears complained to his father of what he had suffered from the herdsman's son, and the father highly resenting the affront, hastened with his son to the king's palace, and shewing the prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his son had been abused by the son of a slave, entreated him to avenge, by some very exemplary punishment, the indignity offered to him and his whole family. *Astyages* promised to give him full satisfaction, and commanding both the herdsman and his

*Gives early marks of a royal spirit.*

[1] Herodot. l. i. c. 107, & seq. [m] Id. ibid. [n] Id. ibid.

son

son to be brought before him, asked *Cyrus*, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the son of one of the chief lords in the kingdom? *Cyrus* replied, that he had done no more than he had a right to do, for the boys of the neighbourhood having made him their king, because they thought him the most worthy of that dignity, and performed what he, in virtue of that character, had commanded them, the son of *Artembares* alone had slighted his orders, and for his disobedience had suffered the punishment he deserved. As the boy was pleading his cause with an eloquence far superior to his years and education, *Astyages* took particular notice of his mien and features, and thinking that he resembled himself, began to reflect on the time that his grandson was exposed, which he found to agree with the age of the herdsman's supposed son. Being perplexed with this thought he dismissed *Artembares*, assuring him that his son should have no cause to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct *Cyrus* into the palace. Being then in private with the herdsman, he asked whose boy *Cyrus* was, and from whose hands he had him? *Mithradates* affirmed, that he was his own child, and that the boy's mother, who was still living, would come, if he pleased, to attest it. But *Astyages* giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to seize him, whereupon he discovered without reserve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy [o].

*Discovered to Astyages.*

*Astyages* was not so much incensed against the herdsman, as against his favourite *Harpagus*, whom he ordered the guards to bring without delay to the palace. Upon his arrival the king in a violent passion asked him in what manner he had put to death the son of his daughter *Mandane?* When *Harpagus* saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatened him, by any sort of falshood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution, and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him that they had seen and interred the body [p].

*Astyages* dissembling his resentment acquainted *Harpagus* with what the herdsman had confessed, adding that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he issued that cruel command, and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered *Harpagus* to send his son to wait on the young *Cyrus*, and to come himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson [q].

*Harpagus* overjoyed at the king's speech returned home, and acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only son to attend *Cyrus*, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about 30 years old, no sooner entered the palace, but he was seized, barbarously murdered and cut in pieces by order of *Astyages*, who gave directions that the mangled body, variously dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. *Harpagus* and the rest of the guests repaired to the palace at the hour appointed; the others were spendidly entertained, but the table, where *Harpagus* supped, was served only with the flesh of his son. When he had done, the king asked him whether he had been pleased with his victuals; and *Harpagus* answering, that he had never tasted any thing more delicious, the officers appointed for that purpose brought in a basket containing the head, hands and feet of his son, desiring him to uncover the basket, and take what he liked best. He did as they desired, and beheld the remains of his only child without betraying any sort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king enquired whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained? *Harpagus* replyed, he knew very well, and was always pleased with whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replyed, with a surprizing temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent son, and went home, as our author conjectures, to interr them [r].

*Harpagus's dreadful punishment and policy.*

*Astyages* having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate *Harpagus*, began to consider with himself what he should do with *Cyrus*; and having again consulted the *Mages*, their answer was, that if the boy lived, he must of necessity be king. *Astyages* then acquainted them, that he was still alive, adding, as a very material circumstance, that he had been chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where

[o] HERODOT. lib. 1. c. 109, *& seq.* [p] Idem, ibid. [q] Idem, ibid. [r] Idem. ibid.

he

a he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king, with the utmost rigor and severity. Hereupon the *Mages* replied, that the prediction of his reign was already accomplished in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a second time; for dreams, said they, often end in things of small importance, and are fulfilled by trifling events. They advised him therefore to divest himself of all fear, and send the boy to his parents in *Persia* [a].

*Cyrus sent back to his real parents.*

*Astyages*, well pleased with this answer, called *Cyrus*, and owning how much he had been wanting in the affection which he ought naturally to have had for him by reason of an insignificant dream, desired him to get ready for a journey into b *Persia*, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumstances very different from those of the poor herdsman *Mithradates*, and his wife *Spaco* [b].

Thus *Astyages*, after many kind expressions, dismissed his young grandson attended by several lords of the first rank. Upon his arrival at his father's house, he was received by his parents with a tenderness and joy, which it is more easy to conceive, than express. As they had long given him over for dead, they asked him in what manner his life had been preserved. He then acquainted them that he had lived in an entire ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himself the son of the king's herdsman, till those, who attended him on his journey into *Persia*, informed him of all that had passed. He related how c he had been educated by the herdsman's wife, and frequently repeating the name of *Cyno*, commended her on all occasions. And this name his parents made use of, as our author informs us, to persuade the *Persians* that the preservation of their son was in a very particular manner owing to the immortal gods, since he had been nourished, as they industriously spread abroad, and was commonly believed, by a bitch [c].

When *Cyrus* attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in *Media* on account of his extraordinary parts, *Harpagus*, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, began to court his friendship, with a design to join with him, who had been equally injured, in d revenging so barbarous a treatment. At the same time he solicited the leading men among the *Medes*, who were highly dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of *Astyages*, to take up arms, and redeem themselves and their unhappy country from the calamities they groaned under, by deposing *Astyages*, and advancing his grandson *Cyrus* to the throne. They all to a man shewed themselves disposed to second his designs; whereupon he thought it high time to discover his intentions to *Cyrus*, who was to act the chief part in this revolution. And accordingly he acquainted him with them, by a letter, which, as all the roads leading to *Persia* were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of a hare; the hare he delivered to one of his most trusty domesticks dressed in the e habit of a hunter, enjoining him to desire *Cyrus* not to open the letter in the presence of any person whatsoever [d].

*Harpagus stirs up a revolt against Astyages.*

The messenger executed his orders, and *Cyrus* opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter reminding him of the care which the gods had had of his preservation against the wicked designs and barbarous attempts of his grandfather, and encouraging him to stir up the *Persians* to a revolt, and at the head of their forces to invade *Media*, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined at all events to advance him to the throne instead of his unnatural grandfather. He took care to put him in mind of what he had suffered on his account, and how barbarously he had been punished for not executing the king's f bloody orders. *Cyrus* having read the letter, began to consider what measures he should take to induce the *Persians* to revolt, and after various schemes fixed upon the following as the most proper. He feigned a letter from *Astyages* appointing him commander in chief of all the *Persian* forces; this he read in a general assembly of the nation, and in virtue of his new commission commanded them all to attend him, every man with a hatchet. He was obeyed, and being all met in pursuance to his orders, he enjoined them to clear in one day a spot of ground, containing 18 or 20 furlongs, over-grown with thorns and briars. This laborious piece of work being performed, not without some reluctancy, he dismissed them with orders

*Cyrus's stratagem to cause the Persians to revolt.*

[a] Idem, ibid. [b] Idem, ibid. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Idem, ibid.

to attend him again the next day. In the mean time he caused all his father's a
flocks and herds to be killed and dressed, provided wine, and bought all the dainties *Persia* could supply him with. They all assembled the next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before. But, contrary to their expectation, *Cyrus* ordered them to sit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feast. When they had solaced themselves with dainties which to that time they had been strangers to, the young prince asked them, whether they would chuse to live always in that manner, or as they had done the day before? They all answered readily, that as mirth and pleasure were greatly preferable to toil and labour, so would they gladly chuse the condition of the present day before that of the precedent. Upon this answer *Cyrus* acquainted them, that if they hearkened to his advice b
they should enjoy these and far greater pleasures without any kind of servile labour; but if they refused to follow him, they must undergo innumerable hardships like those they had complained of the day before. He then disclosed to them his true design of delivering his country from the *Median* bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in so great and glorious an enterprize, by telling them that some divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculously saved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happiness. The *Persians*, who had lived for many years, with the utmost reluctancy, in subjection to the *Medes*, declared him with one accord their leader, and protested that they would stand by him in so good a cause, even at the expence of their lives. c

Astyages *defeated by* Cyrus.

In the mean time *Astyages*, being informed of what was doing in *Persia*, dispatched a messenger to *Cyrus*, enjoining him to repair forthwith into *Media*; but *Cyrus* by the same messenger returned this resolute answer, that he would come sooner than *Astyages* desired. Whereupon the king drew together all his forces, and forgetful of his cruelty towards *Harpagus*, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the *Medes* passing over to *Cyrus*, with the bodies under their command, the rest of the army was routed with great slaughter. When *Astyages* heard of this defeat, he flew into a violent passion, and vowing that *Cyrus* should not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory, he first caused the *Mages*, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled, and d
then arming all the *Medes*, marched out himself at the head of them. Both armies came to a second engagement, in which the *Medes* were again defeated, and the king himself taken prisoner. *Astyages* in this state was reproached and insulted by the revengeful *Harpagus*, who among other things asked him what he now thought of his tragical feast, when he compelled him to devour the flesh of his own son, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a prison? *Astyages* in return, fixing his eyes on *Harpagus*, asked him whether he had been instrumental in bringing about this revolution? He answered, that it was chiefly owing to him, since he had the first encouraged *Cyrus* to this undertaking. Then, replied *Astyages*, you are the weakest and most unjust of all men: the weakest, in giving e
the kingdom to another, when you might have seized on it yourself, since you have been able to effect this change; the most unjust, in enslaving your country to revenge a private injury. For if you were determined to depose me and confer the kingdom on another, without taking the power into your own hands, you might with more justice have advanced a *Mede* to that dignity than a *Persian*. Whereas the *Medes*, who were before lords of *Persia*, and no ways concerned in the injury, are now by your means reduced to the condition of slaves, and the *Persians*, who were servants to the *Medes*, are now become their lords. In this manner, concludes our author, *Astyages* was deprived of the kingdom after he had reigned 35 years, and through his cruelty the *Medes* became subject to the *Persians*, after they f
had ruled over all those provinces of *Asia* that lie on the other side the *Halys* for the space of 128 years, including the time of the *Scythian* dominion over that part of *Asia*. As for *Astyages*, *Cyrus* kept him prisoner in his palace till he died, without practising any farther severity upon him[a].

*His cruelty to the* Mages.

*Brave answer to the insulting* Harpagus.

*His death.*

This is the account which *Herodotus* gives us, and every impartial and judicious reader must conclude to be an arrant romance, composed, perhaps, by some admirer of *Cyrus*, and adopted by our author as more agreeable to the depraved taste of his countrymen, who took greater delight in surprizing, tho' fabulous, events, than in the relation of plain historical truths.

[a] Herodot. ubi supra.

What

a WHAT the same author relates of the death of this great hero, deserves, in our opinion, no more credit, than what he has told us of his birth, education and advancement to the crown. This prince, according to him [7], invaded the *Massagetes*, and having in the first battle feigned a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially of wine, in the field. The barbarians did not fail to seize on the booty, and indulged themselves in drinking to such an excess, that they all fell asleep on the spot. In this condition *Cyrus* returned upon them, obtained an easy victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was *Spargapises* the son of queen *Tomyris*. This heroine, being informed of the defeat of her troops and captivity of her son, b sent a herald to *Cyrus* entreating him to release the young prince; which he refusing to do, *Spargapises*, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on himself. Whereupon his mother *Tomyris*, animated with an eager desire of revenge, gave the *Persians* battle a second time; which, says our author, was the most obstinate and bloody that ever was fought by the barbarians. Many fell on both sides; but at last the *Massagetes* carrying the day, the greatest part of the *Persian* army was cut in pieces, and *Cyrus* himself killed in the field, after having reigned 29 years. *Tomyris*, having found his body among the slain, caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, insulting the memory of the dead prince with these words, *Glut thyself with the blood which thou hast so insatiably thirsted after.*

*Cyrus's defeat and death, according to the same author.*

c WHAT the same historian relates of his childish revenge upon the river *Gyndes* (C) while he was on his march to besiege *Babylon*, is utterly repugnant to the idea we have of that wise and experienced commander. For he tells us, that one of the sacred horses of *Cyrus* being drowned in that river, the prince highly resenting such an affront immediately caused the *Gyndes* to be cut by his army into 360 channels; a work which employed his army the whole summer, and obliged him to postpone the siege of *Babylon* to the spring ensuing. Who can imagine that a commander of so great experience, and such an extraordinary moderation, as *Cyrus* is even by *Herodotus* himself represented to have been, while he was marching to the conquest of *Babylon*, should so idly waste his time, and spend the ardour of his troops in such d an unprofitable piece of work?

WE shall now give what we look upon as the true history of *Cyrus*, being extracted out of *Xenophon*, whom we chuse to follow in what concerns that great conqueror and excellent prince, seeing his accounts are far more agreeable to holy writ, the standard of truth, than those of *Herodotus*. We are told, for instance, in scripture, that the *Babylonians* were reduced by the united forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and this is what we read in *Xenophon*: whereas *Herodotus* raises the *Persian* empire on the ruins of that of the *Medes*, which is repugnant to scripture. It is true, that most of the ancients have chosen to follow *Herodotus* rather than *Xenophon*; but that we can easily account for. The relations of the former are e interwoven with events far more strange and surprizing, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader; whence they were preferred to those of the latter, in which we find nothing calculated to raise admiration. This natural inclination in a writer to adopt such accounts as he thinks will prove most agreeable to his reader, has been too much countenanced by *Plato* [8], who in giving a character of *Xenophon*'s *Cyropædia* tells us that he rather described in that work what a worthy and just prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that prince really was. From this passage *Diogenes Laertius* concludes [9] that *Plato* looked on the *Institution of Cyrus* as a fiction. *Tully* passes the same judgment on this performance, saying [10], that *Xenophon*'s *Cyrus* was not intended for a true history, but to serve as a model of a just f empire. Most of the modern critics have declared themselves of the same opinion; and we must own that as *Xenophon* was both a great commander and philosopher, he has woven into that history many of his own maxims of war and policy. But it does not follow from hence that the ground-plot of the work, and the most material transactions he relates, may not be called a true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; for in the very beginning of the work he acquints us that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of *Cyrus*'s birth, education, and character; and

*Cyrus's history according to Xenophon, more consonant with the sacred writings.*

*Xenophon's writings and character.*

[7] HERODOT. l. i. c. 214. [8] PLATO de legib. l. iii. [9] DIOG. LAER. in vit. philosoph. [10] Epist. i. ad Quintum fratrem.

(C) The river *Gyndes* rises on the hills of *Matiene*, and passing through *Dardania* falls into the *Tigris*.

that

that it is really such, its conformity with holy writ sufficiently shews. Wherefore bating his military and political descants and digressions, the remaining part, bare matters of fact, is to be looked upon as a true history. He was esteemed by the ancients [c] a writer of great judgement and penetration, and having lived in the court of *Cyrus* the younger, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote concerning that great prince, than *Herodotus* could have; and as he confined himself to this subject alone, no doubt but he examined all matters relating to it with more care and exactness than the other, who wrote of so many different subjects and nations. And these are the motives that have induced us to follow *Xenophon* in what relates to *Cyrus* rather than *Herodotus* or those who have copied after him (D).

*The true history of* Cyrus. *Year of the flood* 2400. *before Christ* 599.

*Cyrus* was the son of *Cambyses* king of *Persia* and of *Mandane* the daughter of *Astyages* king of the *Medes* (E). He was born a year after his uncle *Cyaxares* the brother of *Mandane*. He lived the first twelve years of his life with his parents in *Persia* (F), where he was educated after the *Persian* manner, and inured to hardships and such exercises as might enable him to go through the toils and fatigues of war. When he was twelve years old his mother *Mandane* took him with her into *Media* to his grandfather *Astyages*, who, from the many things he had heard of that young prince, had a desire to see him. During the time of his residence at this court, the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and constant endeavour to oblige all men, gained him the affections of the *Medes*, and such an interest among the leading men of that nation as did afterwards much contribute to the erecting of the great empire he afterwards founded [d].

*His early prowess.*

When *Cyrus* was about sixteen years of age *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, being abroad on a hunting match a little before his marriage, to shew his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the *Medes*, which drew out *Astyages* with his forces to oppose the invader. On this occasion *Cyrus* attending his grandfather first entered the school of war, and behaved so well that the victory, which the *Medes* gained over the *Babylonians*, was in great measure owing to his valour. The next year he returned to his father in *Persia*, where he remained till he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* [e].

*Astyages* king of the *Medes* was succeeded, as we have shewn in the history of that people, by his son *Cyaxares* brother to *Mandane Cyrus*'s mother †. This prince was scarce warm on his throne when he was informed that *Neriglissar* king of *Babylon* was preparing a powerful army to invade *Media*, that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*, and that he had dispatched ambassadors into *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, and even to the *Indies*, to instil jealousies into the several princes of those countries, and to stir them up against the *Medes* and *Persians*, as aspiring to an universal monarchy. *Cyaxares* therefore called *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his assistance, and upon his arrival with a body of 30,000 *Persians* appointed him commander in chief both of the *Medes* and *Persians* (G) [f].

[c] See Diog. Laert. in vit. Xenophon. [d] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 36. [e] Idem, ibid. p. 44, 45. &c. † See before pag. 21, b. c. [f] Idem, ibid. p. 58.

(D) *Scaliger* thinks that the *Cyropædia* contains nothing but fables and fictions, if we except two or three events, which are related also by *Herodotus*; and *Erasmus* will not even allow *Xenophon* to have given us an exact model of a just government, but rather to have drawn a cunning and deceitful prince: so fond are they of the surprizing incidents related by his antagonist *Herodotus*.

(E) Both *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* agree in this, *viz.* that the mother of *Cyrus* was *Mandane* daughter to *Astyages*; but *Ctesias* would have us believe that *Cyrus* was no ways related to *Astyages*, or *Astigas* as he is pleased to call him.

(F) The name of *Persia* at that time extended only to one province of that large empire, which was afterwards known by the name of *Persia*. For the whole *Persian* nation could at that time raise but 120,000 men (2). But after the conquests of *Cyrus* it took in that vast tract, which extended east and west from the *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and south from the *Caspian* sea to the ocean.

(G) This army consisted of 30,000 men, all infantry, for the *Persians* had yet no cavalry; but they were all chosen men, and raised after a particular manner. First of all *Cyrus* chose out of the nobility 201 officers; each of these was ordered to chuse four more of the same rank which made a thousand in all; and these were called ὁμότιμοι, or men of the same dignity, and eminently distinguished themselves on all occasions. Every one of these was ordered to raise among the people ten pikemen lightly armed, ten slingers and ten bow-men, which amounted in the whole to 31,000 men (3). From the year in which *Cyrus*, arriving in *Media* at the head of these troops, was vested with the command of the confederate army, those begin their computation who will have this prince to have reigned thirty years. For from this time he was looked upon by all foreign nations as king of *Persia* and *Media*, though the regal power, as to the latter, was solely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was only general of the united forces.

(2) *Cyropæd. l. i.* (3) *Idem, ibidem.*

a He had not been long in *Media* before *Cyaxares* had occasion to employ him. The king of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the powerful alliance formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity and shake off the yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furnish in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous consequence, and which might prompt other dependant states to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition; and therefore marching immediately with a chosen body of horse, and covering his design as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of *Armenia*, he entred that country before the inhabitants b had any intelligence of his march, surprized the king and all his family, and having obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in *Media*[g]. *Reduces Armenia.*

Both parties had now been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. In the beginning of the 4th year the confederate armies on both sides took the field, and being come in sight of each other, the *Babylonians* under *Nerigliſſar* their king encamped and fortified themselves with strong intrenchments, while the *Medes* and *Persians* under the command of *Cyrus* covered themselves with the neighbouring hills and villages. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Babylonians* leaving their intrenchments, and c drawing themselves up in battle-array, *Cyrus* advanced to attack them. On the side of the *Assyrians*, the bow-men and slingers made their discharges before the enemy was within reach. But the *Persians*, animated by the presence and example of *Cyrus*, immediately closed in with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The *Babylonians*, notwithstanding all the efforts used by *Crœsus* and their own king, were not able to stand so rude a shock, but immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight. At the same time the cavalry of the *Medes* fell upon the enemy's horse, which was likewise put to the rout. *Cyrus* pursued them close to their intrenchments, but not thinking himself in a condition to force them, sounded the retreat. In this battle *Nerigliſſar* king of the *Babylonians* was killed; whereupon *Crœsus*, king of *Lydia*, d as being in dignity next to him, took the command of the conquered army, and made as good a retreat as he could. But the next day *Cyrus* returned to the charge, drove the *Babylonians* from their camp, and with the assistance of the *Hyrcanians*, who had revolted to him the night before, took a great many prisoners and the baggage of the whole army[h]. *Cyrus* reserved all the horses that were taken for himself, in order to form a body of cavalry for the *Persian* army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for *Cyaxares*; and as for the prisoners he allowed them to return home to their respective countries, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war against him and his allies[i]. *Defeats the Babylonians.* *Nerigliſſar killed.* *Crœsus defeated.*

e The death of *Nerigliſſar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*; for he was a prince of great courage, conduct and wisdom, the preparations he made for the war shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. But nothing made the *Babylonians* more sensible of the loss they had suffered than the tyrannical government of his son and successor *Laborosoarchod*, who was in every thing quite the reverse of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedness, cruelty and injustice. Two acts of his cruelty towards two *Babylonian* lords *Gobryas* and *Gadates* are particularly mentioned, as having provoked them to join *Cyrus*, and be very instrumental in the subversion of the *Babylonian* empire. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting-match, to which he had invited him, for no other reason but that he pierced with his dart a f wild beast which the king had missed. The other he caused to be made an eunuch because one of his concubines had commended him as an handsome man †. These acts of tyranny drove the two noblemen with the provinces they governed over to *Cyrus*, and hastened the conquest of *Babylon*. For *Cyrus*, encouraged hereby, determined to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy's country, and having taken possession of the provinces, castles, and strong holds which the two injured princes had been trusted with, he got a footing in *Assyria*, which greatly contributed to the reduction of *Babylon* itself. The king took the field against *Gadates*, but being met by *Cyrus* he was put to flight, and obliged to retire with great slaughter to *The Babylonians revolt to Cyrus.*

g Idem, lib. 3. p. 62—76. h Idem, l. iv. p. 87—104. i Idem, ibid. † See Vol. I. 969. a.

his metropolis. *Cyrus* having thus spent the summer in ravaging the enemy's country, and shewn himself twice before the walls of *Babylon*, in order to provoke the king to battle, marched back into *Media*, and on his march took three strong holds on the frontiers[k]. a

Laborosoarchod's *tyranny and death.*

As soon as *Cyrus* was retired, *Laborosoarchod*, being now in no dread of the enemy, gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him, insomuch that his own subjects, not being able to bear any longer his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign[l]. *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder, was placed on the throne, and had he been left to himself, the *Babylonians* would not have bettered their condition by the change. But his mother, who was a woman of extraordinary parts, took the main burden of all publick affairs upon herself, and while her son followed his pleasures, did all that could be done by human prudence to preserve the tottering empire. She perfected the works, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun for the defence of *Babylon*, raised strong fortifications on the side of the river, and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, 12 foot high, and 15 wide. This she did to maintain a communication between the two palaces, which were strong fortresses and separated by the river[m], that in case one of them should be distressed by the enemy, or either of them taken, there might be relief from, or a safe retreat to the other. b

Nabonadius's *mother rules with great wisdom.*

While the queen was thus taking all possible precautions against the enemy, *Cyaxares* came to *Cyrus*'s camp, and after several consultations they determined to alter their method; and instead of contenting themselves only with ravaging the enemy's territories, they thought it was necessary to employ their troops in taking of towns and fortresses, that so they might make themselves masters of the country, and distress the city of *Babylon* by intercepting their provisions[n]. Accordingly they took many cities, and brought under subjection entire provinces, without meeting with any considerable resistance from the *Babylonians*. The progress *Cyrus* made in those conquests roused at last *Nabonadius*, who taking along with him great part of his treasures, left *Babylon* and repaired to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, by whose assistance and interest he concluded a formidable alliance with the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*. These various nations under the conduct of *Cræsus*, who was by the king of *Babylon* appointed chief commander of all his forces, assembled near the river *Pactolus*, and from thence advanced to *Thymbra*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. *Cyrus* being informed of these vast preparations by one of his intimate friends, who by his order had fled over to the enemy as a deserter, put himself in a condition to oppose them. And having increased the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of *Cyaxares*, who remained in *Media* with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless, and marched forwards to meet the confederate forces in their own territories in order to consume their forage, and disconcert their measures by the quickness of his march, and boldness of his undertaking. After a long march he came up with the enemy at *Thymbra*, a city of *Lydia* not far from *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country. *Cyrus*'s army was 196,000 strong, horse and foot; besides these troops he had 300 chariots armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were proof against all sorts of missive weapons: he had likewise a great number of other chariots of a larger size, upon each of which he placed a tower about 18 or 20 feet high, and in each tower were lodged 20 archers. These chariots were drawn by 16 oxen yoked abreast. There was moreover a considerable number of camels, each mounted by two *Arabian* archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder part of the camel. The army of *Cræsus* was twice as numerous as that of *Cyrus*, amounting in the whole to 420,000 men. Both armies were drawn up on an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to the right and left; and the design of *Cræsus*, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. He placed the *Egyptians*, who alone made a body of 120,000 men, and were the main strength of the army, in the center[o]. c d e f

Cyrus's *success against the* Babylonians.

Crœsus *commands the confederates.*

*The army of* Cyrus.

*Of the confederates.*

[k] Idem, l. v. p. 133—140. [l] Berosus apud Joseph. contra Apion. l. i. Megasth. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. ix. [m] Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. Philostrat. l. i. c. 18. [n] Cyropæd. l. vi. 156, &c. [o] Idem, l. vi. p. 167—172.

When

a When the two armies were within sight of each other, *Cræsus* observing how much the front of his army exceeded that of *Cyrus*, made the center halt, and the two wings advance with a design to inclose *Cyrus*'s army, and begin the attack on both sides at the same time. When the two detached bodies of the *Lydian* forces were sufficiently extended, *Cræsus* gave the signal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the *Persian* army, while the two wings attacked them in flank, so that *Cyrus*'s army was hem'd in on all sides, and, as our author expresses it, inclosed like a small square drawn within a great one[p].

*Battle of* Thymbra. *Year of the flood* 2455. *Before Christ* 544.

This motion did not at all alarm *Cyrus*, who giving his troops the signal to face about, attacked in flank the enemies forces that were marching to fall upon b his rear, and put them into great disorder. In the same moment a squadron of camels was made to advance against the enemies other wing, consisting mostly of cavalry. Their horses upon the approach of the camels were so frightened that most of them threw their riders, and trod them under foot, which occasioned a great confusion. While they were thus in disorder, *Artageses*, an officer of great experience, at the head of a small body of horse, charged them so briskly, that they could never afterwards rally, and at the same time the chariots armed with scythes being furiously driven against them, they were entirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, *Cyrus* commanded *Abradates* his chief favourite to fall upon the center with the chariots we have mentioned above. The first c ranks, consisting mostly of *Lydians*, not being able to stand so violent a charge, immediately gave way; but the *Egyptians* being covered with their bucklers, and marching so close that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great slaughter of the *Persians* ensued. *Abradates* himself was killed, his chariot overturned, and most part of his men cut in pieces after having signalized themselves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death the *Egyptians* advancing boldly obliged the *Persian* infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new shower of arrows and javelins discharged upon them from the towers, and at the same time the *Persian* rear advancing sword in hand obliged their archers, and spear-men to return to their charge. In d the mean time *Cyrus* having put to flight both the horse and foot on the left of the *Egyptians*, pushed on to the center, where he had the mortification to find his *Persians* again giving ground, and judging that the only way to stop the *Egyptians* who were pursuing them, would be to attack them in the rear, he did so, and at the same time the *Persian* cavalry coming up to his assistance, the fight was renewed with great slaughter on both sides. For the *Egyptians* facing about, defended themselves with incredible bravery. *Cyrus* himself was in great danger; for his horse being killed under him, he fell in the midst of the enemies, but being saved by his *Persians*, who, alarmed at his danger, threw themselves headlong upon those that surrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length *Cyrus* admiring e the valour of the *Egyptians*, and concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the same time that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them, and having agreed with *Cyrus* that they should not be obliged to carry arms against *Cræsus*, in whose service they had been engaged, surrendered themselves to the conqueror, and from that time served him with the utmost fidelity[q] (H).

*Cyrus in imminent danger.*

*Egyptians surrender to him.*

The engagement lasted till night, when *Cræsus* retired with his troops to *Sardis*, and the other nations made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Cyrus* did not think fit to pursue them, but the next morning advanced towards *Sardis*. *Cræsus* hearing of his approach marched out with his *Lydians*, for the f auxiliaries were already retired, to give him battle. Their principal strength con-

*Lydians defeated.*

[p] Idem. p. 173.

[q] Idem. l. vii. 178—178.

(H) *Xenophon* observes here (4), that *Cyrus* gave them the cities of *Larissa* and *Cyllene* on the sea-coast, and other lands within the country, which were inhabited by their descendants in his time; and adds, that these places were called the cities of the *Egyptians*. This observation, and many others he makes in his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shews plainly that he wrote that piece as a true history of *Cyrus*, at least with respect to the substance of it, and greatest part of the transactions.

(4) *Idem. l.* vii. *p.* 179.

sisted

fisted in cavalry, which *Cyrus* being sensible of, made his camels advance against them, whose smell the horses not being able to endure, they were immediately put in disorder. However the *Lydians*, who at that time were one of the most warlike nations of *Asia*, dismounting, fought on foot, but after having kept their ground very obstinately for some time, were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where they were immediately closely besieged by *Cyrus*[r] (I). a

Sardis *taken.*

The night after he invested the city he made himself master of the citadel, being conducted to it in the dead of the night by a *Persian* slave who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no resistance, the *Lydians* having dispersed at the news of the citadel's being taken. *Cyrus*'s first care was to save the town, which was the most wealthy of all *Asia*, from being plundered. With this view he acquainted the inhabitants that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with, and *Cræsus* himself, who was taken and brought to *Cyrus*, set them an example by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. *Cyrus*, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the sole restriction of not having power to make war. From that time he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his person[s] (K). b c

Cyrus's *generosity to* Cræsus.

*His conquests.*

*Cyrus* after the conquest of *Lydia* continued in *Lesser Asia* till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that great continent from the *Egean* sea to the *Euphrates*. From thence he marched into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and having brought those nations

[r] Herodot. l. i. p. 79—84. [s] Idem, l. vii. p. 181—184.

(I) While *Cyrus* lay encamped before *Sardis* he performed the exequies of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his wife. *Abradates* was prince of *Susham* under the *Babylonians*, and had revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, being induced thereunto by his wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty, whom *Cyrus* had taken prisoner in his first engagement with the *Babylonians*, and treated in a most obliging manner. This kind treatment drew over her husband to *Cyrus*, and he being killed in the engagement with the *Egyptians*, as we have mentioned above, *Panthea* out of grief slew herself upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* caused them both to be interred with great pomp, and a stately monument to be erected over them near the river *Pactolus*, where it was to be seen many ages after (5).

(K) The taking of *Cræsus* is differently related by *Herodotus* and those who have copied after him (6). According to these, *Cræsus* being shut up in *Sardis* dispatched ambassadors to all his allies intreating their assistance. But in the mean time *Cyrus* pursued the siege with such vigour, that he took the city before any succours could arrive, and the king in it, whom he condemned to be burnt alive. And accordingly placed him on a great pile of wood, accompanied by fourteen young *Lydians*. The design of *Cyrus* in so doing was, according to *Herodotus*, to offer this sacrifice to some god as the first fruits of his victory, or to perform a vow, or perhaps to see, as he had heard of his piety towards the gods, whether any of them would save him from the fire. When *Cræsus* had ascended the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, he recollected the words of *Solon*, who had told him that no man could be called happy before his death. Revolving these words in his mind, he cried out with a great sigh three times, *Oh Solon, Solon, Solon!* Which when *Cyrus* heard, he commanded his interpreter to ask him, whose assistance he implored. Upon this *Cræsus* acquainted him, that *Solon*, an *Athenian* philosopher, having formerly visited him, and viewed his immense treasures, had despised all, and plainly told him, instead of applauding his happiness, that he could not pronounce any man happy so long as he lived, because no man could foresee what might happen to him before his death. Of the truth of which being now sadly convinced by his present calamity, he could not forbear calling upon the name of *Solon*. This raised in *Cyrus* a lively sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and such compassion for *Cræsus*, that he commanded the fire to be presently extinguished and the unfortunate king taken down. Accordingly all endeavours were used to execute his orders, but the fire could not be mastered. In this distress *Cræsus* being informed that *Cyrus* designed to save his life, but seeing his *Persians* attempted in vain to extinguish the flame, burst out into a flood of tears, and with a loud voice invoking *Apollo*, besought that god to deliver him from the present danger, if any of his offerings had ever been agreeable to him. He had scarce ended his prayer when clouds were seen gathered in the air, which before was serene, and a violent storm of rain ensuing, quite extinguished the flame. *Cyrus* understanding by this miraculous event that *Cræsus* was a pious prince and greatly favoured by the gods, not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable maintenance, and made use of him ever after as one of his chief counsellors, and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyses*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow.

The same writer tells us, that upon the taking of the city of *Sardis*, a certain *Persian*, not knowing *Cræsus*, advanced to kill him. As he, not caring to survive that disaster, did not attempt to avoid the blow, his son, who was born dumb, seeing the soldier ready to strike, was moved with such fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that in that instant he cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of Cræsus.* These were the first words he ever uttered, but from that time he continued to speak readily till his death (7). Thus far *Herodotus*.

(5) *Cyropæd. l.* v. & vii. (6) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 85. (7) *Id. ibid.*

likewise

a likewise under subjection, he again entered *Assyria*, and marched towards *Babylon*, the only city in all the east that now held out against him. *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him, *Labynitus*, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle, but being without much ado put to flight, he retreated to *Babylon*, where he was immediately blocked up and closely besieged by *Cyrus*. The siege of this important place was no easy enterprize. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However these difficulties did not discourage *Cyrus* from prosecuting his design. But despairing to take the place by storm, b he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch, reckoning that if all communication with the country were cut off, the more people there were within the city, the sooner they would be obliged to surrender. That his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and appointing each body its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged thinking themselves out of all danger by reason of their high walls and magazines, insulted *Cyrus* from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himself as so much unprofitable labour [t].

*Invests* Babylon.

*Cyrus* having spent two entire years before *Babylon* without gaining any considerable advantage over the city, at last resolved upon the following stratagem, which c put him in possession of the place. He was informed that a great annual solemnity was to be kept in *Babylon*, and that the *Babylonians* on that occasion were accustomed to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to surprize them in, and accordingly sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which we have elsewhere described [u], with orders at an appointed time to break down the great bank which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the same time he posted one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march into the city by the bed of the river as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening he d opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, that the water might discharge itself into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops according to their orders entered the channel, the one commanded by *Gobryas*, and the other by *Gadates*; and finding the gates all left open, by reason of the general disorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, surprized the guards, and cut them in pieces. Those who were within the palace opening the gates to know the cause of this confusion, the *Persians* rushed in, took the palace and killed the king, who sword in hand came up to meet e them. The king being killed and those who were about him put to flight, the rest voluntarily submitted, and *Cyrus* without any further resistance became master of the place, and concluded his conquests after a war of 21 years [w]. The taking of *Babylon* put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and fulfilled the predictions, which the prophets *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel* had uttered against that proud metropolis, and, of which we have already given a particular account [x].

Babylon *taken.* *Year of the flood* 2461. *Before Christ* 536.

Upon the death of the king of *Babylon*, *Darius* the *Mede* is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom [y]. By *Darius* the *Mede* is meant *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and uncle to *Cyrus*, as we have fully proved in the history of *Media* †. For *Cyrus* as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnership; nay, so far f did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. *Cyrus* having settled his affairs at *Babylon*, returned into *Persia* to pay a visit to his father and mother, who were still alive [z], and after a short stay there went back to *Babylon* together with *Cyaxares*. On their arrival they concerted together the settling of the whole empire, and having divided it into 120 provinces, the government of these was given to such as had distinguished themselves during the war [a].

The civil government being thus settled, *Cyrus* ordered all his forces to join him at *Babylon*. On a general review he found they consisted of 120,000 horse, 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. Of these having distributed into

*Cyrus's numerous army.*

[t] Herodot. l. i. c. 177. Cyroped. l. vii. p. 186—188. [u] Vol. I. p. 961. [w] Idem. ibid. p. 189—192. [x] Vol. I. p. 973. [y] Dan. v. 31. vii. 1. viii. 1. † See before p. 16. c. [z] Idem. ibid. [a] Dan. vi. 1.

garrisons such a number as he judged necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, where he settled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations as far as the *Red Sea*, and the confines of *Ethiopia*[z]. In this interval of time *Daniel* was by order of *Darius*, who remained at *Babylon*, cast into the lions den, as we have related in the history of *Media* †.

*Cyaxares's death. Year of the flood 2463. Before Christ 536.*

ABOUT two years after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* dying, and also *Cambyses* king of *Persia*, *Cyrus* returned to *Babylon* and took upon him the whole government of the empire[a], which he held for the space of seven years (K).

*Cyrus puts an end to the Jewish captivity.*

IN the first of these seven years expired the 70 years of the *Babylonish* captivity, when *Cyrus* published the famous edict, whereby the *Jews* were allowed to return to *Jerusalem*. There is no doubt but this edict was obtained by *Daniel*, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he shewed him the prophecies of *Isaiah*[b], naming him 120 years before his birth as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and *Jerusalem* and *Judea* to be re-possessed by their ancient inhabitants.

*Cyrus* having issued out his decree for the restoring of the *Jews* to their country, and the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, the captive *Hebrews* assembled out of the several provinces of the *Babylonian* empire, to the number of 4236 persons with their servants, who amounted to 7337 more, and set out for *Judea*. And thus was the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* again restored after they had lain desolate 70 years (L). *Cyrus* restored at the same time to the *Jews* all the vessels of the temple, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought from *Jerusalem*, and lodged in the temple of his God *Baal* *.

AFTER the return of the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, their declared enemies, did all that lay in their power to prevent the building of the temple; and though they could not alter *Cyrus*'s decree, yet they prevailed by bribes with his chief officers that were in *Judea* to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on but very slowly. And it seems to have been out of grief to see the pious intentions of *Cyrus* thus disappointed, that in the third year of that prince *Daniel* gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together[c].

*The extent of his empire.*

BUT to return to *Cyrus*. This prince being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and those of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His new-erected empire was bounded on the east by the river *Indus*, on the north by the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas, on the west by the *Egean*, and on the south by *Ethiopia* and the sea of *Arabia*. He kept his residence in the heart of these countries, spending the seven cold months at *Babylon* by reason of the warmth of that climate; three months at *Susa* in the spring, and two months at *Ecbatan* during the heat of the summer[d].

[z] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233. † Before pag. 22. e. f. [a] Idem, ibid. [b] ISA. xliv. 28. xlv. 1. * See hereafter Vol. IV. p. 1. & seq. and notes. [c] DAN. x. 1, 3. [d] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233.

(K) The reign of *Cyrus* is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* at the head of the *Persian* army, to have lasted thirty years; from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire after the death of *Cyaxares* in *Media* and *Cambyses* in *Persia* seven years. *Tully* (8) reckons by the first account, *Ptolemy* (9) by the second, and *Xenophon* (10) by the third. The first of these seven years is the first year of *Cyrus* mentioned by *Ezra* (11), wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and liberty granted them to return to their country, the seventy years of captivity being then expired.

(L) It may not be improper in this place to insert the famous edict of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Israelites*; an edict, for which it may be presumed that God endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blest him with a constant series of prosperity and victories.

*In the first year of* Cyrus, *king of the* Persians, *that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of* Jeremy, *the Lord raised up the spirit of* Cyrus *the king of the* Persians; *and he made proclamation through all his kingdom and also by writing, saying: Thus saith* Cyrus *king of the* Persians, *the Lord of* Israel, *the most high Lord, has made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him an house at* Jerusalem *in* Jewry. *If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to* Jerusalem *that is in* Judea, *and build the house of the Lord of* Israel; *for he is the Lord that dwelleth in* Jerusalem. *Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (those I say that are his neighbours) with gold and with silver, with gifts, with horses, and with cattle and other things, which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at* Jerusalem (12)

(8) *Cic. de divinat. l. 2.* (9) *Ptolem. in Canone.* (10) *Cyropæd. l.* viii. (11) *Ezra* i. 1. (12) 1 *Esdras* ii. 1, *&c seq.*

Having

a HAVING spent seven years in this state of tranquillity, and established his empire with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation alone it stood above 200 years, notwithstanding the rash and impolitic proceedings of his successors, he died in the 70th year of his age [e], equally regretted by all the nations of his vast spreading dominions. He had reigned, from his first taking upon him the command of the *Persian* and *Median* armies, thirty years, as we hinted in a late note [f]; from the reduction of *Babylon* nine [g], and from his being sole monarch of the east after the death of his uncle *Cyaxares* or *Darius* the *Mede*, seven years [h]. Authors are strangely at variance with each other as to the manner of his death. *Xenophon*'s account, who makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends and in his own b country, seems to us by far the most probable. For all authors agree that he was buried at *Pasargada* in *Persia*, where *Xenophon* says he died, and his monument was to be seen in the time of *Alexander the Great*. Had he been slain in *Scythia*, as *Herodotus* and *Justin* relate, and his body mangled as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been rescued out of the hands of those enraged Barbarians, and buried at *Pasargada*? Besides, it is by no means probable that such a wise man as *Cyrus* is represented to have been, and so far advanced in years, would have engaged in so rash an undertaking as the *Scythian* expedition is described to have been by those who relate it. Neither can it be conceived how after so great an overthrow the *Persian* empire could have subsisted, especially in the hands of such a successor c as *Cambyses* was. For *Herodotus* tells us, that he was killed, and his whole army, consisting of 200,000 men, cut in pieces (M).

*Cyrus dies. Year of the flood 2470. Before Christ 529.*

ON his death-bed he appointed his son *Cambyses* to succeed him; who accordingly took possession of that vast empire. To his other son *Smerdis* he left several considerable governments. *Cambyses*, known in scripture by the name of *Ahasuerus* [i], was scarce well settled on the throne when he resolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*. The occasion of this war, as related by *Herodotus*, seems fabulous [k]. 'Tis most likely that *Amasis*, who was then king of *Egypt*, and had probably submitted to *Cyrus*; did upon the death of that great conqueror, refuse to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. But be that as it will, *Cambyses* in order to carry on the d war with success made vast preparations both by sea and land. The *Cypriots* and *Phœnicians* furnished him with ships; and for his land-forces, he added to his own troops great numbers of auxiliaries, especially of *Greeks Ionians*, and *Æolians*, who were the main strength of his army. But the greatest help he had in this war was from *Phanes* of *Halicarnassus*, who being commander of some *Greek* auxiliaries in the service of *Amasis*, took some disgust, and going over to *Cambyses* made such discoveries to him of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of affairs in *Egypt*, as greatly contributed to the success of this expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that *Cambyses* contracted with an *Arabian* king, whose territories lay between the confines of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, to furnish his army with water during his march through deserts that parted those two countries. e The *Arabian* fulfilled his agreement by sending many camels loaded with skins full of water, without which *Cambyses* could never have marched his army that way [l].

*Names for his successor* Cambyses.

*Who wars against the* Egyptians.

[e] CICERO de Divin. l. i. [f] CIC. ubi supra. [g] PTOL. in Can. [h] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 253. [i] EZRA iv. 6. [k] HERODOT. l. iii. cap. 11. See also before Vol. I. p. 272, 273. [l] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 4—9.

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* (13) tells us that he was taken prisoner by *Tomyris* queen of the *Massagetes*, and by her orders crucified. *Ctesias* (14) says, that in a battle against the *Derbicans*, a people bordering upon *Hyrcania*, he was wounded in the thigh by a certain *Indian*, of which wound he died three days after. *John Malela* of *Antioch*, out of a forged book ascribed to *Pythagoras* acquaints us that he was slain in a sea-fight by the *Samians*.

Some writers tell us (15) that after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyrus*, having a victorious army at his devotion, and *Cyaxares* being returned from *Babylon* into *Media*, revolted from *Cyaxares* in conjunction with the *Persians* under him, who were incited thereunto by *Harpagus* a *Mede*, and *Astabazus* who had assisted *Cyrus* in subduing *Asia minor*, and had been injured by *Darius*. *Harpagus* was sent by *Cyaxares* with an army against *Cyrus*; but in the heat of the battle revolted with great part of the army to *Cyrus*. *Cyaxares* raised a new army, and was again defeated near *Pasargada* in *Persia*, and taken prisoner. By this victory, say they, the monarchy was translated from the *Medes* to the *Persians*. But this account we have already rejected as not agreeing so well with holy writ as that which we read in *Xenophon*.

(13) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* ii. (14) *Ctesias, l.* xi. (15) *Vid. Suidas in Aristarchos.*

BEING

Being thus prepared, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival upon the borders of that kingdom, he was informed that *Amasis* was just dead, and that his son *Psammenitus*, who had succeeded him, was drawing together a powerful army to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. Before *Cambyses* could open a passage into the country, it was necessary for him to take *Pelusium*, which was the key of *Egypt* on that side. But as that was a strong place, and in a condition to hold out a long time, *Cambyses* had recourse to the following stratagem probably suggested to him by *Phanes*. Being informed that the whole garrison consisted of *Egyptians*, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals that were look'd upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city. The soldiers of the garrison not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow that way through fear of killing some of those animals, *Cambyses* possessed himself of the place without opposition [m].

Pelusium *taken by a stratagem.*

*Cambyses* had scarce taken possession of this important place, when *Psammenitus* at the head of a powerful army advanced to stop his further progress; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the two armies †. But before they engaged, the *Greeks* and *Carians* who served under *Psammenitus* to shew their resentment against *Phanes*, for introducing the *Persians* into *Egypt*, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the sight of their father, and in the presence of the two armies drank their blood. The *Persians*, enraged at so cruel a sight, fell upon the *Egyptian* army with such fury that they soon put them to flight, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Those who saved themselves by flight retired to *Memphis* (N). *Cambyses* pursued them close, and arriving at *Memphis*, sent a herald into the city, on a vessel of *Mitylene*, by the river *Nile* on which *Memphis* stood, to summon the inhabitants to surrender. But the people transported with rage fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyses* after a short siege having stormed the place, fully revenged their death, causing ten *Egyptians* of the first rank to be publickly executed for every one of those they had slain, and the eldest son of *Psammenitus* was one of the number. As for the king himself who was taken prisoner, *Cambyses* was inclined to treat him kindly; for he not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance: But he, not at all affected with this kind usage, did all that lay in his power to raise new troubles in hopes of recovering his crown; whereupon he was condemned to drink bull's blood, and thus ended his life after a reign of six months, and with him died the antient splendor and liberty of *Egypt*, for all that country immediately submitted to the conqueror [n].

Cambyses *defeats* Psammenitus.

*Takes* Memphis.

Psammenitus *put to death.*

On the news of this success the *Lybians*, *Cyrenians* and *Barceans* sent embassadors with presents to *Cambyses*, declaring themselves ready to submit to him, and receive his forces into their strong holds. From *Memphis* he marched to the city of *Sais*, the burying-place of the *Egyptian* kings. Here he caused the body of *Amasis* to be inhumanly taken out of its tomb, and after exposing it to a thousand indignities, he ordered it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. The wrath, which this prince vented upon the dead body of *Amasis*, shews the irreconcilable hatred he bore him. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, he seems to have been by it chiefly prompted to invade *Egypt* [o].

Amasis's *body cruelly used.*

m Polyen. l. vii. † See before Vol. I. p. 171. f. & seq. n Herodot. l. iii. c. 13—15. o Idem, ibid. c. xvi.

(N) On occasion of this battle *Herodotus* (16) takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, whereof he himself was an eye-witness. The bones of the *Persians* and *Egyptians* were in his time still to be seen in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from each other. The skulls of the *Egyptians*, says he, were so hard that they could hardly be broken by the violent blow of a large stone; whereas those of the *Persians* were so soft and weak, that they were broke with the least blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the *Egyptian* custom of shaving the heads of their children early; by which means the bones were rendered thicker and stronger through the heat of the sun, and the head preserved from baldness, there being fewer people bald in *Egypt*, as *Herodotus* observes, than in any other country. As the heads of the *Egyptians* were strengthened by this method, so those of the *Persians* were softened by the contrary custom. For they were not exposed to the sun, but always covered with caps and turbants. Our author adds, that he observed the same thing at *Papremis* in those who together with *Achæmenes* the son of *Darius* were defeated by *Inarus* king of *Lybia*.

(16) *Herodot. l.* iii. *c.* 12.

a THE next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved upon three different expeditions; the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*. But he was forced to drop the first project by reason the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him against the *Carthaginians* who were descended from them, *Carthage* being originally a *Tyrian* colony. But his heart being set on the other two expeditions, he sent embassadors into *Ethiopia*, who under that character were to act as spies, and give him intelligence of the state and strength of the country. But the *Ethiopians* being well apprized of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt. However the *Ethiopian* king in return for the presents b they brought him from *Cambyses* sent him back his own bow, advising him to make war upon the *Ethiopians* when the *Persians* could as easily bend that bow as they could. Before he delivered the bow to the *Persian* embassadors, he addressed them with this speech. "'Tis not from any consideration of my friendship that the king "of *Persia* sent you with these presents; neither have you spoken truth, but are "come into my kingdom as spies. If your master were an honest man he would "desire no more than his own, and not attempt to enslave a people who had never "done him any injury. However, give him this bow from me, and let him know "that the king of *Ethiopia* advises the king of *Persia* to make war upon the *Ethio-*"*pians* when the *Persians* shall be able thus easily to bend so strong a bow, and in c "the mean time to thank the gods that they have never inspired the *Ethiopians* with "a desire of extending their dominions beyond their own country."

*The* Ethiopian *king's noble message to* Cambyses.

*Cambyses* being informed by his embassadors of all that had passed, flew into a violent passion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without considering that they were furnished neither with provisions nor any other necessaries for such an expedition. He left the *Greek* auxiliaries behind him to keep the new conquered countries in awe during his absence, and with the whole body of his land-forces began his march. When he arrived at *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, he detached 50,000 men against the *Hammonians*, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, while he with the rest of his army should d march against the *Ethiopians*. But before he had marched a fifth part of the way, his provisions were consumed, and the army reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burthen. *Cambyses* notwithstanding these difficulties pursued his rash attempt, and the soldiers fed upon herbs and grass so long as they found any in their way. But when they arrived in the sandy desarts, they were brought to such extremities as to be obliged to devour one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions; a food, says *Seneca*, more to be dreaded than famine itself[d]. The king still persisted in his mad design, till at last being apprehensive of the danger his own person was in, he gave over the enterprize, and retreated to *Thebes*, after having lost great part of his army in this e wild attempt[e].

Cambyses's *rash expedition against* Ethiopia.

*His army famished in the desarts.*

As for that part of the army which was sent against the *Ammonians*, they marched from *Thebes*, and by the help of their guides arrived at the city of *Oasis*, inhabited by *Samians*, and seven days march distant from *Thebes*. Nobody doubts, as our author informs us[f], but they arrived at that place. But what was their fate afterwards is uncertain, for they never returned either to *Egypt* or their own country. The *Ammonians* informed *Herodotus*, that they marched from *Oasis*, and that after they had entered the sandy desart which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the south at the time of their dinner, and raised the sands to such a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed and buried alive.

*His other army perish.*

f *Cambyses* on his return to *Thebes*, caused all the temples, which in that superstitious city were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richness of those temples from the remains saved from the flames, which amounted to the sum of 300 talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. He likewise carried away the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king *Ozymandias*, being 365 cubits in circumference, and on which were represented all the motions of the several constellations[g].

*He destroys all the* Egyptian *temples.*

FROM *Thebes Cambyses* marched back to *Memphis*, where he discharged the *Greek* mercenaries, and sent them to their respective countries. On his entry into this city

[c] Idem, ibid. c. xx—xxiv. [d] SENECA de Ira, l. iii. c. 20. [e] HERODOT. ubi supra, c. 25, 26.
[f] Idem, ibid. [g] DIODOR. Sicul. l. i. p. 45—46.

 finding

finding the citizens all in mirth and jollity because their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he was highly provoked, as supposing that they rejoiced because of his unsuccessful expedition. He therefore called the magistrates to learn of them the cause of that publick mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he not believing what they said, caused them all to be put to death. He sent afterwards for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him that it had been always their custom when their god appeared amongst them to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to shew himself to them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forthwith before him [h]. a b

*Cruelty at Memphis.*

The chief god of the *Egyptians* was *Osiris*, at *Memphis* called *Apis*. This god they worshipped in the shape of a bull, and always kept in his temple a bull to which they paid divine honours in his stead. He was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and impregnated, as the *Egyptians* believed, by thunder. We have spoke elsewhere [i] of the marks which were to distinguish him from all others. When he died, another with the same marks was sought for and put in his room. When this calf was brought to *Cambyses*, who expected to see some deity, he flew into a violent passion, and drawing his dagger wounded the *Apis* in the thigh, and reproaching the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute, ordered them severely to be whipt, and all the *Egyptians* at *Memphis*, that should be found celebrating the feast of *Apis*, to be slain. The *Apis* after he had languished some time died of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the priests, who carefully concealed his death from *Cambyses* [k]. c

*Kills their god Apis.*

The *Egyptians* say, that after this sacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greatest instance of impiety that ever was committed amongst them, *Cambyses* was immediately seized with lunacy and grew mad. But his actions shewed that he was so long before, of which he gave several instances. We find the following upon record.

*Instances of that monarch's madness and cruelty.*

He had a brother by the same father and mother called by *Xenophon Tanaoxares*, *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*, and by *Justin Mergis*. He attended *Cambyses* on his *Egyptian* expedition; but being the only person in the army that could bend the bow within two fingers breadth which the king of *Ethiopia* had sent, *Cambyses* from hence conceived such a jealousy of him, that being no longer able to bear him in the army, he sent him back into *Persia*. After his departure *Cambyses* dreamed that a messenger arrived from *Persia* told him that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head. Whereupon suspecting that his brother aspired to the crown, he dispatched *Prexaspes*, one of his confidents into *Persia* with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed [l]. d e

This murder was followed by another still more criminal. *Cambyses* had with him in the camp his youngest sister by name *Meroe*. As this princess was very beautiful, he fell violently in love with her, and was desirous to marry her. But being convinced of the novelty of his design, he summoned all the royal judges of the *Persian* nation, whose office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry a sister. The judges being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and at the same time dreading the effects of the king's violent temper should they contradict him, returned this crafty answer: That they truly knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own sister, but had a law which gave the king of *Persia* liberty to do whatever he pleased. Upon this answer he solemnly married her, and thereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This sister he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an island in the *Nile* between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, which he conquered on his wild expedition against the *Ethiopians*. The occasion and manner of her death is reported in the following manner: As *Cambyses* was one day diverting himself in seeing a young dog and the whelp of a lion fighting, the dog being over-matched, another of the same litter breaking loose, came to his assistance, by which means the lion was mastered. Whilst the king was mightily pleased with this adventure, *Meroe*, who sat by him, began f

*He marries his sister.*

h Herodot. l. iii. c. 27. & seq. i Vol. I. p. 206. k Herodot. ibid. c. 30. l Idem, ibid.

to

a to weep, and being obliged to tell her husband the cause of her grief, she confessed that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother *Smerdis*, whom nobody had been good-natured enough to assist. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who notwithstanding her being with child, gave her such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she miscarried and soon after died [m] (N). *And kills her.*

He caused also several of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of them to his wild fury. He one day asked *Prexaspes*, who was his chief favourite, what the *Persians* said of him, and what character they b gave him in their private conversations. *Prexaspes* answered, that they highly applauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. I understand you, replied the king, they pretend that wine deprives me of my understanding, but whether this charge be true or not you shall be judge. Upon which he began to drink to a far greater excess than he had ever done before. Then ordering the son of *Prexaspes*, who was his cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the room with his left hand upon his head, and then turning to *Prexaspes*, If I shoot, said he, this arrow through the heart of thy son, the *Persians* you must own have slandered me; but if I miss, I shall willingly allow them to have spoke the truth. He had no sooner uttered these words, than drawing his bow he shot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then commanding c him to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he asked the father with great joy, and in an insulting manner, whether he had ever seen a man shoot with a more steady hand, and whether or no the *Persians* had injured his character by saying that wine deprived him of his reason? The unfortunate father, being under great apprehensions for his own life, answered, that a god could not have shot more dexterously [n] (O). *Prexaspes's son shot to death.*

While he was proceeding in this furious manner, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* thought fit to lay before him the bad consequences that might attend so tyrannical a government; which provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death. But the officers, who received his orders, suspended the execution of the sen- d tence, and concealed *Cræsus*, thinking that if *Cambyses* should enquire for him, and repent of his rash resolution, they should be well rewarded for saving his life; but if they found, that *Cambyses* neither altered his mind, nor desired to see him, they might still put him to death pursuant to their orders. The very next day he asked for *Cræsus*, which the officers hearing, acquainted him that the king of *Lydia* was still alive. *Cambyses* was transported with joy when he heard that his orders had not been put in execution, but at the same time commanded all those who had saved him to be immediately put to death because they had not obeyed his orders [o]. *Cræsus ordered to be put to death.*

*Cambyses* in the beginning of the 8th year of his reign left *Egypt* in order to return to *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria* he met an herald sent from *Susa* to the army, e to acquaint them that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was proclaimed king, and command them all to acknowledge and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner. *Cambyses* at his departure from *Susa* on the *Egyptian* expedition had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of *Patizithes* one of the chief of the *Mages*. This *Patizithes* had a brother who very much resembled *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and was, perhaps, on that account called by the same name. As soon as he was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been carefully concealed from most others, and at the same time informed that *Cambyses* indulged his tyrannical temper to such a degree that he was grown insup- f portable, he placed his own brother on the throne, giving out that he was the true *The conspiracy of* Smerdis *the Mage.*

[m] Idem, c. 31, 32. [n] Idem, l. iii. c. 34, 35. [o] Idem, ibid. c. 36.

(N) The *Egyptians*, in our author informs us (17), relate the matter in a different way. They say, that as *Cambyses* and his sister were at table, she took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves asunder, asked her husband, whether an entire lettuce was not more beautiful than one pulled in pieces? He answered, it was; whereupon *Meroe* reply'd, that he had represented the broken lettuce by dismembering the house of *Cyrus*. Upon these words *Cambyses* struck her with his foot, which, as she was big with child, occasioned her death.

(O) *Seneca* (18), who copied this story from *Herodotus*, after shewing his detestation of such a barbarous and cruel action, condemns still more the monstrous flattery of the father with these memorable words; *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est quam missum.*

(17) *Herodot. ubi sup.* c. 32. (18) *Seneca, l.* iii. *de Ira, c.* 14.

*Smerdis*,

*Smerdis*, the son of *Cyrus*, and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts a of the empire to give notice of *Smerdis*'s accession to the crown, and require all the provinces to pay him their obedience. The herald who was dispatched to *Egypt* finding *Cambyses* with his army at *Ecbatan* in *Syria*, placed himself in the midst of the army, and openly proclaimed the orders of *Patizithes*. *Cambyses* caused him to be seized, and having strictly examined him in the presence of *Prexaspes*, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that he, who had usurped the throne, was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. The mention of that name greatly affected *Cambyses*, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had seen a messenger who came to acquaint him that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne. Reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst out b in a flood of tears, and immediately ordered his army to march with a design to suppress the growing rebellion. But as he was mounting his horse, his sword slipt out of the scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. Being thus wounded, he asked the name of the city, and being informed that the place was called *Ecbatan*, he said in the presence of all, fate has decreed that *Cambyses* the son of *Cyrus* shall die in this place. For while he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the oracle of *Butus*, which was very famous in that country, he was told that he should die at *Ecbatan*; which he understanding of *Ecbatan* in *Media*, resolved to save his life by avoiding that place; but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. And therefore being informed that the place, where he received the wound, was called *Ecbatan*, c taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chief *Persian* lords that served in the army, and having represented to them the true state of the case, he earnestly exhorted them never to submit to the impostor, or suffer the sovereignty to pass again from the *Persians* to the *Medes*, of which nation *Smerdis* the *Mage* was, but to use their utmost indeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the *Persians* suspecting all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, and *Cambyses* dying a few days after of his wound which mortified, they quietly submitted to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. To this delusion *Prexaspes* greatly contributed by saying that he had not killed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* d with his own hand [p].

*Cambyses accidentally wounded.*

*Dies.*

*Cambyses* reigned seven years and five months. When he came first to the crown, the *Samaritans* begged of him that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at *Jerusalem*. And their application was not in vain, for though he had so much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet in a great measure he frustrated the design of it by laying the *Jews* under such difficulties that they could not pursue the work [q].

*Smerdis the Mage mounts the throne.*

*Year of the flood 2477. Before Christ 522.*

*Marries the daughter of Cyrus.*

This prince is called in scripture [r] *Artaxerxes*, by *Herodotus Smerdis*, by *Æschylus Mardys*, by *Ctesias Spendadates*, and by *Justin Orapastes*. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes and e all military service for three years, and treated them with such beneficence, that all the nations of *Asia*, the *Persians* only excepted, expressed great sorrow on the revolution that happened a few months after. And further to secure himself on the throne he married *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, thinking that in case of a discovery he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to her brother *Cambyses*, who upon the above-mentioned decision of the royal judges, having married one of his sisters, took to wife also the other. And the *Mage* pretending to be her brother, married her upon the same footing. But the precautions he made use of to prevent his being discovered, only increased the suspicion that he was not the true *Smerdis*. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and f among the rest *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes* a *Persian* nobleman of the first rank. *Otanes* to be fully satisfied in this matter sent a trusty messenger to his daughter to know of her whether the King was really *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, or some other man. *Phedyma* returned answer, that as she had never seen *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, she could not satisfy his curiosity. *Otanes* by a second message desired her to enquire of *Atossa*, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak with *Atossa*, or see any other of the women, because the king, whoever he was, had

*Suspected by Otanes.*

[p] Herodot. l. iii. c. 64—66. [q] Ezra iv. 4, 6. [r] Ezra iv. 7, 14.

from

a from the very beginning of his reign lodged his wives in distinct and separate apartments. This answer greatly increased the suspicion of *Otanes*, who thereupon sent a third message to his daughter directing her when she should be next invited to his bed to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling whether he had ears or no; for *Cyrus* having formerly caused the ears of *Smerdis* the *Mage* to be cut off for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that if the king had ears she might be sure that he was *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*; but if otherwise, he could be no other than *Smerdis* the *Mage*, and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown or her person. *Phedyma* answered, that the danger was very great, because if the b king had no ears and should surprise her endeavouring to find out such a truth, he would not fail putting her to death: nevertheless in obedience to the commands of her father she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt. And accordingly the next time she was called to his bed, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep she took the opportunity of making the trial, and finding he had no ears, early next morning acquainted her father therewith, whereby the imposture was discovered. *Otanes* upon this information imparted the whole affair to *Gobryas* and *Aspathines*, *Persians* of great distinction and whose honour he could rely on. These three agreed among themselves that each of them should name one of his most trusty friends to be admitted into the secret. Pursuant to this resolution *Otanes* c named *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas Megabysus*, and *Aspathines Hydarnes*. In the mean time *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes* arriving at *Susa* from *Persia* where his father was governour, they all agreed to make him privy to all their resolutions, which they did accordingly. *Darius* at their first meeting told them, that he thought no man in *Persia* but himself had known that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was really dead, and the crown usurped by a *Mage*, and therefore he was come with a design to kill the usurper, without imparting his design to any other, that the glory of such an action might be entirely his own. But since others were apprised of the imposture, he was of opinion that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being in such cases very dangerous, and the best-concerted designs easily d disappointed. *Otanes* on the other hand was for putting off the execution of their design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting the enterprize till they had increased their number. But *Darius* remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed if they let the present opportunity slip, or imparted their design to others, and openly protesting, that if they did not make the attempt that very day he would prevent any one from accusing him by disclosing the whole matter to the *Mage*; it was unanimously agreed that they should not separate under any pretence whatsoever, but immediately upon the breaking up of their meeting, go to the palace, and either put the usurper to death, or die in the attempt[r].

*Discovered by him.*

Darius *declares the true* Smerdis *dead.*

e While they were concerting their measures, the two *Mages* in order to remove all suspicion engaged *Prenaspes* in their interest, and with great promises prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himself by oath never to discover the fraud they had put upon the *Persians*. *Prenaspes*, as we have related above, knew that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was not living, having by the command of *Cambyses* put him to death with his own hand. The *Mages* having engaged *Prenaspes* to be silent, acquainted him farther, that having determined to assemble all the *Persians* under the walls of the palace, they desired he would ascend a certain tower, and from thence publickly declare that the king upon the throne was truly *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*. *Prenaspes* having taken upon him this office, the *Mages* summoned the *Persians* together, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. *Prenaspes* began his discourse with the genealogy of *Cyrus*, and then put the *Persians* in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. After having extolled *Cyrus* and his family, to the great astonishment of all, he sincerely declared all that had passed, and told the people, that the aprehensions of the danger he must inevitably run by publishing the imposture had constrained him to conceal it so long; but now, his remorse no longer suffering him to act such a dishonourable part, he acknowledged that he had been compelled by *Cambyses* to put his brother to death with his own hand, and that the person who possessed the throne was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. He then begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he

Prenaspes's *noble speech to the* Persians.

[r] Herodot. l. iii. c. 74, 75.

had committed by compulsion and against his will, and fulminating many imprecations against the *Persians* if they should neglect to recover the sovereignty and punish the usurper, he threw himself head-long from the top of the tower, and died on the spot. 'Tis easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace [a]. a

*His death.*

In the mean time the conspirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace determined to execute their design. On their way they were informed of what *Prenaspes* had said and done, which obliging them to retire and confer together, *Otanes* earnestly desired them anew to defer the enterprize. But *Darius* still insisting upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all proposals of delay (P), they fell in with his opinion and went directly to the palace. The guards respecting their dignity, and not suspecting persons of their rank and figure, permitted them to pass without asking them any questions. But as they came near the king's apartment, the eunuchs, who attended there to receive messages, refused them admittance, and threatned the guards for permitting them to pass. Upon this the seven *Persians* encouraging each other drew their swords, killed all that opposed their passage, and penetrated to the very room where the two *Mages* were consulting about the late affair of *Prenaspes*. They no sooner heard this tumult and uproar, but the one taking up a bow and the other a javelin, the weapons that came first to hand in that confusion, they engaged the conspirators. He, who had the bow, soon found that weapon of no use in so close an action; but the other with his javelin wounded *Aspathines* in the thigh, and struck out the eye of *Intaphernes*. One of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room adjoining to the place where they fought, with a design to shut himself in; but was so closely pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas*, that they broke into the room with him. *Gobryas* having seized him, held him fast in his arms, but as it was quite dark in that place, *Darius* stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike lest he should kill his friend instead of the enemy; which *Gobryas* perceiving, desired him to strike though he should kill them both. Upon this *Darius* resolved to put all to the venture, and by good fortune killed the usurper. Having thus dispatched the two brothers, they cut off their heads, and leaving their two wounded companions to secure the palace, the other five carrying the head of the two *Mages*, with their hands all smeared with blood, marched out of the palace, exposed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. The *Persians* being informed of what had passed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole sect, and killed every *Mage* they met; and if night coming on had not put an end to the slaughter, no one of that order had been left alive. The day on which this happened was ever afterwards celebrated by the *Persians* with the greatest solemnity, called by the name of *Magophonia*, or the slaughter of the *Mages*. On that festival the *Mages* durst not for many years after appear abroad, but were obliged to shut themselves up in their houses [b]. b c d e

*The seven Lords force into the palace.*

*Smerdis the Mage murdered by Darius.*

*The Mages massacred.*

*Smerdis* reigned only eight months, during which time a stop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*. For as soon as he was seated on the throne, the *Samaritans* acquainted him, that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple, that they had always been a rebellious and stubborn people, and that if he allowed them to finish that work they would without doubt withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would lose all the provinces on that side the *Euphrates*. For the truth of what they said concerning the ungovernable temper of the *Jews*, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, which they desired him to enquire into touching this matter. And accordingly *Smerdis* upon these remonstrances having caused the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the *Jews* had been reduced by *Nabuchadnezzar*, issued an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work they had begun, and charged the *Samaritans* to see f

*Samaritans obstruct the rebuilding of the temple.*

[a] Herodot. lib. iii. c. 74, 75. [b] Idem. ibid. c. 76--79.

(P) *Herodotus* (19) tells us, that as they were contending seven hawks appeared pursuing two vultures in the air, and tearing them to pieces; which when the seven *Persians* observed, they accepted the omen, all to a man fell in with *Darius*, and marched strait to the palace.

(19) *Herodot.* l. iii. c. 76.

a it put in execution. Hereupon the work was laid aside till the second year of *Darius Hystaspes*, that is for the space of near two years [u] (Q).

But to return to the conspirators; when the tumult and disorders, which attend such events, were appeased, they met to consult among themselves what form of government they should introduce. *Otanes* was for a republick, *Megabyzus* spoke for an oligarchy, and *Darius* declared for monarchy. The opinion of the latter was, after a long debate, embraced by all except *Otanes*, who finding his sentiments over-ruled, told them that since they were resolved to set up a king he would not be their competitor for a dignity which he abhorred, and that being determined not to govern as a king he would not be governed by one, and therefore was willing to give up his right to the crown on condition that neither he nor his posterity should be subject b to the royal power. The other six granted him his demand; whereupon he immediately retired, and his descendants alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther subject to the king than it suited their conveniency, and only obliged to conform to the customs and manners of the country [w].

*The seven lords debate about settling the government.*

Upon his departure the other six began to diliberate in what manner they should proceed to the election of a new king. But in the first place they unanimously agreed that whosoever of them should be chosen, he should every year present *Otanes* and his posterity with a *Median* vest, a mark of great distinction among the *Persians*, because he had been the chief author of the enterprize. In the next place they determined, c that the seven should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the seven conspirators. Then taking the future election into consideration, they thought fit to refer it to the gods; and accordingly they all agreed to meet the next morning by the rising of the sun on horse-back at an appointed place in the suburbs of the city, and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king. For the sun being the chief deity of the *Persians*, they imagined by this method to refer the election to him. *Oebares*, who had the charge of *Darius*'s horses, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-night to the place appointed and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the six *Per-* d *sians* repairing to the place pursuant to their agreement, *Darius*'s horse remembering the mare immediately neighed, and his competitors dismounting adored him as king [x].

Darius *chosen king by a stratagem of his groom.*

*Year of the flood 2477. before Christ 522.*

The *Persian* empire being thus restored by the valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with most ample privileges; in all publick affairs they were the first to deliver their opinions; and ever afterwards the *Persian* kings of this race had seven chief counsellors privileged in the same manner, and by whose advice all the publick affairs of the kingdom were transacted. Under this character we find them often mentioned in scripture [y].

*Darius* was the son of *Hystaspes* a noble *Persian* of the royal family of *Acha-* e *menes* who had attended *Cyrus* in all his wars, and was at that time governor of the province of *Persia*. *Darius* is called in the writings of the modern *Persians Gushtasph*, and his father *Lorasph*, and are famous among the *Persians* to this day. *Darius* the better to establish himself on the throne married the two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artystona*. The former had been wife to her brother *Cambyses*, and also to the *Mage*, but *Artystona* had not been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives; for to these he added *Parmys* the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, who detected the *Mage*. Having thus confirmed his power, he divided the whole empire into twenty satrapies or governments, and appointed a governor over each division, ordering them to pay an annual tribute. *Persia* alone was excepted from all manner of taxes; the *Ethiopians*

*His pedigree, &c.*

*Division of the empire.*

[u] Ezra iv. 7--24. [w] Herodot. l. iii. c. 83. [x] Herdot. ibid. c. 84--87. [y] Ezra, vii. 14. Esth. i. 14. &c.

(Q) That *Cambyses* was the *Ahasuerus* and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes* of scripture is plain from their obstructing the work of the temple. For they are said in the sacred history to have reigned between *Cyrus* and *Darius* by whose decree the temple was finished. But none reigning between *Cyrus* and *Darius* except *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, we must conclude that none but *Cambyses* and *Smerdis* could be the *Ahasuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are said in *Ezra* (20) to have put a stop to this work.

(20) *Ezra* iv. 5, 6, 7.

and

*His revenue.* and inhabitants of *Colchis* were enjoined to make only some presents, and the *Arabians* to furnish yearly such a quantity of frankincense as was equal in weight to a thousand talents. By this establishment *Darius* received the yearly tribute of 14560 *Euboic* talents, besides several other sums of small consequence. a

*Darius* in the very beginning of his reign put to death *Intaphernes* one of the seven conspirators, on the following occasion. *Intaphernes* went to the palace to confer with *Darius*; but attempting to enter, pursuant to the agreement above-mentioned, in virtue of which they were to have free access to the king at all hours except when he was alone with some of his wives, he was stopt by the door-keeper and a messenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. *Intaphernes* not believing them drew his scimeter, and having cut off both their noses and ears fastened their heads in a bridle, and so left them. In this condition they went in, and shewing themselves to the king, acquainted him with the cause of the ill usage they had received. *Darius* apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the six, sent for them, one after another, and asked whether they approved the action. But finding that *Intaphernes* alone was guilty, he caused him to be seized with his children and family, lest his relations, whom he suspected, should raise a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of *Intaphernes* made such loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that *Darius* touched with compassion granted her the life of any one among her relations, leaving her the choice of the person. She after some deliberation chose her brother. Which *Darius* hearing, asked her, why she had so little regard for her husbaud and children as to save the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily answered, that she could get another husband, and have by him other children if she should be deprived of those she had; but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was so well pleased with this answer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but saved also her eldest son. The others were all put to death with *Intaphernes*, without any regard to his late deserts [a]. b c

*Intaphernes put to death.*

*Year of the flood 2478. Before Christ 521.* In the beginning of the second year of *Darius* the *Jews* resumed the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet *Haggai* [a]. Which the *Samaritans* understanding, applied themselves to *Tatnai* whom *Darius* had appointed governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, acquainting him, that the *Jews* were not authorized to pursue that work, which if perfected would encourage them to shake off the *Persian* yoke. Upon these remonstrances *Tatnai* accompanied by *Setharboznai*, who seems to have been governor of *Samaria*, went up to *Jerusalem*, and after viewing the work enquired of the elders, by what authority they had resumed it. The elders produced the decree of *Cyrus*; whereupon the governor, who was a man of great justice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly stating the case, and desiring that search might be made into the archives for the decree of *Cyrus*, which the *Jews* produced to justify themselves in what they were doing. The king upon the receipt of this letter ordered the archives of *Babylon* and *Ecbatan* to be carefully examined, and the decree being found in those of the latter, for *Cyrus* was at *Ecbatan* in *Media* when he granted it, the king commanded it to be strictly observed in every particular, and having sent it to *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai* enjoined them to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing that whosoever should attempt to alter the edict, or prevent its being put in execution, should have his house pulled down, and a gibbet being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at *Jerusalem*, the work of the temple went on very successfully and the state of the *Jews* in *Judea* and *Jerusalem* was entirely restored (R) [b]. d e

*The building of the temple resumed by a new edict of* Darius.

*Year of the flood 2482. Before Christ 517.* About the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius*, the *Babylonians* not being able to live any longer in subjection to the *Persians*, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes, but had removed the imperial seat from *Babylon*, formerly the mistress of the east, to *Susa*, and thereby greatly diminished the splendor of that city, attempted to retrieve their ancient grandure by setting up for themselves against the *Persians*, as they had done in former times against the *Assyrians*. With f

*The* Babylonians *revolt.*

[a] Herodot. l. c. 117. [a] Haggai i. 1. [b] Ezra vi.

(R) From the 19th year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* account (which was the 17th according to the *Babylonian* computation) when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, to the 4th year of *Darius Hystaspes*, when the *Jews* were thoroughly restored, just seventy years passed according to the canon. So that sacred and profane chronology exactly agree in this particular. *

* See hereafter vol. IV. p. 3. (A) (B)

this

a this view, taking advantage of the troubles that had happened first on the death of *Cambyses*, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper *Smerdis*, they had privately stored their city with all manner of provisions for many years, and at last broke out into an open rebellion, which drew *Darius* with all his forces to besiege the city. The *Babylonians* seeing themselves shut up by so numerous and powerful an army, turned all their thoughts to the supporting of a long siege, which they imagined would tire out the enemies troops. To prevent the consumption of their provisions they took the most desperate and barbarous resolution, that ever was put in execution by any nation. They agreed among themselves to get rid of all unnecessary mouths, and therefore drawing together all the b women, old men and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether wives, fathers, mothers, or sisters, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house [c].

*Their desperate policy.*

*Darius* having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army with so tedious a siege, endeavoured by various stratagems and artifices to take the place; among others he made use of that which had succeeded so well with *Cyrus*. But all his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the unwearied vigilance of the *Babylonians*. When he was ready to break up the siege and return to *Persia*, *Zopyrus* one of his chief commanders put him in possession of the town by the following contrivance. He cut off his nose and ears, and having mangled his c body in a most cruel manner with stripes, fled to the *Babylonians* thus disfigured, feigning to have been so treated by *Darius* for advising him to raise the siege. The *Babylonians* seeing a man of that distinction so barbarously used, believed all he said against *Darius*, and assuring themselves of his fidelity, gave him the command of some forces. With these he sallied out, and having surrounded ten thousand *Persians*, which *Darius* by agreement had posted near the walls, he cut them all in pieces on the spot. A few days after in another sally he killed two thousand more; which so pleased the *Babylonians*, that he was appointed commander in chief of all their forces. Being vested with this command, he made a third sally, and put four thousand more *Persians* to the sword. Upon this success *Zopyrus* acquired such credit, that the guard of the city was entirely committed to his care. Not long after d *Darius*, pursuant to the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The *Babylonians* mounting the walls made a vigorous defence; but in the mean time *Zopyrus* opening the gates of *Belus* and *Cissia*, introduced the *Persians*, and delivered the city up to *Darius*, who without this stratagem could never have mastered it. Thus *Babylon* was taken a second time, and *Darius* being put in possession of it, beat down the walls from 200 cubits high to 50; and of these walls only *Strabo* [d] is to be understood to speak, where he tells us that the walls of *Babylon* were only fifty cubits high. As for the inhabitants, after having impaled about three thousand of the most guilty and active in the revolt, he pardoned the rest. And because the *Babylonians* had destroyed their women, he took care to furnish them with wives, enjoining the neighbouring provinces to send 50000 women to *Babylon*, without which supply the place must soon have become depopulated. As for *Zopyrus* he was deservedly rewarded by *Darius* with the highest honours he could heap upon him during the whole course of his life. That prince frequently used to say, that he would willingly lose twenty *Babylons* rather than see *Zopyrus* so e disfigured. Besides many other ample rewards he bestowed upon him the revenues of *Babylon* for life, free from all charges and taxes, and could never after behold him without shedding many tears [e].

*Zopyrus's strange stratagem to betray them.*

*Babylon taken by his means.*

After the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* undertook an expedition against the *Scythians* inhabiting those countries, which lie between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. His pretence for this war was to revenge the calamities which they had brought upon *Asia*, when they invaded that country about 120 years before, and held it in subjection for the space of 28 years, as we have related in part in the history of *Media* †, and shall more fully in that of the *Scythians* *. This he gave out as the motive inducing him to a war, which his ambition alone, and desire of extending his conquests prompted him to. Having made vast preparations for f this expedition, and levied an army of 700,000 men, he marched to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and having there passed over on a bridge of boats, he reduced all *Thrace*; from *Thrace* he advanced to the *Ister* or *Danube*, where he had appointed

*Darius's expedition against the Scythians.*

*His vast army.*

[c] Herodot. ibid. c. 150. [d] Strab. l. vi. [e] Herodot. ibid. † See before page 16, & *seq.* * See hereafter p. 281, & *seq.*

 his

his fleet to join him. Here he marched his army over another bridge of boats, a and entered *Scythia*. The *Scythians*, after having conferred together about the measures they should take to oppose so powerful an enemy, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themselves from the frontiers in proportion as the *Persians* advanced, laying waste the country and filling up the wells and springs. Pursuant to this resolution they met *Darius* on the frontiers, and finding him disposed to give them battle, they retired, drawing from country to country till his army was quite tired with such tedious and fatiguing marches. At last he began to be sensible of the danger he was in of perishing with all his forces, and having resolved to give over that rash enterprize and retire home, he lighted in the night a great number of fires, and leaving the old men and b sick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all possible expedition in order to reach the *Danube*. The *Scythians* perceiving the next morning that the enemy was decamped, detached a considerable body to the *Danube*, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at that river before *Darius*. The *Scythians* had sent expresses before-hand to persuade the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they pressed them to it more earnestly, representing to them, that as the time prescribed by *Darius* was expired, they were at liberty to return home without breaking their word, or being wanting to their duty; for *Darius* had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a c prefixed time, which was already elapsed. Hereupon the *Ionians* began to consult among themselves whether or no they should comply with the request of the *Scythians*. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, having the publick interest more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing so favourable an opportunity of shaking off the *Persian* yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off *Darius*'s retreat. All the other commanders fell in with him except *Hystiæus* prince of *Miletus*, who represented to the *Ionian* chiefs, that their power was linked with that of *Darius*, since it was under his protection; that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of *Ionia* would not fail to depose them and recover their liberty, if the *Persian* power should sink or decline. This speech made a deep d impression upon the *Ionian* generals, and private interest prevailing over the publick good, they determined to wait for *Darius*, but in order to deceive the *Scythians*, and prevent them from using any violence, they declared that their design was to retire pursuant to their request; and the better to impose upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the *Scythians* to return back, meet *Darius* and defeat him. They readily complied with the *Ionians* request, but missed *Darius*, who arrived safe at the bridge, repassed the *Danube*, and returned into *Thrace*. Here he left *Megabyzus*, one of his chief generals, with part of his army to compleat the conquest of that country. With the rest of his troops he repassed the *Bosphorus*, and took up his quarters at *Sardis*, where he spent the winter, and the greatest e part of the year following to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that rash and unsuccessful expedition [f].

Darius *overtaken by the* Scythians.

Miltiades's *noble advice to the cowardly* Ionians.

*Megabyzus* having brought all *Thrace* under subjection, dispatched seven *Persian* noblemen, that served under him, to *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, enjoining him to acknowledge *Darius* for his master by the delivery of earth and water. *Amyntas* not only complied with their request, but received them into his house, and having prepared a sumptuous feast entertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the f entertainment, the *Persians* being heated with wine, desired *Amyntas* to bring in his concubines, wives and daughters. Though this was contrary to the custom of the country, the king, fearing to displease them, did as they required. But the *Persians* not observing a due decency on that occasion, the king's son, by name *Alexander*, being no longer able to see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, contrived to send them out of the room as if they were to return immediately, and at the same time had the precaution to get his father out of the company. In the mean time he caused a like number of young men to be dressed like women, and armed with poniards under their garments. These he brought into the room instead of the others, and when the *Persians* began to use them as they had treated the women, they drew their poniards, fell upon the *Persians* and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great search was made by *Megabyzus* for these noblemen, but *Alexander*

*The* Persian *lords massacred by* Alexander.

[f] HERODOT. l. iv. c. 102—144.

having

a having with large presents bribed *Bubares*, who was sent to enquire after them, their death was concealed, and the whole matter stifled [g].

THE *Scythians* to be revenged on *Darius* for invading their country, having passed the *Danube* laid waste all that part of *Thrace* which had submitted to the *Persians*, as far as the *Hellespont*, and loaded with booty returned home without meeting with any opposition. Thrace *plundered by the* Scythians.

*Darius* having sufficiently refreshed his troops after the *Scythian* expedition, began to think of extending his dominions eastwards, and in order to facilitate his design resolved in the first place to make a discovery of those countries. With this view he caused a fleet to be built and equipped at *Caspatyrus*, a city on the river *Indus*. The b command of this fleet he gave to *Scylax* a *Grecian* of *Caryandia* a city of *Caria*, who was well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down the current, and make the best discoveries he could of the countries lying on either side of the river till he arrived at the southern ocean; from thence he was to steer his course westward, and that way return back to *Persia*. *Scylax*, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed down the river *Indus*, entered the *Red-sea* by the straits of *Babelmandel*, and on the 30th month from his first setting out landed in *Egypt* at the same place, from whence *Necho* king of *Egypt* formerly sent out the *Phœnicians*, who were in his service, to sail round the coasts of *Africa*. From hence *Scylax* returned to *Susa*, where he gave *Darius* a full account of his observations. c *Darius* hereupon entered *India* at the head of a numerous army, and reducing that large country, made it the 20th province of the *Persian* empire. Our author gives us no account of this important war; he only says, that *Darius* received from the provinces he conquered in this expedition an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the *Persian* year at that time [h] (S). Darius's *conquest of* India.

*Darius* after his return to *Susa* from the *Scythian* expedition, had appointed his brother *Artaphernes* governor of *Sardis*, and given *Otanes* the government of *Thrace* and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of *Megabyzus*. In the mean time a sedition happening in *Naxus* the chief island of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, the principal inhabitants being over-powered by the d populace were banished the island. In their distress they had recourse to *Aristagoras*, beseeching him to restore them to their country. *Aristagoras* at that time resided at *Miletus*, and governed that city as deputy to *Hystiæus* (T), to whom he was both nephew and son-in law. When *Aristagoras* understood their case he resolved to improve the opportunity, and attempt to make himself master of *Naxus*. With this view he promised to give the exiles all the assistance he could. But not being power- *The revolt of the* Ionians.

[g] HERODOT. l. v. c. 17—21. [h] Idem. l. v. c. 44, *& seq.*

(S) This payment was made according to the standard of the *Euboic* talent, the same with the *Attick* and therefore, according to the lowest computation, amounted to one million and ninety-five thousand pound sterling.

(T) *Darius* on his return to *Sardis* after his unhappy expedition against the *Scythians*, being informed that he owed his own safety and that of his whole army to *Hystiæus*, who had prevailed upon the *Ionians* not to destroy the bridge on the *Danube*, sent for that prince and desired him freely to ask what favour he pleased for the eminent service he had done him. *Hystiæus* desired the king to grant him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory upon the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, with the liberty of building a city there. His request being granted he returned to *Miletus*, and having there equipped a fleet he sailed for *Thrace*, took possession of the territory granted him, and began the intended city. *Megabyzus*, who was then governor of *Thrace* for *Darius*, being apprized how prejudicial that project might prove to the king's affairs, on his return to *Sardis* represented to *Darius*, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several nations both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which could furnish great numbers of men fit both for the sea and land service; that if once these nations should be governed by such a skilful and enterprizing prince as *Hystiæus*, they might soon become so powerful both by sea and land, that the king of *Persia* would not be able to keep them in subjection, especially since they might be supplied with gold and silver from the mines, with which that country abounded, to carry on any enterprize. *Darius* being by these remonstrances made sensible of the mistake he had committed, dispatched a messenger to *Hystiæus* enjoining him to repair to *Sardis* in order to deliver his advice concerning matters of the utmost consequence. Having thus drawn him to *Sardis*, he took him with him to *Susa*, pretending that he wanted such an able counsellor, and faithful friend to be always about him, and telling him that he should be able to find him something in *Persia*, which would make him ample amends both for *Myrcinus* and *Miletus*. *Hystiæus* finding himself under a necessity of complying, attended *Darius* to *Susa*, and left *Aristagoras* governor of *Miletus* in his absence. To this *Aristagoras* the banished *Naxians* applied for relief (21).

(21) *Herodot. l. v. c. 1.*

ful enough to accomplish his design himself, he communicated the matter to *Artaphernes* the king's brother, governor of *Sardis*, representing to him that this was a fair opportunity of reducing *Naxus*; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the *Cyclades* might be easily brought under subjection; that the isle of *Eubœa* lying very near the other would be an easy conquest, and from thence the king would have a free passage into *Greece*. *Artaphernes* was so well pleased with these proposals, that instead of the hundred ships, which *Aristagoras* demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprize. And accordingly having obtained the king's consent he sent the next spring to *Miletus* the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of *Megabates* a noble *Persian* of the *Achæmenian* family. But his commission being to obey the orders of *Aristagoras*, and the haughty *Persian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, a dissension arose between the two generals, which was carried so far, that *Megabates* to be revenged on *Aristagoras* gave the *Naxians* secret intelligence of the design that was carrying on against them. Hereupon they made such preparations for their defence, that the *Persians* after having spent four months in besieging the chief town of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miscarried, *Megabates* threw all the blame upon *Aristagoras*, and his false accusations being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, *Artaphernes* condemned him to defray all the charges of the expedition, giving him to understand that they would be exacted with the utmost rigour. As he was not able to pay so large a sum, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but his utter ruin. This desperate situation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as the only expedient, whereby he could extricate himself from his present difficulties. No sooner had he formed this design, but a messenger arrived from *Hystiæus* who confirmed him in it, (U). *Hystiæus* after several years continuance at the *Persian* court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and desirous to return to his country, thought this the most likely means to accomplish his desire. For he flattered himself, that if any disturbances should arise in *Ionia*, he could prevail with *Darius* to send him thither to appease them, as in effect it happened. *Aristagoras* finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of *Hystiæus*, imparted his design to the leading men of *Ionia*, whom he found ready to come into his measures, and therefore being now determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to make all manner of preparations for so great an undertaking [1].

*Aristagoras's attempt upon* Naxus *frustrated by* Megabates.

*Stirs up the* Ionians *to revolt.*

The next year *Aristagoras* to engage the *Ionians* more resolutely to stand by him, re-instated them in their liberty and all their former privileges. He began with *Miletus*, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all *Ionia*, where by his example and credit he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the *Greeks* then called them, tyrants, to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king, and made great preparations both by sea and land for carrying on a war. To strengthen himself the more against the *Persians*, in the beginning of the following year he went to *Lacedæmon* to engage that city in his interest. But not being able to prevail upon *Cleomenes* (W), who was at that time king of *Lacedæmon*, to send

[1] Herodot. l. v. c. 35, 36.

(U) *Hystiæus* being desirous to impart his design to *Aristagoras*, and finding no other means, by reason all the passages leading into *Ionia* were guarded, shaved the hair of one of his servants in whose fidelity he most confided, and having imprinted the message on his head, kept him at *Susa* till his hair was grown again. He then dispatched him to *Miletus* without any other instructions than that upon his arrival he should desire *Aristagoras* to cut off his hair and look upon his head (22).

(W) *Cleomenes* having appointed him a time and place for an interview, *Aristagoras* represented to him, that the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ionians* were countrymen; that *Sparta* being the most powerful city of *Greece*, it would be much to their honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the *Ionians* to their ancient liberty; that the *Persians*, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the *Lacedæmonians*; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the *Ionians*, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to *Susa*, the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and the place of the king's residence. At the same time he shewed him a description of all the nations and cities, through which

(22) *Herodot. ibid.* c. 36.

a send him any succours, he proceeded to *Athens*, where he met with a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the *Athenians* were disposed to close with any measures against the *Persians*, being highly exasperated against them on the following occasion. *Hyppias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, tyrant of *Athens*, having been banished about ten years before, and tried in vain several other ways to bring about his restoration, at length applied himself to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*; and having insinuated himself into his favour, did all that lay in his power to stir him up against them. The *Athenians* having intelligence of this, sent ambassadors to *Sardis*, desiring *Artaphernes* not to give ear to what any of their out-laws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer b of *Artaphernes* to this embassy was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall *Hyppias*. This haughty message incensed the *Athenians* to a great degree against the *Persians*, and *Aristagoras* arriving there just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. The *Athenians* ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately equipped and sent to the assistance of the *Ionians*.

*It joined by the* Athenians.

The *Ionians* having at last drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty *Athenian* ships, and five more from *Eretria*, a city in the island of *Eubœa*, they set sail for *Ephesus*, and having left their ships there, they marched by land to the city of *Sardis*, which they easily made themselves masters of. As most of the houses were built with reeds, an *Ionian* soldier having accidentally set c one of them on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes; but the citadel, whither *Artaphernes* had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the *Persians* and *Lydians* drawing together their forces, and other troops coming full march to their assistance, the *Ionians*, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw; and accordingly marched back with all possible expedition in order to reimbark at *Ephesus*. But before they had reached that place they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The *Athenians*, who escaped, immediately hoisted sail and returned home; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war. However, their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war, d which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the *Persian* empire. For *Darius* being informed of the burning of *Sardis*, and hearing that the *Athenians* had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon *Greece*, and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him with a loud voice while he was at dinner three times, *Remember the Athenians*. In the burning of *Sardis* the temple of *Cybele*, the chief goddess of that country, accidentally taking fire, was entirely consumed. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the *Persians* for burning all the temples of *Greece*. But the true motive which led them to this we shall have occasion to mention hereafter [k].

*Sardis taken and burnt by the* Ionians.

*Ionians defeated.*

*Darius's resentment against the* Athenians.

[k] Herodot. l. v. c. 99—105.

which they were to pass, engraved on a plate of brass, which he had brought along with him. *Cleomenes* desired three days time to consider of the matter, which being expired, he asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one might travel from the coast of *Ionia* to the city where the king resided. *Aristagoras* though an artful man, and far superior in all respects to *Cleomenes*, yet made a slip, as our author observes, in his answer to this demand; for as he designed to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have lessened the distance from the coasts of *Ionia* to *Susa*; whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a journey of three months, which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard than interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, commanded him to depart *Sparta* before sun-set, for advising the *Spartans* to take a march into *Asia*, not to be performed in less than three months after their landing. *Cleomenes* then withdrew; but *Aristagoras*, taking an olive-branch in his hand after the manner of suppliants, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by arguments of another nature, that is, by presents; but before he made any offer he desired him to bid his daughter *Gorgo*, a child about eight or nine years old, to withdraw; but *Cleomenes* telling him that he might speak freely without apprehending any thing from so young a child, *Aristagoras* began with the promise of ten talents in case *Cleomenes* would comply with his request, and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the sum of fifty talents, and then the girl cried out, *Fly, father, fly, else this stranger will corrupt you. Cleomenes* was so well pleased with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired to another apartment, and ordered *Aristagoras* that instant to depart his dominions (23).

(23) *Herodot. l. v. c. 51.*

*The* Ionians *success against the* Persians.

The *Ionians* though deserted by the *Athenians*, and considerably weakened by their late overthrow, did not lose courage, but pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed to the *Hellespont*, and the *Propontis*, where they reduced the city of *Byzantium*, and most of the other *Greek* cities on those coasts. As they were sailing back they made a descent in *Caria*, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war. The people of *Cyprus* likewise entered into the same confederacy, and openly revolted from the *Persians*. The *Persian* generals in those quarters, finding that the revolt began to be universal, drew together what troops they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, and at the same time enjoined the *Phœnicians* to assist them with their whole naval power. The *Ionians* as they were sailing to *Cyprus* fell in with the *Phœnician* fleet, attacked and dispersed them. But at the same time the *Persian* troops, that were landed in *Cyprus*, having gained a compleat victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement *Aristagoras* himself, the leading man and first author of their revolt, the *Ionians* reaped no advantage from their victory by sea; for the whole island of *Cyprus* was again brought under subjection [1].

Aristagoras *defeated and killed.*

After the reduction of *Cyprus*, *Daurises*, *Hymees*, and *Otanes*, three *Persian* generals, and all sons-in-law to *Darius*, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways against the revolters. *Daurises* held his course to the *Hellespont*, and from thence, after possessing himself of the revolted cities, marched against the *Carians*, whom he overthrew in two successive battles; but in a third being drawn into an ambuscade, he was slain with several other *Persians* of distinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Hymees* after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Mysia*, reduced all the *Ilian* coast, but falling sick at *Troas*, soon after died. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* with the rest of the *Persian* generals, finding that *Miletus* was the center of the *Ionian* confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding, that, if they could carry that city, all the others would submit of their own accord. Pursuant to this resolution they entered *Ionia*, and *Æolia*, where their main strength lay, and took the city of *Cleomena* in *Ionia*, and *Cyma* in *Æolia*; which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that the supposed son of the *Ionian* leader, *Aristagoras*, not finding himself in a condition after that loss to make head against the enemy, resolved to abandon *Miletus*, and consult his own safety by retiring to some more distant place. Accordingly he embarked with such as were willing to follow him, and set sail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, where he seized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which had been formerly given by *Darius* to *Hystiæus*. But as he was besieging a place situated beyond those limits, he was killed by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from *Miletus*, he left the government in the hands of *Pythagoras* an eminent citizen, who being informed, that *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* designed to bend all their force against *Miletus*, summoned a general assembly of the *Ionians*. In this meeting it was agreed, that they should not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and store their city with all manner of provisions for a siege, and to draw all their forces together to engage the *Persians* at sea; thinking themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general rendezvous, was *Lada*, a small island over-against *Miletus*, where accordingly they met with a fleet of 353 sail. At the sight of this fleet the *Persians*, though double their number, avoided engaging, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert the common cause. When they came to an engagement, the *Samians*, *Lesbians* and several others hoisting sail, returned to their respective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above 100 ships, they were quickly overpowered by the *Persians*, and almost entirely destroyed. The city of *Miletus* was immediately besieged both by sea and land, and soon taken by the conquerors, who razed it to the ground the sixth year after the revolt of *Aristagoras*. All the other towns that had revolted returned, either by force or of their own accord, to their duty. Those that stood out were treated as they had been threatned before-hand. The handsomest of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women sent into *Persia*; their cities and temples were reduced to ashes. Such were the calamities the *Indians* drew upon themselves by seconding the ambitious views of two enterprizing men *Aristagoras* and *Hystiæus* [m].

*The* Ionians *defeated at sea, and reduced.*

Miletus *taken by the* Persians.

[1] Herodot. l. vi. c. 1—5. [m] Idem, ib. c. 31—33.

The

a The latter had his share in the general calamity; for being taken by the *Persians* and carried to *Sardis*, he was immediately crucified by order of *Artaphernes*, who hastened his execution without consulting *Darius*, lest his affection for him should incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let loose, would not fail to create new disturbances. It afterwards appeared that *Artaphernes*'s conjecture was well grounded; for when *Hystiæus*'s head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeature against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a person, to whom he professed infinite obligations. He was the most bold, restless and enterprizing genius of his age; with him all means b were good and lawful, that served to promote the end he had in view, acknowledging no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he readily sacrificed the good of his country, and the lives of his nearest relations. But we shall have occasion to bring him again upon the scene in the history of *Ionia* and the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*.

*Hystiæus crucified.*

The *Phœnician* fleet having reduced all the islands on the coasts of *Asia*, *Darius* recalled all his other generals, and appointed *Mardonius* the son of *Gobrias*, a young *Persian* nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be commander in chief of all the forces quartered on the coasts of *Asia*, ordering him to invade *Greece*, and revenge on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* the burning of *Sardis*. *Mar-* c *donius* having rendezvoused his forces at the *Hellespont*, marched, pursuant to his orders, through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet first to reduce *Thasus*, and then to coast along the shore as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in *Macedonia* all the country terrified at such a mighty army submitted. But the fleet in doubling the cape of mount *Athos* in order to gain the coasts of *Macedonia* was intirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of 300 ships and 20,000 men. His land-army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal; for being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured and fortified, the *Bryges*, a people of *Thrace*, attacking him in the night broke into the camp, slew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* d himself, who, being disabled by these losses to prosecute his design either by sea or land, marched back into *Asia* without reaping any advantage for his master, or glory for himself in this expedition [a].

*Darius's unsuccessful expedition against Greece.*

*Mardonius defeated and recalled.*

*Darius* hearing of the ill success of *Mardonius*, and ascribing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, *Datis* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes*, his own nephew, being the son of *Artaphernes* the king's brother, and late governor of *Sardis*. But before he would make any further attempts upon *Greece* he judged it expedient first to sound the *Greeks*, and try how those different states stood affected to, or were averse from, the *Persian* government. With this view he sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water in token e of submission. On the arrival of these heralds many of the *Greek* cities, dreading the power of the *Persians*, complied with their demands; as did also the inhabitants of *Ægina*, a small island over-against, and not far from *Athens*. But at *Athens* and *Sparta* they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and bid fetch earth and water from thence. This they did in the heat of their passion, but when they came to a cooler temper they were ashamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations, and accordingly sent embassadors to the king of *Persia* at *Susa* to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had put upon his heralds. But *Darius* declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the embassadors f back to their respective countries, though those of *Sparta* voluntarily offered themselves as victims to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of [b].

*Darius's heralds murdered by the Athenians and Spartans.*

*Darius* being entirely bent upon the reduction of *Greece* hastened the departure of his generals *Datis* and *Artaphernes*. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of *Eretria* and *Athens*, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves and send them to *Darius*; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at *Samos*, set sail from thence with 600 ships and 500,000 men [c], steering their course to *Naxos*, which island they easily made themselves masters of, and having burnt the chief city and all temples both of this and

*Naxos taken by the Persians.*

[a] Herodot. l. vi. c. 43—45. [b] Idem, l. vii. c. 133. [c] Plutarch. in Moral. p. 829.

the

Eretria *betrayed to the* Persians.

the other islands in those seas, they stood directly for *Eretria*, a town in *Eubœa*, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two chief citizens. Having taken *Eretria*, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples in revenge for those that had been burnt at *Sardis*, and enslaved the inhabitants pursuant to their orders, they sailed to *Attica*. *Hyppias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who as we have said above, had fled to the *Persians* conducted them after they had landed, to the plains of *Marathon*. Hence they sent heralds to *Athens*, acquainting the citizens with the fate of *Eretria*, in hopes that this news would frighten them into an immediate surrender. The *Athenians* had sent to *Lacedæmon* to desire succours against the common enemy, which the *Lacedæmonians* granted, but they could not set out till some days after by reason of an ancient and superstitious custom, which obtained at *Sparta*, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their other allies offered to assist them, such a terror had the *Persian* army struck into the cities of *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Platæa* alone furnished them with a thousand men. In this extremity the *Athenians* were obliged to arm their slaves, which was contrary to their practice on all other occasions.

THE *Persian* army commanded by *Datis* consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, that of the *Athenians* amounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was *Miltiades*, whom we shall have occasion to mention often in the history of *Greece*. These ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was assembled a dispute arose among them, whether they should venture an engagement in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except *Miltiades*, who declared that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and strike a terror into the enemy, was to advance boldly and attack them with intrepidity. *Aristides* convinced by the speech of *Miltiades* embraced his opinion, and brought over to it some of the other commanders. *Callimachus* likewise, who had been very sanguine at first against such a rash enterprize, fell in at last with *Miltiades*, and a resolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to *Miltiades*, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the publick good; but though he accepted the power, yet he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. Assoon as that came he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to make up what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not surround them, or fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees, which he caused to be cut down for that purpose, and to render the *Persian* cavalry useless. The *Athenian* forces were so drawn up that they were equal in front to the *Persians*; but because they had not a sufficient number of men in the center, that part was extremely weak, the main strength of the army consisting in the wings. All things being thus disposed, and the sacrifice, according to the custom of the *Greeks*, performed, *Miltiades* without waiting the motions of the *Persians*, commanded the signal for the battle to be given, when the *Athenians* fell upon the enemy with such courage and resolution as can hardly be expressed. The *Persians* seeing the *Athenians* advance, imputed their resolution to folly and despair, being not only few in number, but entirely destitute of horse, and without stirring prepared themselves to receive them. After a long and obstinate fight, the *Persians* and *Sacæ* broke the center of the *Athenians*, having made their greatest efforts against that part. The center was commanded by *Aristides*, and *Themistocles*, who with great intrepidity made head against the whole *Persian* army till being bore down by their numbers and quite overpowered, they were obliged to give ground. But the *Athenians* and *Plataeans*, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of their center, just as they were betaking themselves to a precipitous flight, after having maintained a running fight for some hours. At their arrival the scale was quickly turned, for attacking the enemy in flank they soon put them in disorder, and obliged them with great slaughter to fly to their fleet, whither they pursued them, took seven of their ships, and burnt a great many more [p]. In this action several *Athenians* of great distinction were slain, and amongst others *Callimachus* and *Stasileus*, two of the chief commanders with only 200 private men, whereas the *Persians* left even according to *Herodotus*, who makes it much less than any other author, above 6000 dead in the field of battle, and besides a great many were killed in the flight, burnt in

Miltiades's *brave resolution.*

*The battle of* Marathon. *Year of the flood* 2508. *Before Christ* 491.

Persians *defeated by the* Athenians.

[p] HERODOT. l. vi. c. 108, & seq.

their

a their ships, and drowned in the sea, as they attempted to save themselves on board their vessels (X). *Hippias* was killed in the battle; that ungrateful citizen, who in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father *Pisistratus*, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth [q]. Immediately after the battle an *Athenian* soldier, stained all over with blood, hastened to *Athens* to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the good success of their army at *Marathon*. When he arrived at the publick palace where the magistrates were assembled, he was so spent, that having uttered these words, *Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours*, he fell down dead at their feet [r]. The *Persians* were so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble along with them b to *Marathon* in order to erect a trophy there. This marble the *Athenians* seized, and caused a statue to be formed of it by the famous *Phidias* in honour of the goddess *Nemesis*, whose province it was to punish unjust actions [s]. *Hippias slain.*

After this defeat the *Persian* fleet, instead of sailing by the islands in order to return to *Asia*, doubled the cape of *Sunnium* with a design to surprize *Athens* before the return of the army. But the *Athenian* troops being apprised of their design, decamped from the plains of *Marathon*, and marched with such expedition that they arrived at *Athens* before the enemy's fleet, and by that means disappointed their measures [t]. *Their design against Athens frustrated.*

*Datis* and *Artaphernes* arriving in *Asia*, that they might seem to have reaped some c advantage from this expedition, sent the *Eretrian* captives to *Susa*. *Darius* had expressed great indignation against the *Eretrians* before the reduction of their city, and charged them with the guilt of beginning the war; but finding they were now his prisoners and entirely in his power, he could not find in his heart to do them any harm, but gave them a village in the country of *Cissia* to inhabit, which was but a day's journey distant from *Susa* [u]. Here *Apollonius Tyaneus* [w] found their descendants a great many ages after.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the *Lacedæmonians* began their march with two thousand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of *Attica*, having marched in so short a time 1200 *Stades* [x]; such was their eagerness to be d present at the battle: but a silly and ridiculous superstition prevented their having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history; for the battle was fought the day before they arrived. However, they proceeded to *Marathon*, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies, and having congratulated the *Athenians* on the happy success of the battle, they returned home [y].

*Darius* upon the news of the unsuccessful return of his army was so far from being discouraged by such a disaster, that he added the defeat at *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new motive spurring him on to pursue the war with more vigour. He therefore resolved to head the army in person, and issued orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of the empire to attend him in this expedi- e tion. But after he had spent three years in making the necessary preparations, a *Darius resolves to carry on the war in person.*

[q] Herodot. l. vi. 102—120. [r] Plutarch. de glor. Athen. p. 347. [s] Paus. l. i. p. 62. [t] Herodot. ubi supra. [u] Herodot. l. vi. c. 29. [w] Philostrat. l. i. c. 17. [x] Isocr. in Paneg. p. 113. [y] Idem. ibid.

(X) *Justin* tells us (24) that the *Persians* lost on this occasion what by the sword, what by shipwreck 200,000 men; on the other hand, *Herodotus*, who flourished very near those times, makes the loss of the *Persians*, if no error has crept into his copy, to have amounted only to 6300, which bears no proportion to the vastness of their army, and 192 *Athenians*. The whole *Persian* army, according to *Valerius Maximus* (25), consisted of 300,000 men. *Plutarch* seems to insinuate the same (26). *Justin* (27) and *Orosius* say that they were in all 600,000 men. *Emilius Probus* (28) tells us that they were 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Of the *Athenians* there were 10,000, and 1000 *Plataeans*, say *Justin* and *Orosius*; but *Probus* assures us that the *Athenians* with their auxiliaries were in all but 1000. This ever-memorable victory was gained, if we believe *Plutarch* (29) upon the 6th day of *Boedromion*, the third month in the *Attic* calendar, after the summer solstice, *Phenippus* being at that time prætor at *Athens*; that is, in the third year of the 72d olympiad, four years before the death of *Darius*, as we read in *Severus Sulpitius* (30), and ten years before *Xerxes* passed over into *Greece*, as *Thucydides* informs us (31). Most authors tell us, that *Hippias* was slain in this battle; but *Suidas* says that he escaped and died afterwards in the island of *Lemnos*. *Themistocles*, who became afterwards so famous, on this occasion first entered the school of war. We cannot omit in this place the glorious behaviour of one *Cynegyrus* an *Athenian* soldier, who having first his right and then his left hand cut off while he was endeavouring to prevent one of the enemies ships from putting off, took hold of it at last with his teeth.

(24) *Justin. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (25) *Val. Max. l.* v. *c.* 3. (26) *Plutarch. in Paral.* (27) *Justin. ubi supra.* (28) *Emil. Prob. in Miltiad.* (29) *Plut. in Camill.* (30) *Sever. Sulp. l.* ii. *sacr. hist.* (31) *Thucyd. l.* i.

new war broke out, occasioned by the revolt of *Egypt*. This gave him no small uneasiness; however as he was wholly bent on his expedition against *Greece*, he resolved not to lay that aside, but at the same time to send part of his forces to reduce *Egypt*, and with the rest to march in person against his old enemies the *Greeks* (Y).

*Egypt revolts against Darius.*

But when he had prepared all things for these two expeditions, a great contest arose between his sons concerning the succession. For according to an ancient custom among the *Persians* the king was obliged, before he set out on any expedition, to name his successor; a custom wisely established to prevent the many inconveniencies that attend an unsettled succession. *Darius* thought himself the more obliged to comply with this custom as he was already advanced in years, and two of his sons seemed to have a just claim to the crown upon his demise. *Darius* had three sons by the daughter of *Gobryas*, his first wife, all born before he came to the crown, and four more by *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, all born after his accession to the throne. Of the first *Artabazanes* was the eldest, of the latter *Xerxes*; and these two were competitors for the succession. *Artabazanes*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Artamenes*, urged that he was the eldest son, and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the succession to the younger. On the other hand *Xerxes* alledged, that he was the son of *Atossa* daughter of *Cyrus*, who had founded the *Persian* monarchy, and claimed the kingdom in the right of his mother; it being more agreeable to justice, said he, that the crown of *Cyrus* should devolve upon one, who was a descendant of *Cyrus*, than upon one that was not. *Darius* had not yet declared in favour of either, when *Damaratus*, king of *Sparta*, being driven out by his subjects, arrived at *Susa*, and hearing of this dispute, secretly suggested to *Xerxes* another argument to support his pretensions; namely, that he was born after his father was invested with the royal dignity, whereas *Artabazanes* was only the son of *Darius* a private man; to him therefore the crown belonged as the king's eldest son, and not to *Artabazanes* the eldest son of *Darius*. He further supported his argument by the example of the *Lacedæmonians*, who excluded from the crown the children that were born before their fathers accession, if they had any to succeed born after their advancement to the throne. These reasons appeared so just to *Darius*, that he declared *Xerxes* heir apparent to the crown. Our author is of opinion that *Xerxes* was named to the succession not so much by the strength of this plea, as by the influence his mother *Atossa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who in this matter was entirely governed by her authority [a] (Z).

*The contest of his two sons about the succession.*

*Xerxes named to it.*

*Darius dies.*

The succession being thus settled, and all things ready both for the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* expedition, *Darius* died in the second year of the revolt of *Egypt*, after having reigned 36 years. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities; his wisdom, clemency and justice are greatly commended by the ancients. He had the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ [a], as a favourer of God's peo-

[a] Herodot. l. vii. c. 2, & 3. [a] Ezra v. & pass. Haggai i. ii. pass. and Zechar. i. & seq. pass.

(Y) *Diodorus Siculus* (32) seems to insinuate that *Darius* marched into *Egypt* to reduce the rebels, and that he succeeded in the enterprize. That historian relates, that upon *Darius*'s desiring to have his statue placed before that of *Sesostris*, the chief priest of the *Egyptians* told him, that he had not equalled the glory of that conqueror, and that the king, no ways offended at the *Egyptian* priest's freedom, reply'd, that he would endeavour to surpass it. He adds further, that *Darius* had several conferences with the *Egyptian* priests upon matters of religion and government, and that having learnt of them with what gentleness their ancient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into *Persia*, to form himself upon their model. But *Herodotus*, more worthy of belief in this particular than *Diodorus*, only observes, that *Darius* resolved to make war at the same time upon *Egypt* and *Greece*, and to invade *Greece* in person, while part of his troops were employed in the reduction of *Egypt*.

(Z) *Justin* and *Plutarch* (33) place this dispute after the decease of *Darius*, and both take notice of the prudent conduct of the two brothers on so nice an occasion. *Artabazanes*, according to them, was absent when the king died, and *Xerxes* immediately took all the ensigns of royalty, exercising all the functions of the regal dignity. But upon his brother's returning home he quitted the diadem and tiara, went out to meet him, and shewed him all imaginable civility. They agreed to make their uncle *Artabanes* the arbitrator of their difference, and to acquiesce, without any further appeal, to his decision. During the whole time this dispute lasted, all the demonstrations of an entire and fraternal affection passed between the two competitors. And when it was decided, as the one did not insult, so the other did not repine or express any dissatisfaction at the sentence, but immediately prostrating himself before him, acknowledged him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand. He continued all his life firmly attached to his interest, and at last died in his service in the battle of *Salamis*.

(32) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* i. p. 54. & 85. (33) *Justin. l.* ii. *c.* 10. *Plutarch, de frat. amor. p.* 448.

a ple, a restorer of the temple, and a promoter of the true worship at *Jerusalem* (A). His kindness towards the *Israelites* was rewarded with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity. For though the *Scythian* and *Greek* expeditions proved unsuccessful, yet he was very fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only restored and entirely settled the empire of *Cyrus*, which had been very much shaken by the unpolitic government of *Cambyses* and usurpation of *Smerdis*, but also added many great and rich provinces to that prince's conquests, namely *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and the isles of the *Ionian* sea.

*Xerxes* succeeding his father employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He b confirmed, upon his first accession to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the *Jews*, and particularly that, which assigned them the tribute of *Samaria* for furnishing them victims to be offered in the temple [b].

*Xerxes succeeds* Darius.

*Year of the flood* 2514. *Before Christ* 485.

In the second year of his reign he marched against the *Egyptians*, and having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worse condition of slavery than what they had felt under his predecessors, he appointed his brother *Achæmenes* governor of that province, and returned to *Susa*. Puffed up with this success against the *Egyptians* he determined to invade *Greece*. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought fit to assemble his council, and take the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. When they were assembled, he laid be- c fore them the design he had of invading *Greece*, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition (B). *Mardonius*, the same person who had been so unsuccessful in the reign of *Darius*, hoping that the command of the army would be bestowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to set forth the indispensible necessity they all lay under of revenging the dishonour done to the *Persian* name at *Sardis* and *Marathon*. The rest of the council, perceiving that the flattering discourse of *Mardonius* pleased the king, durst not venture to contradict it, but all kept silence for some time. At last *Artabanes*, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addressing *Xerxes*, used all his endeavours d to divert him from his present resolution, and at the same time reproached *Mardonius* with want of sincerity, and shewed how much he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and self-interested views could tempt him to advise. He concluded with these words: "If a war be resolved upon, let the king remain in *Persia*, and our children be de- "posited in his hands. Then go on with your expedition, attended by the best "forces you can chuse, and in what numbers you think fit. If the issue be favour- "able, I am willing to forfeit my own life, and the lives of my children. But "on the contrary, if the event be such as I have foretold, then let your children "suffer death, and you also, if ever you return." *Artabanes* expressed his senti-

*Reduces* Egypt.

*Declares his design of invading* Greece.

*Artabanes's noble speech against it.*

[b] Joseph. antiquit. l. xi. c. 5.

(A) The *Jews* (34) have a tradition, that the prophets *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, and *Malachi*, died in the last year of *Darius*, and that on their death the spirit of prophecy ceased among the *Jews*, which was the *sealing up of vision and prophecy* spoke of by *Daniel* (35). And misled by the same tradition, they tell us that the kingdom of *Persia* ended the same year; for they confound this *Darius* with the other, who was conquered by *Alexander*, and will have the *Persian* empire to have lasted only 52 years, which they reckon thus: *Darius* the *Mede* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three, *Cambyses*, according to them the *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*, 32 years. This last *Darius* they take to be the same with *Artaxerxes*, who sent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem*, to restore the *Jews* to their ancient state. For they tell us, that *Artaxerxes* was a name common to the *Persian* kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was to those of *Egypt*. This shews how little they were acquainted with the *Persian* history; and their countryman *Josephus* seems to have been as much in the dark, with respect to *Persia*, as they were.

(B) These were, the desire of following the footsteps of his predecessors, who had distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprizes; the obligation he was under to be revenged on the *Athenians*, who without any provocation had fallen upon *Sardis*, and burnt down the sacred groves and temples; the eager desire he had to wipe off the dishonour his country had received at *Marathon*; and lastly the prospect of many great advantages that would accrue to him from this war, which would be attended by the conquest of *Europe*, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added, that this war had been resolved on by his father *Darius*, and that he meant only to execute his designs. He concluded his speech with promising ample rewards to such as should distinguish themselves in this expedition, and desiring them to deliver their opinions in this matter with freedom (36).

(34) *Abr. Zacut. in Juchasin. Dav. Ganz. in Zemach. David. Seder Olam Zuta, &c.* (35) *Dan.* ix. 24. (36) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 5, 6.

ments

ments in very respectful and inoffensive terms; but nevertheless *Xerxes* was extremely a offended, and replied with indignation, that if *Artabanus* were not his uncle he should suffer that moment the due punishment for such an audacious behaviour, and commanded him to stay at home among the women, whom he too much resembled, while he marched at the head of his troops where his duty and glory called him. However when the first emotion of his anger was past, he owned that he had been to blame for treating his uncle with such harsh language, and was not ashamed to repair his fault by openly confessing that the heat of his youth and want of experience had made him trespass against the regard that was due to a prince so worthy of respect as *Artabanus*[c]. At the same time he declared that he was ready to follow his advice, and lay aside the design of invading *Greece*, notwithstanding a b phantom had appeared to him the night before in his sleep, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war. All the *Persians*, who composed the council, were overjoyed to hear the king speak in that manner, and prostrating themselves before him, strove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did not long continue in that mind; nay *Artabanus* himself, the only man who had openly disapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream (C), or dreading the king's displeasure, became a most sanguine and zealous promoter of the war[d].

*Becomes a zealous promoter of it.*

*Xerxes* being now resolved to attack *Greece*, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, who were at that time the most powerful people of the west, whereby c it was agreed that while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall upon the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping each other. The *Carthaginians* appointed *Hamilcar* their general, who not only raised what forces he could in *Africk*, but with the money sent him by *Xerxes* hired a great many mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*; so that his army consisted of 300,000 men, besides a proportionable number of ships for transporting his forces, and the necessary provisions[e]. And thus *Xerxes*, agreeable to the prophecy of *Daniel*[f], having *by his strength through his riches stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of* Greece; that is, all the west under the command of *Hamilcar*, and all the east under his own banners, set out from *Susa* to d enter upon this war in the fifth year of his reign, after having spent three years in making vast preparations throughout all the provinces of his wide-spreading empire. From *Susa* he marched to *Sardis*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land-forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of *Asia Minor* towards the *Hellespont*.

*The Carthaginians ally with Xerxes.*

Two things *Xerxes* commanded to be done before he came to the sea-side; the one was a passage to be cut through mount *Athos*. This mountain reaches a great way into the sea in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. The sea in this place is very tempestuous, and the

*The mountain Athos cut through.*

[c] Herodot. l. vii. c. 6, 7. [d] Idem, ibid. c. 8, 9, & seq. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 1. [f] Dan. xi. 2.

(C) *Herodotus* tells us, that *Xerxes* reflecting in the night-time on the opinion of *Artabanus*, was very much perplexed, and concluded at last, that a war with *Greece* could not turn to his advantage. Having thus altered his resolution he fell asleep, and saw in a dream a man of an uncommon stature and beauty standing by him, and uttering these words: Have you then changed your design of leading an army into *Greece*, after having ordered the *Persians* to assemble their forces? You have not done well to alter your resolution, nor will you find any man of your opinion. Resume therefore without delay the enterprize you determined to undertake. The *Phantom*, having pronounced these words, disappeared; and the next morning *Xerxes*, neglecting his dream, summoned the council, and acquainted them, that he had altered his mind with regard to the *Grecian* expedition, and wished them joy of the advantages of peace which they were to reap at home. But the night following the same *Phantom* appeared again to *Xerxes*, telling him that if he did not undertake without delay a war against *Greece*, he should become little and contemptible in as short a time as he had been raised to greatness and power. The king terrified with this second dream sent for *Artabanus*, acquainted him with what had happened, and entreated him to put on the royal robes, to sit on the throne, and pass the night in his bed. *Artabanus* at first begged to be excused as not deserving the honour of sitting in the king's throne; but being pressed by *Xerxes*, who was persuaded that if the dream was from the gods *Artabanus* would see the same vision, he at last complied with his desire, and cloathed himself with the royal robes. As he slept in the king's bed the same *Phantom* appeared to him threatening him with the greatest calamities if he continued to oppose the king's intentions. This so terrified *Artabanus*, that he came over to the king's first opinion, believing that there was something divine in these repeated visions, and the war against *Greece* was resolved on (37).

(37) *Idem, l.* vii. *c.* 8, 9, *&c.*

*Persian*

a *Persian* fleet had formerly suffered shipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like disaster, *Xerxes* caused a passage to be cut through the mountain broad enough to let two galleys, with three banks of oars each, pass in front. By this means he sever'd from the continent the cities of *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus*, and *Cleone*. Our author observes, that *Xerxes* undertook this enterprize only out of ostentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name, since he might, with far less trouble, have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the *Isthmus*, as was the practice in those days [f] (D).

*A bridge built over the Hellespont, and presently after broken.*

He likewise commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Hellespont* for the passing of his forces from *Asia* into *Europe*. The sea, which separates *Sestos* b and *Abydus*, where the bridge was built, is seven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who had no sooner finished it, but a violent storm arising, broke it in pieces, and dispersed or dashed against the shore the vessels of which it was composed. Which when *Xerxes* heard, he fell into such a violent transport of anger, that he commanded 300 stripes to be inflicted on the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining those, who were trusted with the execution of his orders, to pronounce these words: *Thou salt and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause, and is resolved to pass over thee in spite of thy billows and insolent resistance.* The extravagant folly and madness of this prince did not stop here; he commanded the heads of those, who had the direction of the c work, to be struck off [g].

*Xerxes's pride, madness, and cruelty.*

In their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges, one for the army, the other for the beasts of burden, and the baggage. When the whole work was compleated, and the vessels, which formed the bridges, secure against the violence of the winds, and the current of the water, *Xerxes* departed from *Sardis*, where the army had wintered, and directed his march to *Abydus*. When he arrived at that city, he desired to see all his forces together, and to that end ascending a stately edifice of white stone, which the *Abydenians* had built on purpose to receive him in a manner suitable to his greatness, he had a free prospect to the coast, seeing at one view both his fleet and land forces. The sea was covered with his ships, and the large plains of *Abydus* with his troops quite d down to the shore. While he was thus surveying with his own eyes, the vast extent of his power, and deeming himself the most happy of mortals, his joy being all on a sudden turned into grief, he burst out into a flood of tears, which *Artabanus* perceiving, asked him, what had made him in a few moments pass from an excess of joy, to so great a grief? The king replied, that considering the shortness of human life, he could not restrain his tears; for of all these numbers of men

*Views his numerous army and fleet, and weeps over it.*

f Herodot. l. vii. c. 34, & seq. g Idem, c. 33—36.

(D) This prince believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to mount *Athos* in the following terms; Athos, *thou proud and aspiring mountain, that lifteſt up thy head to the very skies, I advise thee not to be so audacious as to put rocks and stones, that cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou makest that opposition, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea* (38). Our modern travellers tell us, that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and most of them are of *Juvenal*'s opinion expressed in these words; *Perforatus Athos & quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia.* The directors of this enterprise were *Bubaris*, the son of *Megabyzus*, and *Artachæus* the son of *Arbæus*, both *Persians*. It was carried on in the following manner: All the forces on board the fleet were employed in the undertaking; they first drew a line before the city of *Sana*, situated at the foot of mount *Athos* towards the land, and then divided the ground among themselves, each nation having their portion allotted them. When the trench was considerably sunk, those who were at the bottom, continued to dig, delivering the earth to their companions standing on ladders, who handed it to such as stood higher, till it was conveyed to those that waited to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author observes (39) that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen, except the *Phœnicians*, had double the labour, by reason the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the *Phœnicians* opened the ground, which was assigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and sloped the ground gradually, till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place, there was a court of justice, and a market furnished with corn and other necessaries brought from *Asia*. This work does not seem to us so very surprising and incredible, as some would make it, when we consider the number of hands, and the time that were employed in perfecting it. For *Herodotus* tells us, that three whole years were spent in the undertaking, and an incredible number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Besides the canal was not cut through, as *Juvenal* seems to insinuate, but behind mount *Athos*, where the *Isthmus* was but a mile and a half over, and broad enough only to let two galleys pass in front.

(38) *Plutarch, de ira cohib. p.* 455. (39) *Idem, ibid. c.* 34.

not one, said he, will be alive a hundred years hence. *Artabanus*, who neglected no opportunity of instilling into the young prince's mind sentiments of kindness towards his people, finding him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, endeavoured to make him sensible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes to alleviate the sorrows and sweeten the bitterness, which the lives of their subjects are liable to, since it is not in their power to prolong them. In the same conversation *Xerxes* asked his uncle, whether, if he had not seen the vision which made him change his mind, he would still persist in the same opinion, and dissuade him from making war upon *Greece*. *Artabanus* sincerely owned, that he still had his fears, and was very uneasy concerning two things, the sea and the land; the sea, because there were no ports capable of receiving and sheltering such a fleet, if a storm should arise; the land, because no country could maintain so numerous an army. The king was very sensible of the strength of his reasoning, but as it was now too late to go back, he made answer, that in great enterprizes men ought not to enter into so nice a discussion of all the inconveniences that may attend them; that bold and daring undertakings, though subject to many evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction however safe; that great successes are no otherwise to be obtained than by venturing boldly; and that if his predecessors had observed such scrupulous and timorous rules of politicks, the *Persian* empire would never have attained to so high a degree of glory and grandeur [h].

*Artabanus's generous lessons to him.*

All things being now in readiness, and a day appointed for the passing over of the army, as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, all sorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way strewed with myrtle. At the same time *Xerxes* pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, and addressing the sun, implored the assistance of that deity, begging that he might meet with no impediment so great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmost limits of *Europe*. This done, he threw the cup into the *Hellespont*, with a golden bowl and a *Persian* scimiter, and the foot and horse began to pass over that bridge, which was next to the *Euxine*, while the carriages and beasts of burden passed over the other, which was placed nearer the *Ægean* sea. The bridges were boarded and covered over with earth, having rails on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at the sight of the sea. The army spent seven days and seven nights in passing over, though they marched day and night without intermission, and were by frequent blows obliged to quicken their pace. At the same time the fleet made to the coasts of *Europe*. After the whole army was passed, *Xerxes* advanced with his land-forces through the *Thracian Chersonesus* to *Doriscus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thrace*; but the fleet steered a quite different course, standing to the westward for the promontory of *Sarpedon*, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. *Xerxes* having encamped in the large plains of *Doriscus*, and judging them convenient for reviewing and numbering his troops, dispatched orders to his admirals to bring the fleet to the adjacent shore, that he might take an account both of his sea and land-forces. His land-army upon the muster was found to consist of one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, which together with twenty thousand men, that conducted the camels, and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven large ships, and three thousand gallies and transports; on board all these vessels there were found to be five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of sea and land-forces, which *Xerxes* led out of *Asia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that on his passing the *Hellespont* to enter *Europe*, an inhabitant of that country cried out; O *Jupiter*, why art thou come to destroy *Greece*, in the shape of a *Persian*, and under the name of *Xerxes* with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is sufficient to do this without their assistance? After he had entered *Europe*, the nations on this side the *Hellespont*, that submitted to him, added to his land-forces three hundred thousand more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four thousand men. So that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at *Thermopylæ*, was two millions, six hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, suttlers, and other people of that sort, who were computed to

*Marches over the Hellespont.*

*The number of his land and sea forces.*

[h] *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 45, *&* seq.

equal

a equal the number of the forces; so that the whole multitude of persons, that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, amounted to five millions, two hundred, eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty [f] (E). Among these millions of men, there was not one that could vie with *Xerxes* either in comelineſs or ſtature, or that ſeemed more worthy of that great empire. But this is a poor commendation, when it is not accompanied with other qualifications. Accordingly *Juſtin*, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes, *but this vaſt body wanted a head.* Beſides the ſubordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their reſpective countries, the whole army was under the command of ſix *Perſian* generals, *viz. Mardonius* the ſon of *Gobryas*, *His generals.*
b *Triatatæchmes* the ſon of *Artabanus*, *Smerdones* the ſon of *Otanes* (the two latter were couſins to *Xerxes*) *Maſiſtes* the ſon of *Darius* by *Atoſſa*, *Gergys* the ſon of *Ariaeus*, and *Megabyzus* the ſon of the celebrated *Zopyrus*. The ten thouſand *Perſians*, who were called the immortal band, obeyed no other commander but *Hydarnes*. The fleet was commanded by four *Perſian* admirals, and likewiſe the cavalry had their particular generals and commanders.

*Xerxes*, having thus numbered his ſea and land forces at *Doriſcus*, marched from thence through *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Theſſaly* towards *Attica*, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coaſt, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Where-ever he came, he found proviſions prepared before-hand pur-
c ſuant to the orders he had ſent, and each city was obliged to entertain him, which coſt immenſe ſums, and gave occaſion to the ſaying of a citizen of *Abdera*, after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for *Xerxes* moderation in being ſatisfied with one meal a day [g].

In the mean time *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*, the two moſt powerful cities of *Greece*, againſt which *Xerxes* was moſt exaſperated, having had intelligence of the enemies preparations and motions, ſent embaſſadors to *Argos*, into *Sicily*, to the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to deſire ſuccours, and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The people of *Argos* offered a very conſiderable number of troops on con- Athenians *and* Spartans *prepare againſt him.*
d dition they ſhould have an equal ſhare with the *Lacedemonians* in the command. The latter conſented, that the king of *Argos* ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the kings of *Sparta*; but this offer did not ſatisfy the *Argians*, who thereupon ordered the embaſſadors to depart the territories of *Argos* before ſun-ſet. From *Argos* they proceeded to *Sicily*, where *Gelo*, the moſt powerful prince in all the *Greek* colonies, offered to aſſiſt them with a very numerous army and a mighty fleet, provided they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces both by ſea and land. This propoſal was rejected by the *Athenian* embaſſadors, who told him that they did not want a general, but an army, and without preſſing him any further departed. The inhabitants of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*, immediately put to ſea with a
e fleet of 60 ſhips, but advanced no farther than the coaſts of *Laconia*, where they

[f] Herodot. l. vii. c. 56—99—148—187. [g] Idem, ibid. c. 108—132.

(E) This is the computation of *Herodotus*, and with him agree *Plutarch* (40) and *Iſocrates* (41); but *Diodorus Siculus* (42), *Pliny* (43) *Ælian* (44), and others fall far ſhort of this number, making the army which *Xerxes* led againſt *Greece*, not much more numerous than that with which his father invaded *Scythia*. Theſe probably miſtook the one for the other. *Herodotus* is the moſt ancient author that has written of this war, and lived in the very age, wherein it happened; wherefore we have preferred his account to that of others, the rather becauſe we find it to be the general opinion of all the ancients, whether *Greeks* or *Latins*, that this was the greateſt army that ever was brought into the field, and the account of *Herodotus* beſt agrees with the verſes engraved on the monument of thoſe *Greeks* that were ſlain at *Thermopylæ*, where it is ſaid that they fought againſt three millions, as we read the inſcription in *Herodotus*, or againſt two, as we find in *Diodorus Siculus* (45). *Joſephus* (46) tells us, that his countrymen too bore a part in this expedition, and proves it from a paſſage out of *Charilus* (47), where it is ſaid, that *Xerxes* was attended by a *People who uſed the* Phœnician *language, and dwelt in the* Solymæan *land on hills near a great lake.* As *Jeruſalem* was alſo called *Solyma*, and all the country thereabouts was mountainous, and lay near the great lake *Aſphaltides*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this deſcription ſeems plainly to ſuit the *Jews*. But *Scaliger* (48), *Cunæus* (49), and *Bochart* (50), underſtand thoſe verſes of *Solymi* in *Piſidia*. However *Salmaſius* (51) maintains the contrary opinion; and truly it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* obliged all the other nations to ſend their quota's of men, the *Jews* alone ſhould be exempted. Whether therefore thoſe mentioned by *Charilus* were *Jews* or not, it muſt be allowed that they alſo bore part in this expedition.

(40) *Plutarch. in Themiſt.* (41) *Iſocr. in Panathenaico.* (42) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. (43) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 10. (44) *Ælian. var. hiſtor. l.* xiii. *c.* 3. (45) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. *p.* 26. (46) *Joſeph. contra Apion. l.* i. (47) *Charil. apud eundem.* (48) *Scaliger in notis ad frag.* (49) *Cunæus, de Rep. Hebr. l.* ii. *c.* 18. (50) *Bochart Geogr. Sacra, Part II. l.* i. *c.* 2. (51) *Salmaſ. in Linguæ Hellenifticæ oſſilegio.*

waited

waited the issue of an engagement, designing to side afterwards with the conqueror. a
The people of *Crete* having consulted the oracle to know what resolution they should take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league. Thus were the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* abandoned by all their countrymen, except the *Thespians* and *Plataeans*, who sent small bodies to their assistance. The first thing they took care of in so critical a conjuncture was to put an end to all intestine divisions and discords; and accordingly a peace was concluded between the *Athenians* and the people of *Ægina*, who were actually at war. In the next place they appointed a general, the *Athenians* chusing *Themistocles*, and the *Spartans* conferring the supreme command of their forces upon *Leonidas* one of their kings. The only thing that now b
remained, was to determine in what place they should meet the *Persians*, in order to dispute their entrance into *Greece*. After various proposals and disputes, it was resolved, that they should send a body of four thousand men to *Thermopylæ*, which is a narrow pass, being but 25 foot broad, between the mountains that divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, and the only way through which the *Persians* could enter *Achaia*, and advance by land to *Athens*. The command of this small body was given to *Leonidas*, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all possible expedition to his post, determined either to stop the innumerable army of *Xerxes* with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was also the resolution of the 300 *Spartans* who attended him, and had been all chosen by himself. c

*Forsaken by all the other* Greeks.

Thermopylæ *defended by* Leonidas.

In the mean time *Xerxes* advancing near the straits, was strangely surprized to find that the *Greeks* were resolved to dispute his passage. For he had always flattered himself, that on his approach they would betake themselves to flight, nor attempt to oppose his innumerable forces with so small a body, their whole army consisting of but eleven thousand two hundred men, and of these scarce four thousand being employed to defend the pass. He sent out a scout on horseback to view their numbers, and discover how they were encamped. The scout brought back word, that the *Lacedæmonians* were some performing their military exercises, and others putting their hair in order; for their custom was, as *Damaratus* (F), who was then in the *Persian* camp, informed the king, to comb and put in order their hair when they were to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. However *Xerxes* entertaining still d
some hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking any thing, on purpose to give them time to retreat. During this time he used his utmost endeavours to gain and corrupt *Leonidas*, promising to make him master of all *Greece*, if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that publick-spirited prince with contempt and indignation, the king ordered him by a herald to deliver up his arms. *Leonidas* in a style, and with a spirit truly *Laconical*, answered him in a few words; *Come thyself and take them*[h]. *Xerxes* at this answer, transported with rage, commanded the *Medes* and *Cissians* to march against them, take them all alive, and bring them in fetters to him. The *Medes* not able to stand the shock of the brave *Greeks*, soon betook themselves to flight, and shewed, as our author e
observes, that *Xerxes* had many men, but few soldiers. In their room *Hydarnes* was ordered to advance with that body, which was called *immortal*, and consisted of ten thousand chosen men. But when they came to close with the *Greeks*, they succeeded no better than the *Medes* and *Cissians*, being obliged to retire with great slaughter. The next day, the *Persians*, reflecting on the small number of their enemies, and supposing so many of them to be wounded, that they could not possibly maintain a second fight, resolved to make another attempt, but could not by any efforts make the *Greeks* give way; on the contrary they were themselves put to a shameful flight. The valour of the *Greeks* exerted itself on this occasion in such an extraordinary manner, that *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending the intire destruction of his army[i]. f

*His noble answer to* Xerxes.

*The* Persians *repulsed at* Thermopylæ

[h] PLUTARCH. in Lacon. Apoph. p. 225. [i] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 210. DIODOR. Sicul. p. 6. CTESIAS in Persicis, c. 23.

(F) *Damaratus* was one of the two kings of *Sparta*, who being banished by the adverse party, had sought refuge at the *Persian* court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and distinction. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprize, that a king should suffer himself to be banished, *Damaratus* told them, that at *Sparta* the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince was in great esteem at the *Persian* court, but neither the injustice of the *Spartan* citizens, nor the kind treatment of the *Persian* king could make him forget his country. He no sooner knew that *Xerxes* designed to invade *Greece*, but he secretly acquainted the *Greeks* with his resolution, and on all occasions spoke his sentiments to the king with a noble freedom and dignity (52).

(52) *Plutarch. in Apoph. Lacon. p.* 220.

*Xerxes*

a *Xerxes*, having lost all hopes of forcing his way through troops that were determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed and doubtful what measures he should take in this posture of affairs; when one *Epialtes*, the son of *Eurydemus*, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill which overlooked and commanded the *Spartan* forces. The king immediately ordered *Hydarnes* thither with his select body of ten thousand *Persians*, who marching all night arrived at break of day, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post. The *Phocæans*, who defended this pass, being over-powered by the enemies numbers, retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But *Hydarnes* neglecting to pursue them, marched down b the mountain with all possible expedition, in order to attack those, who defended the straits in the rear. *Leonidas* being now apprized that it was impossible to bear up against the enemy, obliged the rest of his allies to retire, but stayed himself with the *Thespians*, *Thebans*, and three hundred *Lacedæmonians*; all resolved to die with their leader, who, being told by the oracle that either *Sparta* should be destroyed or the king lose his life, determined without the least hesitation to sacrifice himself for his country. The *Thebans* indeed remained against their inclination, being detained by *Leonidas* as hostages, for they were suspected to favour the *Persians*. The *Thespians* with their leader *Demophilus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*. The augur *Megistias*, who had fore- c told the event of this enterprize, being pressed by *Leonidas* to retire, sent home his only son, but remained himself and died by *Leonidas*. Those who stayed did not feed themselves with any hopes of conquering or escaping, but look'd upon *Thermopylæ* as their graves. And when *Leonidas*, exhorting them to take some nourishment, said that they should all sup together with *Pluto*, with one accord they set up a shout of joy as if they had been invited to a banquet[k].

*Epialtes rescues Xerxes out of his dangerous situation.*

*Leonidas's valour.*

*Xerxes*, after pouring out a libation at the rising of the sun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been advised by *Epialtes*. Upon their approach *Leonidas* advanced to the broadest part of the passage, and fell upon the enemy with such undaunted courage and resolution, that the *Persian* officers were d obliged to stand behind the divisions they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who not being able to stand so violent a shock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemies falling into the sea were drowned, others were trampled under feet by their own men, and a great many killed by the *Greeks*, who, knowing they could not avoid death upon the arrival of those who were advancing to fall upon their rear, exerted their utmost efforts. In this action fell the brave *Leonidas*, which *Abrocomes* and *Hyperanthus*, two of the brothers of *Xerxes*, observing, advanced with great resolution to seize his body and carry it in triumph to *Xerxes*. But the *Lacedæmonians* more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulsed the enemy e four times, killed both the brothers of *Xerxes* with many other commanders of distinction, and rescued the body of their beloved general out of the enemies hands. But in the mean time the army, that was led by the treacherous *Epialtes*, advancing to attack their rear, they retired to the narrowest place of the passage, and drawing all together, except the *Thebans*, posted themselves on a rising ground. In this place they made head against the *Persians*, who poured in upon them on all sides, till at length, not vanquished, but oppressd and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell except one who escaped to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a coward and a traitor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominious nick-name of *Aristodemus the run-away* (G); but not long after

*And death.*

*The Lacedæmonians defend his body with singular valour.*

*Overpowered and vanquished.*

[k] Herodot. l. vii. c. 210, & *seq.* Diodor. Sicul. p. 7. Ctesias ubi supra, c. 24.

(G) Some say, as our author informs us (53) that *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus*, both *Spartans*, being obliged by a violent distemper in their eyes to retire to *Alpeni*, were there some time in suspense whether they should return to *Sparta*, or to *Thermopylæ*, and there die with the rest of their countrymen. At last *Eurytus*, hearing that the *Persians* had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his servant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almost quite lost his sight) where he was killed. But *Aristodemus* wanting courage staid at *Alpeni*, and after the battle returned safe to *Sparta*. Others say, that both *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus* had been dispatched some whither with orders from the army, and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpose to avoid the danger, whereas his companion arrived in due time and died in the field. It is also said, that another of the three hundred *Spartans* by name *Pantites*, survived this action and returned to *Sparta*. But not being able to bear the reproaches of the *Spartans* he laid violent hands on himself. As for

(53) *Herodot. ubi supra.*

he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of *Platæa*, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Those who signalized themselves most among the *Lacedæmonians* were *Alpheus* and *Maron*, both sons of *Orisiphantus*; among the *Thespians*, *Dithyrambus*, but above all *Leonidas* and *Dieneces*; *Dieneces* was a *Spartan*, and distinguished himself on this occasion above all his countrymen, the king excepted. When a *Trachinian* told him before the battle, that the army of the *Barbarians* was so numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would hide the sun, he answered without betraying the least fear, that he was glad to hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. *Xerxes* enraged against *Leonidas* to the last degree for daring to oppose him, caused his head to be struck off, and his body to be put upon a cross, which barbarous treatment redounded more to his own ignominy than to the dishonour of that great hero. Some time after a magnificent monument was erected at *Thermopylæ* in honour of those brave defenders of *Greece*, with two inscriptions, the one general and relating to all those who died on this occasion, importing that the *Greeks* of *Peloponnesus* to the number only of four thousand made head against the *Persian* army consisting of three millions: the other related to the *Spartans* in particular, and was composed by the poet *Simonides* to this purport; *Go, passenger, and acquaint the* Spartans *that we died here in obedience to their just commands.* At those tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and publick games performed with great solemnity, wherein none but the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thespians* had any share, to shew that they alone were concerned in the glorious defence of *Thermopylæ*[l] (H).

*Dieneces's signal bravery.*

*Xerxes's indignity to the body of* Leonidas.

*Xerxes* on this occasion lost 20,000 men; and being sensible that so great a loss was capable of alarming and discouraging his friends, he caused all those that were killed, except a thousand, whose bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried, and then proceeded in his march through *Bœotia* to *Attica*, where he arrived four months after he had passed the *Hellespont*.

*The famed sea-fight of* Artemisium.

The very same day, on which happened the glorious action at *Thermopylæ*, the two fleets engaged at *Artemisium* a promontory of *Eubœa*. That of the *Greeks* consisted of 271 sail; but the *Persian* fleet was far more numerous, though they had lost a few days before, in a violent storm which continued four days, above 400 ships. Notwithstanding this loss they sent 200 ships with orders to sail round the island of *Eubœa*, and encompass the *Grecian* fleet, that none of their ships might escape. The *Greeks* having intelligence of this design, set sail in the night-time in order to attack them by day-break. But having missed this squadron, they advanced to *Aphetæ* where the whole *Persian* fleet lay, and after several encounters, in which the *Athenians* gained considerable advantages, they came to a general engagement, which was very obstinate, and the success pretty equal. However the *Greeks* found it necessary, their ships having suffered a great deal, to retire to some safer place to refit, and accordingly steered their course to the straits of *Salamis*, a small island very near, and over against *Attica*. Though the engagement at *Artemisium* did not bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the *Athenians*, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible[m]

*Athens deserted by its citizens.*

As *Xerxes* entered *Attica*, the *Athenians* not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an army, were prevailed upon by *Themistocles* to put all the citizens on board the fleet, to secure their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina* and *Trazene*, and to abandon the city of *Athens*, which they were noways in a condition to defend. The *Persians* arriving in the neighbourhood of *Athens* wasted the

[l] Herodot. l. vii. c. 238, & seq.

[m] Herodot. l. viii. c. 1—13.

for the *Thebans* and their general *Leontides*, they were obliged for some time to fight against the *Persians* in conjunction with the other *Greeks*. But they no sooner saw the *Persians* descending the hill to attack them in the rear, but they abandoned the rest of their allies, and approaching the *Persians* with their arms stretched out, told them that they had always favoured the *Persians*, that they had been the first among the *Greeks* to present them with earth and water, and that they were come to *Thermopylæ* against their will, and no ways guilty of the loss they had sustained. Thus the *Thebans* saved their lives, though the enemies killed many of them as they advanced to surrender themselves. Many others were by command of *Xerxes* branded with the royal mark as slaves, and among these was *Leontides* their general (54).

(H) There was besides these inscriptions a third relating to the augur *Megistias*, expressed in these words: *Under this stone lies divine* Megistias *slain by the* Medes; *with an undaunted heart he saw his fate approaching, and refused to live when the* Spartans *had resolved to die* (55).

(54) *Idem, ubi supra.*

(55) *Idem, ibid. & seq.*

whole

a whole country, putting all to fire and sword. A detachment was sent to plunder the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which was exceeding rich by reason of the many offerings and donatives sent thither from all the parts of the east. If we may believe what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* relate of this matter, the *Persians* no sooner advanced near the temple of *Minerva*, but a violent storm arising accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder and lightening, two great rocks rolled down from mount *Parnassus*, and crushed the greatest part of that detachment. The main body of the army arriving at *Athens* found it deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who literally interpreting *Apollo*'s oracle, *That* Athens *should be saved by wooden walls*, had fortified that place with boards and b pallisadoes. They defended themselves with incredible courage and resolution, and at last, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever, were all cut in pieces. *Xerxes* burnt the city and all its temples down to the ground, and immediately dispatched a messenger to *Susa* with the agreeable news of his success to his uncle *Artabanus*, in whose hands he had left the government during his absence [n].

*Taken and burnt by the* Persians.

In the mean time the *Grecian* fleet being reinforced by a great many ships, which joined them from several parts of *Greece* to the number of 300 sail, *Eurybiades*, commander in chief of all the naval forces, summoned a council in order c to consult about the measures that seemed most proper in the present state of affairs. In this council a great debate arose among the commanders; some, and among these *Eurybiades*, were for retiring to the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, that they might be nearer the army, which guarded that passage under the command of *Cleombrotus* the brother of *Leonidas*. Others, at the head of whom was *Themistocles* who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, was for remaining at *Salamis*, the most advantageous place they could chuse to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. For in the straits of *Salamis* the *Persians* could not, by reason of the narrowness of the sea, extend their line beyond that of the *Greeks*, and consequently would be obliged to fight upon equal terms without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm disputes *Eurybiades* with all the other commanders came over to d the opinion of *Themistocles*, fearing that the *Athenians*, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, would separate from the allies, if they abandoned that post, as *Themistocles* in his speech had insinuated. It was therefore unanimously resolved, that in the straits of *Salamis*, they should wait for the *Persian* fleet, and there engage them [o].

*The* Grecian *fleet at* Salamis.

A council of war likewise was held on the side of the *Persians* in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement, or no. All the commanders were for engaging, because they knew this advice to be most agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen *Artemisia* was the only person that opposed this resolution. She was queen of *Halicarnassus*, and followed *Xerxes* in this war with e five ships, the best equipped of any in the fleet, except those of the *Sidonians*. This princess distinguished herself on all occasions by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct; for our author observes, that there was not one who gave *Xerxes* so good advice as this heroine. She represented in the council of war, we are speaking of, the dangerous consequences of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the *Persians*, alledging that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas by spinning out the war, and advancing into the heart of *Greece*, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, who would separate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country, and that then the f king might, almost without striking a blow, make himself master of *Greece*. This advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimously resolved upon. *Xerxes*, in order to encourage his men with his presence, caused a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might safely behold whatever happened, having several scribes about him to write down the names of such as should signalize themselves against the enemies. The approach of the *Persian* fleet with the news that a strong detachment from the army was marching against *Cleombrotus*, who defended the *Isthmus*, struck such a terror into the *Peloponnesians*, that they could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to stay any longer at *Salamis*. Being therefore determined to put to sea, and sail to the *Isthmus*, *Themi-*

Artemisia *dissuades the* Persians *from engaging at sea.*

*The* Peloponnesians *over-reached by* Themistocles.

[n] Herodot. l. viii. c. 51. [o] Idem, l. viii. c. 56, & seq.

*stocles*

*stocles* privately dispatched a trusty friend to the *Persian* commanders, informing them of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their fleet round the island in order to prevent their escape. The same messenger assured *Xerxes* that *Themistocles*, who had sent him that advice, designed to join the *Persians* as soon as the battle began, with all the *Athenian* ships. The king, giving credit to all he said, immediately commanded a strong squadron to sail round the island in the night in order to cut off the enemies flight. Early next morning as the *Peloponnesians* were preparing to set sail, they found themselves encompassed on all sides by the *Persian* fleet, and were against their will obliged to remain in the straits of *Salamis*, and expose themselves to the same dangers with their allies. The *Grecian* fleet consisted of 380 sail, that of the *Persians* of 2000 and upwards. *Themistocles* avoided the engagement till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at the same time, and was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as he found himself favoured by this wind, he gave the signal for battle. The *Persians*, knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great resolution; but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeness and numbers of their ships embarassing them in a place so strait and narrow, their courage soon abated; which the *Greeks* observing, used such efforts, that in a short time breaking into the *Persian* fleet they entirely disordered them, some flying towards *Phalerus*, where their army lay encamped, others saving themselves in the harbours of the neighbouring islands. The *Ionians* were the first that betook themselves to flight. But queen *Artemisia* distinguished herself above all the rest, her ships being the last that fled; which *Xerxes* observing cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The *Athenians* were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachma's to any one that should take her alive; but she in spite of all their efforts got clear of the ships that pursued her, and arrived safe on the coast of *Asia*. In this engagement, which was one of the most memorable actions we find recorded in history, the *Grecians* lost 40 ships, and the *Persians* 200, besides a great many more that were taken with all the men and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies dreading the king's cruelty, made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Xerxes* being under no small apprehension lest the conquerors should sail to the *Hellespont* and there obstruct his return, left *Mardonius* in *Greece* with an army of 300,000 men, and marched with the rest towards *Thrace* in order to cross the *Hellespont*. As no provisions had been prepared before-hand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time of his march, which lasted five and forty days. The soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees, which occasioned innumerable distempers that swept off the greater part of them. The king finding that his army was not in a condition to pursue the march so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue, leaving the rest behind; but when he arrived at the *Hellespont*, he found the bridge broke down by the violence of the storms, and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat. From the *Hellespont* he continued his flight to *Sardis*, where he took up his quarters for the ensuing year [p].

*The* Persian *fleet defeated by the* Greeks.

Artemisia's *bravery and narrow escape.*

Xerxes's *retreat and distress.*

The first thing the *Athenians* took care of after the battle, was to send the first fruits of their victory to *Delphos*, where they enriched the temple with the spoils of those, who not long before had pillaged it. Their next thought was to reward those who had signalized themselves above the rest. It was a custom in *Greece*, that after an engagement the commanding officers should declare, who, in their opinion, had most distinguished themselves during the conflict, by writing down the names of the person that deserved the first, and of him who deserved the second prize. On this occasion each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his own name in the first place, and in the second the name of *Themistocles*, which plainly proved that he deserved the preference to all. And accordingly he was distinguished with honours, which to that time had never been bestowed upon any other, as we shall have occasion to relate in the history of *Greece* [q].

Themistocles *gains the prize of his valour.*

About the same time that the actions of *Thermopylæ* and *Salamis* happened, the formidable army of the *Carthaginians*, consisting of 300,000 men, was entirely defeated by *Gelo* king of *Syracuse*. We shall give a particular account of this victory in the history of the *Carthaginians*.

[p] Herodot. l. viii. c. 130. [q] Idem, 117. Justin. l. ii. c. 13.

On

a On *Xerxes*'s departure out of *Greece*, *Mardonius* having passed the winter in *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, marched early in the spring into *Bœotia*. From thence he sent *Alexander* king of *Macedon* with very advantageous offers to the people of *Athens* in order to draw them off from the common alliance. The offers he made were, to rebuild at the king's charges their city, and whatever other edifices had been demolished the year before in *Attica*; to suffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatever other lands they should desire. *Alexander*, as being their ancient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity of resettling their affairs, representing that they were not in a condition to stand out b against so powerful an enemy. But the *Athenians* could not by any means be prevailed upon to desert the interest of *Greece*. Whereupon *Mardonius* marched with all his army into *Attica*, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The *Athenians* not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent retired to *Salamis*, *Ægina* and *Trœzene*, and the second time abandoned their city. *Mardonius* entered *Athens*, and demolished whatever had escaped their fury the preceding year. In the mean time the joint forces of *Greece* being drawn together on the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back into *Bœotia*. For that being an open and level country was more fit for him to engage in than *Attica*, which was rough, craggy, full of hills and narrow passes. On his return into *Bœotia* he encamped on c the banks of the *Asopus*. The *Greeks* followed him thither under the command of *Pausanias* king of *Sparta*, and of *Aristides*, commander in chief of the *Athenians*. The *Persians* army, according to the computation of *Herodotus*, consisted of 350,000; according to *Diodorus*, of 500,000 men. That of the *Grecians* did not amount to the number of 110,000. *Mardonius* in order to try the courage of the *Greeks* sent out his cavalry, in which the main strength of his army consisted, to skirmish with the enemy. The *Megarians*, who were encamped on a plain, sustained the first onset; but in spite of all their resolution were forced to give way, being overwhelmed with the enemies arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of 300 *Athenians* with a small number of bow-men advanced to their relief. *Masistius*, ge- d neral of the *Persian* horse, and one highly esteemed in *Persia*, seeing them advance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about and attack them. The shock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to shew by the issue of this encounter what might be the success of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at last, *Masistius* being killed, the *Persians* betook themselves to flight. The death of *Masistius* was greatly lamented by the *Persians*, who to shew their concern for the loss of so brave a commander cut off their hair, and likewise the manes of their horses, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations. After this encounter the two armies continued for the space of ten days only looking at one another. At last *Mardonius*, who was of a fiery temper, not being able to e bear any further delays, and his provisions being almost consumed, called a council of war in order to deliberate whether they should give battle, or retire till such time as they were supplied with fresh provisions. *Artabazus*, a nobleman of great distinction and experience, was of opinion that they should not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of *Thebes*, where they should be in a condition to lay in stores of provisions and forage. He alledged, that by delaying they might cast a damp upon the ardour of the enemies, and in the mean time by sending rich presents to their leaders prevail upon them to betray the common liberty without hazarding a battle. The *Thebans* were of the same opinion; but that of *Mardonius*, who was for engaging, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict f him; and the result of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who in his heart favoured the *Greeks*, came secretly about midnight into their camp, and informed *Aristides* of all that had passed[r].

*Attica wasted by* Mardonius.

*The strength of the* Persian *and* Grecian *Army.*

*Masistius defeated and killed.*

*Both armies resolve to engage.*

THE *Greek* generals upon this notice ordered their officers to prepare for battle. Before they engaged *Pausanias* thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the *Athenians*, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might stand opposite to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly conquered at *Marathon*, while he with his *Spartans* engaged the *Thebans*, and other *Greeks* who served

[r] Idem, l. ix. c. 50, & seq.

in the *Persian* army, and had been often routed by the *Spartans*. But *Mardonius* upon the intelligence he had of this new disposition made the like change, which obliged the *Greeks* to return to their former stations; and the *Persians* likewise ranged their army according to their first disposition. Thus did all that day pass without any action. In the evening the *Greeks* held a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should decamp, and retire to some other place more conveniently situated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of the bodies they commanded to make what haste they could to the new camp that was marked out for them, great confusion happened, some going one way, and some another, without observing any order in their march. At last they stopped near the little city of *Plataea*. *Mardonius* being informed that the *Greeks* were retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and pursued them with great shouts, as if he were not to fight, but to strip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occasion to insult *Artabazus*, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notion he had conceived of the *Lacedæmonians*, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having passed the *Asopus*, he came up with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Tegeans*, who were separated from the body of the army to the number of 53,000 men. *Pausanias* finding himself thus attacked by the whole *Persian* army, dispatched a messenger to acquaint the *Athenians*, who had taken another rout, with the danger he was in. The *Athenians* immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies, but were attacked, and to their great regret prevented by those *Greeks* who sided with the *Persians*. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the *Spartans* were the first who broke into the very center of the *Persian* army, and after a most obstinate resistance put them to flight. *Mardonius* mounted on a white horse signalized himself on this occasion, and at the head of 1000 chosen men, made a great slaughter of the enemies; but he falling, the whole *Persian* army was easily routed, which those *Greeks*, who had engaged the *Athenians*, hearing, retired with precipitation, leaving the *Athenians* masters of the field. The *Persians* fled to their former camp, which they had fortified with an inclosure of wood. The *Lacedæmonians* pursued them, but were not able to force the entrenchment, not being accustomed to besiege towns, or storm fortified places. The *Athenians* hearing that the *Persians* were thus shut up in their camp, gave over pursuing the *Greeks*, and hastened to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found busied in forcing the enemies camp with more valour than skill. Wherefore they took upon themselves that labour, and soon made a breach in the wall, through which entering together with the *Lacedæmonians*, they made such a dreadful slaughter of the enemies, that of 300,000 scarce 3000 made their escape. *Artabazus*, who from *Mardonius's* imprudent conduct had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded, and being arrived safe at *Byzantium*, from thence passed over into *Asia*. During the whole engagement the *Spartans* lost but 91 men, the *Tegeans* 16, and the *Athenians* 52. When they came to determine who had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of *Aristodemus*, who was the only one that had saved himself at *Thermopylæ*, and had now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a most glorious death. The spoil was immense, consisting in vast sums of money, in gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to *Pausanias*, who distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, and the others were rewarded, each according to his merit. Thus was *Greece* delivered not only from the present, but all future invasions of the *Persians*, who henceforward never more appeared on this side the *Hellespont* [a].

*The battle of* Plataea.

*Year of the flood* 2519. *Before Christ* 480.

*The* Persians *defeated.*

Mardonius *killed.*

*The* Persian *camp forced by the* Athenians.

*The immense spoil of it.*

The same day that this battle was fought at *Plataea*, the *Grecian* fleet gained as memorable a victory at *Mycale*, a promontory in *Asia*, over the remainder of the *Persian* navy. For at the same time that the land-forces of *Greece* rendezvoused on the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, their fleet met at *Ægina*, under the command of *Leotychides* the other king of *Sparta*, and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*. Thither embassadors came to their commanders from the *Ionians* inviting them into *Asia*, to deliver the *Greek* colonies from the *Persian* yoke. On this invitation they immediately set sail for *Asia*, steering

[a] Idem. c. 88.

their

a their course by *Delos*, where they were met by other embassadors from *Samos*, who brought them intelligence that the *Persian* fleet, which had wintered at *Cuma*, was then at *Samos*, where it might easily be destroyed, earnestly entreating them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. Hereupon they sailed forthwith to *Samos*, but the *Persian* fleet receiving timely notice of their design retired to *Mycale*, where the army lay encamped, consisting of 100,000 men, the remainder of those *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the year before. Here they drew their ships ashore, and threw up an entrenchment quite round, which they fortified with palisadoes, being determined to sustain a siege. The *Greeks* arriving at *Mycale*, found all the enemies ships within the circumvallation, and a b numerous army disposed along the coast; but however, did not meet with the least opposition in landing their men, and drawing them up in battle-array; which when they had done, they attacked the enemy with such vigour that they obliged them to fly to their entrenchments, and pursued them so close that they entered the camp at the same time. When the enemy saw their entrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themselves to flight; but the *Persians* though reduced to a small number still continued to dispute the entrance of their camp against the *Greeks* pouring in on all sides. But in the mean time the *Lacedæmonians*, who had taken a wider compass, arriving with other troops of the allies, the *Persians* likewise abandoned their post, and saved themselves by flying to the neighbour- c ing hills. Before the engagement they had appointed the *Milesians* to guard the narrow passages of the mountains, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and sure guides to conduct them through the mountains, the *Milesians* being well acquainted with the country. But they treacherously brought back by other ways to the enemy such as fled to them; by which means a very small number escaped the general slaughter of that day. The two *Persian* generals *Mardontes* and *Tigranes* died in the field with many other commanders of great distinction. The *Greeks* having made a great slaughter of the enemies both in the field and in the pursuit, set fire to their ships, burnt the whole camp, and set sail for *Samos* loaded with an immense booty consisting of 70 chests of money, besides many other things d of an inestimable value[t]. And thus ended all the great designs of *Xerxes* in a most miserable disappointment, a small number of those millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the *Hellespont*.

*The* Persians *defeated before* Mycale.

*Betrayed by the* Milesians.

The battle of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the same day, and yet all the *Greek* writers pretend that the victory at *Plataea* was known at *Mycale* before the engagement began there, though those two e places were parted by the whole *Ægean*, a sea of several days sail. But *Diodorus Siculus*[u] clears up this matter, telling us that *Leotychides* observing his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at *Plataea*, lest they should be overpowered by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, in order to raise their spirits and courage, caused a e report to be spread in the army, that the *Persians* were defeated at *Plataea*, though at that time he knew nothing of the matter.

Leotychides's *stratagem.*

*Xerxes* upon the news of these two overthrows left *Sardis* with the same hurry and precipitation as he had left *Athens* after the battle of *Salamis*, making all the haste he could towards *Persia*, that he might get as far as possible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But before he set out, he gave orders that all the temples of the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be burnt and demolished; and his orders were so far executed that not one temple was left standing except that of *Diana* at *Ephesus* (I).

Xerxes's *hasty flight.*

*The* Greek *temples destroy'd.*

[t] Herodot. l. viii. c. 102. [u] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 28.

(I) We will not pretend to determine whether *Xerxes*'s resentment after so many defeats prompted him to this, or a singular zeal for the institution of the *Magi*, in whose religion he had been thoroughly instructed by *Zoroastres*. For that religion expressing a great detestation of worshipping God by images, its zealots were for destroying all idolatrous temples where-ever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* steady in their party, not only several of the chief doctors of the *Magi*, but *Osthanes* himself, who was then at the head of the whole sect, attended him during the whole time of this expedition (56). So that if we may credit *Cicero* (57), it was at their instigation, that all those temples were destroyed.

(56) *Clem. Alexandrin. in Protrept. Laert. in Proem. Pocok. Specim. Hist. Arab. p.* 148, 149. (57) *Cic. de legib. l.* ii.

THE *Grecian* fleet after the battle of *Mycale* steered their course first to *Samos*, and thence to the *Hellespont* in order to possess themselves of the bridges, which *Xerxes* had caused to be laid over those straits; but finding them broke by storms, *Leotychides* with his *Peloponnesian* forces sailed home. *Xantippus* with the *Athenians* and his allies the *Ionians* remaining there made himself master of *Sestus* and the whole *Thracian Chersonesus*, where the army was enriched with an immense booty, which on the approach of the winter they carried home, every one returning then to their respective countries. *Xantippus* finding all the materials of the bridges at *Cardia*, whither they had been conveyed by order of *Xerxes*, carried them with him to *Athens*, where they were preserved for many years as a monument of the many victories, which the *Greeks* obtained in this war. From this time the *Ionian* cities in *Asia* shaking off the *Persian* yoke recovered their ancient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire subsisted.

Xantippus *conveys the* Persian *spoils to* Athens. *Year of the flood* 2519. *Before Christ* 480.

THE *Greeks*, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war, and drive the *Persians* out of all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which sailing to *Cyprus* under the command of *Pausanias* and *Aristides*, drove the *Persians* out of that island, and restored the inhabitants to their ancient liberty *.

Persians *driven out of* Greece.

WHILE *Xerxes* resided at *Sardis*, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother *Masistes*, a prince of extraordinary merit, and who had served the king with great zeal and fidelity. As she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular value for her husband, she could by no sollicitaions be prevailed upon to defile his bed. However the king still flattering himself that by heaping favours upon her he might at last conquer her virtue, married his eldest son *Darius* whom he appointed his successor to the crown, to *Artaynta* this princess's daughter. As this was the greatest favour he could bestow on the mother, he expected it would engage her to comply with his desires. But *Xerxes* finding her virtue proof against all temptations, he changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell passionately in love with the daughter, who was now the wife of his own son, and did not follow the glorious example of her mother's firmness and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, *Hamestris*, wife to *Xerxes*, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king, which he, being wonderfully pleased with it, put on when he first visited his mistress. In the conversation he had with her he desired her to ask whatever favour she pleased, binding himself by an oath to deny her nothing. Hereupon *Artaynta* desired him to give her the mantle. *Xerxes* foreseeing the bad consequences that would necessarily ensue from his complying with her request, did all that lay in his power to dissuade her from insisting upon her first demand. He offered her immense treasures, with cities and an army to be solely at her disposal, which was one of the greatest presents that the *Persian* kings could make. But not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by his imprudent promise and rash oath, he yielded to her demand, and gave her the mantle, which she immediately put on and publickly wore as a trophy of her power over the king's affections. *Hamestris* being now confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained, was incensed to the highest degree; but instead of venting her rage against the daughter, who alone was faulty, resolved to be revenged on the mother, whom she lookt upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was no ways privy to it. For the better executing of her design she waited the great festival, which was annually celebrated on the king's birth-day; on which occasion the king, according to the established custom of the country, used to grant his queen whatever she demanded. This day being come she asked that the wife of his brother *Masistes* might be delivered into her hands. *Xerxes*, who apprehended the queen's design, was struck with horror at his demand, both out of regard to his brother, and because he knew that his wife was quite innocent, and therefore at first withstood her request. But being at last overcome by her importunity, he consented with the utmost reluctancy to her request, and ordering his guards to seize the innocent princess, delivered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged *Hamestris*, impowering her to treat her as she pleased. In consequence of this power *Hamestris* caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears and lips to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the mean time

Xerxes' *incestuous intrigue with his daughter-in-law.*

Hamestris's *cruelty to the innocent wife of* Masistes.

* DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi.

a *Xerxes* had sent for his brother to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But *Masistes*, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced by any offers whatsoever to divorce her. Whereupon *Xerxes* in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his own wife, and with this inhuman reply dismissed him. *Masistes* from this speech apprehending some great misfortune, made all the haste he could home to see what had passed during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described, and being exasperated to the highest degree, as the case did justly deserve, he immediately assembled all b his family, servants and dependants, and set out with all possible expedition for the province of *Bactriana*, of which he was governour, with full resolution as soon as he arrived there, to induce the *Bactrians* to revolt and revenge such a barbarous usage in the severest manner. But *Xerxes* hearing of his sudden departure, and suspecting from thence his design, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him, cut him in pieces with his wife, children and all his retinue. There is another action no less cruel and impious related of *Hamestris*. She caused fourteen children of the best families in *Persia* to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods.

*Masistes, and his wife and family massacred by* Xerxes.

*A fresh instance of* Hamestris's *cruelty.*

Upon the death of *Masistes*, *Xerxes* appointed *Hystaspes* his second son to be governor of *Bactria*, which obliging him to live at a distance from court, gave his younger c brother *Artaxerxes* an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in its proper place [x].

*Xerxes* being wholly discouraged by a continual series of heavy losses and shameful defeats, gave over all thoughts of war and conquests, and never afterwards suffered his ships to appear in the *Ægean* sea, or his forces on the coasts. He gave himself entirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying of his lusts and vitious inclinations. This dissolute manner of life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, which encouraged *Artabanus*, a native of *Hyrcania*, captain of his guards, and who had long been his chief favourite, to conspire against him. He prevailed upon *Mithridates*, one of the eunuchs of the palace, to engage in the conspi- d racy, and being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him in the 21st year of his reign while he was asleep. He then went to *Artaxerxes* the king's third son, and charged *Darius* his elder brother with the murder, as though an eager desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him at the same time, that he designed to cut him off next in order to secure the crown to himself, and therefore he ought to guard himself against all dangers. *Artaxerxes*, being then a very young man, rashly believed whatever *Artabanus* told him, and without further examination went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, being assisted by *Artabanus* and his guards, murdered him. The next heir was *Hystaspes*, the second son of *Xerxes*; but as he was then in *Bactriana*, of e which province he was governor, *Artabanus* placed *Artaxerxes* on the throne; but with a design to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seize it himself [y]. His great authority had gained him many dependents, and besides he had seven sons, who were all of robust bodies, couragious, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design, but while he was hastening to put it in execution, *Artaxerxes* being informed of the whole plot by *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and killed him before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured to *Artaxerxes* the possession of the kingdom [z] (K). He is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. He is called, or rather nick-named, by the *Greeks* *Macrocheir*,

Artabanus's *treachery.*

Xerxes *murdered.*

*Year of the flood* 2525. *Before Christ.* 474.

Darius *murdered.*

Artaxerxes *mounts the throne.*

Artabanus *discovered and put to death.*

[x] Herodot. l. ix. c. 107, 112. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 53. [z] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 52. Ctesias, c. 2. Justin, l. iii. c. 1.

(K) Whether *Artabanus* possessed himself of the throne, and held it seven months, as some authors affirm, or was killed by *Artaxerxes* before he accomplished his design, is no easy matter to determine with any certainty. The seven first months however of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, are by *Eusebius* (58) assigned to *Artabanus*, but whether because he ruled so long in his name, or on what other account, is not easy to determine.

(58) *Euseb. in Chron.*

that is long-handed, by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands (L); a
but in scripture he bears the name of *Abasuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same who had *Esther* for his queen (M).

Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Having by the death of *Artabanus* removed one dangerous competitor, he had still two great obstacles in his way, *viz.* his brother *Hystaspes* in *Bactria*, and the party of *Artabanus* at home, which gave him the first trouble. *Artabanus*, as we have hinted above, had seven sons and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death. Whereupon a bloody conflict ensued, in which many *Persians* of distinction fell on both sides. But at length *Artaxerxes*, having prevailed, put to death all those who were privy to the plot. Those, especially, who had any hand in the murder of his father, were punished in a most severe and exem- b
plary manner. The eunuch *Mithridates*, who betrayed him, was boated, a punishment which was in use among the *Persians*, and we have already described where we give an account of the manners of that nation. *Artaxerxes*, having thus crushed the faction of *Artabanus* at home, was in a condition to send an army into *Bactria*, which had declared in favour of his brother. But here he was not attended with the like success; for the two armies engaging, *Hystaspes* stood his ground, and though he did not carry the day, he sustained no considerable loss, both parties retiring with equal success to prepare for a second encounter. The next year *Artaxerxes* drawing together a far more powerful army, as having the greater part of the empire at his devotion, over-
powered *Hystaspes*, and by a compleat victory secured to himself the quiet possession c
of the empire. To prevent all further disturbances, he removed such governours of cities and provinces as he suspected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abuses and disorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his

*Crushes the faction of* Artabanus.

*Defeats his brother.*

(L) *Strabo* (59) tells us that he was so called because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright, he could touch his knees with them; but according to *Plutarch* (60), he had that name because his right hand was longer than his left. He is named by the *Latins Longimanus*, which answers the *Greek* Μακροχειρ.

(M) Some are of opinion that *Darius Hystaspis* was the king *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*, and that *Atossa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of scripture (61). But this opinion is quite inconsistent with what we read of these persons in prophane history. For *Herodotus* tells us (62), that *Artystona* was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther*; and that *Atossa* had four sons by *Darius*, all born after he ascended the throne (63); and therefore she could not be that queen *Vashti*, whom the king divorced in the third year of his reign (64), nor he consequently that king *Abasuerus*. Besides, *Atossa* had such an ascendant over the king, that he was influenced by her on his death-bed to disinherit his elder sons by a former wife, and settle the crown on *Xerxes* her son; whereas the *Abasuerus* of scripture divorced *Vashti* by an unalterable decree, and therefore could never admit her again to his bed (65). What induced the learned primate of *Ireland* to be of this opinion was, that *Abasuerus* in the book of *Esther* (66), is said to have laid a tribute on the land, and on the isles, and the same is said of *Darius Hystaspis* by *Herodotus* (67); but this *Strabo* ascribes to *Darius Longimanus* (68), as we read in the printed copies; and the surname of *Longimanus* with the description of the person in that place, plainly shews that *Darius* was there by mistake of the transcribers put instead of *Artaxerxes*, seeing no *Darius* ever bore that name, and what is said there of *Darius* is applicable to none but *Artaxerxes*.

*Scaliger* is of opinion (69) that *Xerxes* was the *Abasuerus*, and his queen *Hamestris* the *Esther* of scripture; induced thereunto by the similitude he finds between *Hamestris* and *Esther*. But the dissimilitude of their characters is a far stronger proof that *Hamestris* could not be *Esther*, as must appear from what we have already related of queen *Hamestris*, and shall have occasion to add in the sequel of this history. A woman of so vile a character cannot have been that queen of *Persia*, who by the name of *Esther* is so renowned in holy writ, and is celebrated there as the instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them. Besides we are told by *Herodotus* (70) that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, who was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and *Esther* was not till that time married to *Abasuerus* (71).

There being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, he must, in our opinion, have been the *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*. This we find confirmed by the *Septuagint*, by the apocryphal additions to the book of *Esther*, and by *Josephus*. The *Septuagint* throughout the whole book of *Esther* translate *Abasuerus* by *Artaxerxes*. The apocryphal additions to that book constantly call *Esther*'s husband *Artaxerxes*, and from several circumstances related of him both in the canonical and apocryphal *Esther*, it is very plain that this *Artaxerxes* could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Josephus* (72) tells us in express terms, that *Esther*'s husband was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. *Severus Sulpitius*, and many others both antient and modern writers fall in with *Josephus*. The extraordinary favour and kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the *Jews* beyond all other kings that reigned in *Persia*, is a convincing proof that they had such a powerful advocate as *Esther* to intercede for them. †

(59) *Strab. l.* xv. *p.* 735. (60) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (61) *Usher. Ann. at the year of the J. P.* 4194. (62) *Herodot. l.* iii. & vii. (63) *Idem, l.* vii. (64) *Esther*, i. 3. (65) *Idem, ibid.* (66) *Esther* x. 1. (67) *Idem, l.* iii. (68) *Strab. l.* xv. *p.* 735. (69) *Scal. de emendat. temp. l.* vi. (70) *Herodot. l.* ix. (71) *Esther* ii. 16. (72) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* xi. *c.* 6. † *See Prid. Connection, Part I. book* 4. *at the end, & Calmet Dict. under Assuerus.*

subjects

a subjects throughout all the provinces of the empire [a]. *Artaxerxes*, being now settled in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* empire, appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made for the space of 180 days in the city of *Susa*, on the conclusion of which he gave a great entertainment to all the princes and people that were then in that city, which lasted seven days. *Vashti* the queen at the same time made a like feast in her apartment for the women; and here the history of *Hadassah* or *Esther*, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

*The* Egyptians *revolt, assisted by the* Athenians.

*Year of the flood* 2530. *Before Christ* 469.

In the fifth year of *Artaxerxes*'s reign the *Egyptians* revolted, and making *Inarus*, prince of the *Lybians*, their king, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, who having at that time a fleet of 200 ships lying off the island of *Cyprus*, laid hold of that b invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the *Persian* power, by driving them from so rich a kingdom. Upon the news of this revolt, *Artaxerxes*, having raised an army of 300,000 men, was resolved to march himself against the rebels. But being dissuaded from venturing his person, he gave the command of all the land-forces to *Achæmenides* one of his brothers (N), who arriving in *Egypt* at the head of his numerous army encamped on the banks of the *Nile*. In the mean time the *Athenians* having defeated the *Persian* fleet, and either sunk or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the *Nile*, and landing their forces, under the command of *Charitimis* their general, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*. They afterwards attacked with joint forces *Achæmenides*, routed his army, and killed 100,000 of his men with the general himself. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, whither the c conquerors pursuing them, took two parts of the town; but the *Persians* securing themselves in the third called the *White-wall*, which was by much the best fortified part of the city, there suffered a siege of three years, during which time they made a most vigorous defence, till they were succoured by the forces that were sent to their relief [b].

Persians *defeated in* Egypt.

*Artaxerxes* hearing of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and how much the *Athenians* had contributed to it, sent embassadors to the *Lacedæmonians* with large sums of money in order to engage them to make war upon the *Athenians*, and by that means oblige them to recall their troops to the defence of their own country. But the *Lacedæmonians* rejecting his offers, he resolved to make a diversion by sending d *Themistocles*, (who had taken shelter in the *Persian* court, whither the envy of his enemies at home had driven him, as we shall relate in the history of *Greece*) at the head of a powerful army to invade *Attica*. But that great commander not knowing how to decline the command of a prince who had heaped so many favours upon him, and on the other hand being unwilling to make war upon his own country, resolved to put an end to his life. And accordingly having invited all his friends to a banquet, and sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of the blood, and soon after died [c]. Upon his death *Artaxerxes* ordered *Artabazus* governour of c *Cilicia* and *Megabyzus* governour of *Syria*, to raise an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the *White-wall*. These generals soon drew together 300,000 e men, but were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped in order to transport them into *Egypt*, which could not be got ready till the ensuing year. *Inarus* hearing of the formidable preparations that were making by these *Persian* governours to relieve the besieged, redoubled his attacks on the *White-wall*, and made his utmost efforts to carry it; but the *Persians* within defended themselves with such bravery, that the *Egyptians* and *Athenians* made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place [d].

Themistocles *kills himself, rather than war against his country.*

In the third year of the siege, and ninth of *Artaxerxes*, the *Persian* fleet being equipped, *Artabazus* took the command of it, and set sail towards the *Nile*, while *Megabyzus* at the head of the land-forces marched to *Memphis*. On his arrival he

[a] Plutarch. in Artax. Ctes. c. 31. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54. [b] Thucyd. l. i. p. 68, 71, 72. Ctes. c. 32, 35. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54—59. [c] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Plutarch. in Themist. [d] Ctes. & Diodor. ubi supra, p. 281.

(N) *Herodotus* (73) and *Diodorus Siculus* (74) confound *Achæmenides*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, with *Achæmines* brother to *Xerxes*, and uncle of *Artaxerxes*, telling us that the management of this war was committed to *Achæmines*, who in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes* was governour of *Egypt*. But they were certainly misled by the similitude of names; for *Ctesias* tells us, that *Artaxerxes* gave the command of the troops to the son of *Hamestris*, who could not be *Achæmines*.

(73) *Herodot. l.* iii. & vii. (74) *Diodor. l.* xi.

not

*Inarus and the* Egyptians *defeated.*

not only obliged *Inarus* and his auxiliaries to raise the siege of the *White-wall*, but a in a pitched battle entirely defeated them with great slaughter of the *Egyptians*, who suffered most in this engagement. After this defeat *Inarus*, though wounded in the thigh by *Megabyzus*, retired with the *Athenians* and such of the *Egyptians* as were willing to follow him, to the city of *Biblos* in the island of *Prosopotis*, which being surrounded by the navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenians* stationed their fleet in one of them, and held out a siege of a year and half. In the mean time the rest of the *Egyptians* submitted to the conqueror, and returned to their obedience, *Amyrtæus* alone maintaining a party against him in the fens, where he ruled many years, the *Persians* not being able to reduce him by reason of the inaccessibleness of the place. *Inarus* and his auxiliaries in the island of *Prosopotis* defended b themselves with such vigour, that the *Persians* despairing to reduce them by the ordinary methods of war, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient whereby they soon accomplished their design. They quite drained, by cutting many canals, that arm of the *Nile*, where the *Athenian* fleet lay, and by that means opened a passage for the whole army to enter the island. *Inarus* seeing all was now lost, delivered up himself, the *Egyptians*, and about 50 *Athenians* to *Megabyzus*, on condition their lives should be spared. But the rest of the *Athenians*, to the number of 6000, refused to surrender, and, having set fire to their fleet, drew up in battle-array, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives at the dearest rate in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians* that fell at *Thermopylæ*. The *Persians*, perceiv- c ing they had taken this desperate resolution, did not think it advisable to attack them; but rather to offer them reasonable terms, and come to a composition. The terms were, that they should leave *Egypt*, and have a free passage home by sea or land. They accepted the conditions, delivered up the island with the city of *Biblos* to the conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they embarked for *Greece*; but most of them perished before they reached their native country. Neither was this the only loss the *Athenians* sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of 50 sail being sent by them to relieve those, who were besieged in the island of *Prosopotis*, arrived at one of the mouths of the *Nile* soon after their countrymen had surrendered, and having entered the river without knowing what had happened, were at the d same time attacked by the *Persian* fleet, and galled with such showers of darts and arrows by the land-forces from the shore, that they were all killed, except some few who broke through the enemies fleet and escaped. Thus ended the fatal war, which the *Athenians* had carried on for the space of six years in *Egypt*, and that kingdom was anew united to the *Persian* empire, and continued so during the remaining part of the reign of *Artaxerxes*. *Inarus* and the other prisoners taken in this war were sent to *Susa*, and *Sartamas* appointed governor of *Egypt* [e].

*Submits with* 50 *of his* Athenians.

*Prosopotis delivered up to the* Persians.

*Athenians defeated.*

*Egypt again reduced.*

*Year of the flood* 2536. *Before Christ* 463.

The *Athenians* having equipped another fleet of 200 sail gave the command of it to *Cimon*, enjoining him to drive the *Persians* from the island of *Cyprus*. *Cimon* in e pursuance to his orders took *Citium*, *Malum*, and several other cities of that island, and from thence sent 60 sail to the assistance of *Amyrtæus* in the fens of *Egypt*. *Artabazus* being then in those seas with a fleet of 300 ships, *Cimon* as soon as his squadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took 100 of his ships, destroyed many others, and pursued the remainder to the coasts of *Phœnicia*. Being flushed with his success, on his return he landed his men in *Cilicia*, where he found *Megabyzus* with an army of 300,000 men, marched against him, and having put him to flight with a great slaughter of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph [f].

*Cimon's success in* Cyprus *and against the* Persian *fleet.*

*Artaxerxes* tired with a war in which he had sustained so great losses, resolved with the advice of his counsellors and ministers to put an end to so many calamities by f coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he sent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude a peace with the *Athenians* on the best terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* sent embassadors to *Athens* to propose an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both sides on the following terms. 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no *Persian* ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the *Cyanean* and the *Chelidonian* islands, that is, from the *Euxine* sea to the coasts of *Pamphylia*. 3. That no *Persian* general should come by land within three days

*Artaxerxes makes peace with the* Athenians.

[e] Ctes. c. 34. Diodor. l. xi. p. 58, & seq. [f] Plutarch, in Cimon. Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. xi. p. 73.

march

a march of those seas. 4. That the *Athenians* should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of *Persia*. These articles being sworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war, which had lasted from the burning of *Sardis* by the *Athenians* fifty-one years compleat, and destroyed numberless multitudes both of *Greeks* and *Persians* [g].

*Artaxerxes* being continually importuned by his mother for five years together to deliver to her *Inarus* and the *Athenians* who had been taken with him in *Egypt*, that she might sacrifice them to the manes of her son *Achæmenes*, yielded at last to her unwearied solicitations. Whereupon this inhuman princess, without any regard to the conditions which had been with the greatest solemnity ratified, caused *Inarus* b to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off. *Megabyzus*, who had engaged his word that their lives should be spared, looked upon this as a dishonour done him, and therefore retiring to *Syria*, of which province he was governor, raised there an army, and openly revolted. The king immediately sent *Osiris*, one of the chief lords of the court, with an army of 200,000 men to suppress this rebellion. But *Megabyzus* in a general engagement wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his numerous army to flight. *Artaxerxes* hearing that his general was taken, sent a messenger to demand him, and *Megabyzus* generously released him as soon as his wounds were cured [h].

*Inarus crucified.*

*Megabyzus revolts, and defeats Osiris.*

*Year of the flood 2542. Before Christ 457.*

The next year *Artaxerxes* sent another army against him under the command of c *Menostanes* son to *Artarius* the king's brother, and governor of *Babylon*. This general was attended with no better success than the other, for he was in the same manner defeated and put to flight, leaving *Megabyzus* master of the field, and all the baggage. The king being sensible that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, sent his brother *Artarius* and his sister *Amytis*, who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with several other persons of distinction, to persuade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned to court. But not long after a lion being ready to fall upon the king as he was hunting, *Megabyzus*, to shew his zeal and affection for his sovereign, threw a dart at the lion, and killed him. But the king still retaining d ill-will against him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in shooting first at the lion, commanded his head to be struck off; and it was with the utmost difficulty, that *Amytis* his sister, and *Hamestris* his mother, prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment. *Megabyzus* was therefore sent to *Cyrta*, a city standing on the *Red-Sea*, and sentenced to lead the rest of his life there under confinement. However five years after he made his escape from thence, and under disguise got safe to his own house at *Susa*, where, by the intercession of his wife, and mother-in-law, he was reinstated in the king's favour, and enjoy'd it till his death, which happen'd some years after in the 76th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the best counsellor and e greatest general of the whole empire. To him *Artaxerxes* owed both his life and his crown at his first accession to the government. But it is of dangerous consequence in a subject to have too much obliged his sovereign; for this was the true source of all the misfortunes that befel *Megabyzus* [i].

*Pardoned and reinstated.*

*Banished.*

*Reinstated.*

In the 34th year of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, a war breaking out between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, commonly called the *Peloponnesian* war, both parties sent embassadors to the king, imploring his assistance [k]. But we do not find that *Artaxerxes* returned them any answer before the seventh year of that war, when he sent an embassador to the *Lacedemonians* named *Artaphernes*, with a letter written in the *Assyrian* tongue, wherein he told them, that several embassadors had come to him from them, but the purport of their embassies differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what they requested, and that therefore he had thought proper f to send them a *Persian* to let them know, that if they had any proposals to make, they should send a trusty person along with him, by whom he might be informed what they desired him to do. This embassador arriving at *Eion*, on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, was there taken prisoner by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who sent him to *Athens*, where he was treated with the utmost civility and respect, the *Athenians* being extremely desirous to regain the favour of the king his master [l]. The year following, as soon as the season allowed the *Athenians* to

*Year of the flood 2559. Before Christ 440.*

*Artaxerxes's letter to the Lacedemonians.*

[g] Diodor. ubi supra, p. 74. Thucyd. l. i. [h] Ctes. c. 35. [i] Ctes. 37—39. [k] Thucyd. l. ii. [l] Idem. l. iv. p. 285, 286.

 put

put to sea, they sent back the embassador in one of their own ships at the expence of the publick, and appointed some of their citizens to attend him to the court of *Persia* with the character of embassadors. But when they landed at *Ephesus*, they there received news of the king's death; whereunto the *Athenians* not thinking it advisable to proceed farther, took their leave of *Artaphernes*, and returned to *Athens* [m].

*Artaxerxes* favoured the *Jews* above all the kings of *Persia*, but what happened to them during his reign we shall relate in the history of that people as in a more proper place. This prince died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by *Xerxes*, the only son he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen, among whom were *Sogdianus*, or, as *Ctesias* calls him, *Secundianus*, *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having drank immoderately at a great entertainment, retired to his bed-chamber to refresh himself with sleep after his debauch. This opportunity *Sogdianus* laid hold of, and being led into the bed-chamber by *Pharnacyas* one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, slew him after he had reigned 45 days, and possessed himself of the kingdom [n].

Xerxes II. *Year of the flood* 2565. *Before Christ* 434.

*Slain.*

Sogdianus's *cruelties.*

SCARCE was *Sogdianus* seated on the throne when he put to death *Bagoraxus* the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. He had been appointed to superintend the interment of *Artaxerxes*, and of the queen, *Xerxes's* mother, who had died the same day as her royal consort. After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-place of the *Persian* kings, he found on his return *Sogdianus* in possession of the crown, with whom he had formerly had some small difference. This *Sogdianus* remembred, and taking for a pretence to quarrel with him something relating to the obsequies of his father, caused him to be stoned to death. By these two murders he became very odious both to the nobility and the army, and being jealous lest some of his brothers might treat him as he had treated *Xerxes*, he sent for *Ochus*, whom he chiefly suspected, with a design to murder him the moment he arrived. *Ochus* had been by his father appointed governor of *Hyrcania*, and being well apprised of his brother's design, under several pretences put off his coming to court till he had drawn together a powerful army, with which he advanced to the confines of *Persia*, openly declaring that he designed to revenge the death of his brother. This declaration brought over to him many of the nobility and several governors of provinces, who being highly dissatisfied with the cruelty and ill-conduct of *Sogdianus*, put the *Tiara* on *Ochus*'s head, and proclaimed him king. *Sogdianus* seeing himself thus deserted, contrary to the Advice of his best friends, came to an accommodation with *Ochus*, who having him in his power, caused him to be thrown into ashes (O), where he died a cruel death [o].

*Deposed by* Ochus. *His cruel death.*

Ochus *takes the name of* Darius.

*Ochus* being settled on the throne by the death of *Sogdianus*, changed his name, taking that of *Darius*, instead of *Ochus*, and is by historians commonly called *Darius Notbus*, or *Darius the Bastard* (P).

Arsites *rebels.* *Year of the flood* 2576. *Before Christ* 423.

*Arsites* seeing in what manner *Sogdianus* had supplanted *Xerxes*, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by *Ochus*, began to entertain thoughts of treating *Ochus* in the same manner. With this design, though he was his brother by the same father and mother, he broke out into an open rebellion against him, being encouraged thereunto, and assisted by *Artyphius*, the son of *Megabyzus*. *Ochus*, whom henceforth we shall call *Darius*, sent *Artasyras*, one of his generals against *Artyphius*,

[m] Idem. ibid. p 322. [n] CTES. c. 47. DIODOR. l. xii. p. 115. [o] CTES. ubi suprà. DIODOR. l. xii. p. 322.

(O) This punishment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in *Persia*. *Ochus* had swore that *Sogdianus* should not die by the sword, by poison or of hunger. To keep his word, he contrived this new sort of punishment; it is described in the 13th chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees*, thus: An high tower was filled to a certain height with ashes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were by a wheel perpetually turned round him till he was suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life, and his empire, after he had reigned six months and fifteen days (75).

(P) He is placed in *Ptolemy*'s canon as the immediate successor to *Artaxerxes Longimanus* according to the stile of that canon, which constantly ascribes to the predecessor the whole year in which he dies, and places him as the next successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the ensuing year. As the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* made up but eight months, and these did not reach to the end of the year, in which *Artaxerxes* died, they are in the canon cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him as if he had been his immediate successor.

(75) 2 *Maccab.* xiii. 4, & 5. *Val. Max.* l. ix. c. 3.

while

a while he marched in person against his brother *Arsites*. *Artyphius* with the assistance of his *Greek* mercenaries twice defeated the general who had been sent against him. But these being gained over with large bribes, he lost the third battle; and being reduced to great straits, surrendered himself to *Darius*, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king was for putting him to death immediately, but was diverted from it by *Parysatis* his wife and sister. She was daughter to *Artaxerxes* by another mother, an intriguing and crafty woman; and by her advice the king was entirely governed in affairs of the greatest importance. The counsel she gave him on this occasion was to treat *Artyphius* with great clemency, that by such usage of a rebellious servant he might the better encourage his brother to throw himself upon his b mercy, and then dispose of them both as he pleased. *Darius* followed her counsel, and had the success he proposed. For *Arsites* being informed of the gentle usage *Artyphius* had met with, concluded that he, as a brother, should be treated at least with the same indulgence and good-nature. Flattered with this hope, he came to an agreement with the king, and surrendered himself into his hands. *Darius* having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him, but was prevailed upon by *Parysatis*, to put both him and *Artyphius* to death, by suffocating them in ashes [p].

Artyphius *surrendering, is pardoned.*

*Put to death with* Arsites.

He also put to death *Pharnacyas* for being concerned in the murder of *Xerxes*; and *Monastbenes*, another eunuch, who was the chief favourite of *Sogdianus*, was c condemned to die a cruel death, which he prevented, by laying violent hands on himself. These executions did not procure him the tranquillity he expected: for his whole reign was disturbed with violent commotions raised in various parts of the empire. One of the most dangerous, was that which was stirred up by *Pisuthnes*, governor of *Lydia*, who setting up for himself raised an army of *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Lycon*, an *Athenian*. Against him *Darius* sent *Tissaphernes*, appointing him at the same time govenor of *Lydia* in his room. *Tissaphernes*, who was an artful and crafty man, found means of gaining the *Greeks* who served under *Pisuthnes*, and inducing both them and their general to change sides. Whereupon *Pisuthnes* not being in a condition to carry on the war, surrendered upon promise of pardon. But the king the instant he was brought before him, sentenced him to death, and accordingly he was, pursuant to the king's order, suffocated in ashes. But his d death did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised; for his son *Amorgas* with the remainder of the army still opposed *Tissaphernes*, and for two years continued to infest the maritime powers of *Asia Minor*, till he was at length taken prisoner by the *Peloponnesians* at *Iasus*, a city of *Ionia*, and delivered by the inhabitants to *Tissaphernes*, who put him to death [q].

Pisuthnes *and his son put to death.*

*Darius* had scarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himself involved in new troubles. His court, and we may say, the whole empire, was governed by the eunuchs, *Artoxares*, *Artibarzanes*, and *Athous*. These he consulted and followed their advice in all the momentous affairs of the government. But *Artoxares* was the chief favourite, and nothing was transacted but by his direction. Intoxicated e with this power, he began to entertain thoughts of ascending the throne; and accordingly formed a design of cutting off *Darius*. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a strong objection to his being acknowledged king, he married and wore an artificial beard, giving out that he was not what to that time the *Persians* had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and perhaps glad to get rid of such a husband, discovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was seized and delivered up to *Parysatis*, who caused him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death [r].

Artoxares *put to death.*

But the greatest misfortune that befel *Darius*, during the whole time of his reign, was the revolt of *Egypt*, which broke out the same year that *Pisuthnes* rebelled. For though *Darius* got the better of the latter rebellion, yet he could never again reduce f *Egypt*. *Amyrtæus*, who had reigned in the fens of *Egypt* ever since the revolt of *Inarus*, being apprised of the discontents of the *Egyptians*, and finding them disposed to enter into any measures for the recovery of their liberty, sailed out of his fens, and being joined by the inhabitants, who flocked to him from all parts, he drove the *Persians* quite out, and became king of the whole country. Being thus in possession of all *Egypt* by the total expulsion of the *Persians*, he resolved to attack them in *Phænice* too, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him for this under-

*The* Egyptians *revolt under* Amyrtæus.

*Year of the flood* 2585. *Before Christ* 414.

p Ctesias, p. 49. q Idem. ib. 51. r Idem. ibid.

taking.

taking. News of this being brought to the court of *Persia*, the fleet, which the king had equipped with a design to assist the *Lacedemonians*, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions [s]. a

*Darius's success against the revolted provinces.*

While *Darius* was carrying on a war against the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted; but being defeated, were forced to return to their former allegiance, and in punishment of their rebellion, reduced to harder subjection than before, as is usually the case [t]. *Darius* seems to have been likewise successful against the *Egyptians*; for *Amyrtæus* being dead, after a reign of six years, his son *Pausiris* succeeded him, as *Herodotus* informs us [u], in the kingdom, with the consent of the *Persians*, which shews that they were masters of *Egypt*. b

*Cyrus the younger appointed governor of* Asia Minor.

*Darius* having thus settled the affairs of *Media* and *Egypt*, invested *Cyrus* his youngest son with the supreme command of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so much power; for being born after his father's accession to the crown, he could not have been above sixteen years old when he received this important commission. But as he was the darling of his mother *Parysatis*, who had an absolute sway over the king her husband, she obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great disturbance of the whole empire, as we shall see hereafter [w]. On his receiving his commission, he was ordered to assist the *Lacedemonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures observed by *Tissaphernes*, who by sometimes helping one side, and sometimes the other, had so balanced matters between them, that they continued to harass each other, without being at leisure to disturb the *Persians*, who had so long been the common enemies of both. This order given, *Cyrus* soon discovered the weakness of the king's politics. For the *Lacedemonians* having with the assistance given them by *Cyrus*, soon overpowered the *Athenians*, sent first *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at last *Agesilaus* their king to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing large sums of money among the demagogues or governors of the *Greek* cities, found means to rekindle the war in *Greece*, which oblig'd the *Lacedemonians* to recall their troops for their own defence [x]. c d

*Year of the flood 2592. Before Christ 407.*

*Sent to assist the* Lacedemonians.

*Becomes obnoxious to his father.*

*Cyrus* having put to death two noble *Persians*, sons to a sister of *Darius*, for no other reason but because they had not, in meeting him, wrapt up their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the *Persians*, in the presence of their kings, *Darius* recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indisposed and desired to see him. *Cyrus* well knowing how great an ascendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but before he set out, he ordered such large subsidies to be sent to *Lysander*, general of the *Lacedemonians*, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats-river* on the *Hellespont*, which put an end to the *Athenian* power, and the *Peloponnesian* war after it had lasted twenty-seven years [z]. *Darius* was highly incensed against *Cyrus*, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but because he had presumed to challenge honours that were due only to the king; and therefore designed to deprive him of his government. But upon his arrival, the queen not only reconciled his father to him, but used all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reason he was born after his father's accession to the throne, which had given the preference to *Xerxes* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*. *Darius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her request; but however bequeathed him the government of those provinces which he ruled before. Not long after *Darius Nothus* died after he had reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by *Arsaces*, his eldest son by *Parysatis*, who on his ascending the throne, took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and was for his extraordinary memory called by the *Greeks*, *Mnemon*, that is, rememberer [y]. While he was attending his father on his death-bed, he desired to be informed by what art he had so happily managed the government, that by following the same rule, he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king gave him this memorable answer, that *he had ever done, to the best of his knowledge, what religion and justice required, without swerving from the one or the other* [z]. e f

Darius Nothus *dies. Year of the flood 2595. Before Christ 404.*

[s] Thucyd. l. viii. init. Justin. l. v. c. 2. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 160. [t] Xenoph. Hellenic. l. i. Herodot. l. ix. [u] Herodot. l. iii. c. 15. [w] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. Plutarch. in Artax. & Lysandro. Justin. l. v. c. 5. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 368. [x] See before p. 57. d. [z] Xenoph. Diodor. Justin. ibid. Thucyd. l. ii. Plutarch. in Lysandro. [y] Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. Plutarch. in Lysandro. Diodor. l. xiii. [z] Plutarch. in Artaxerxes. Diodor. ubi supra. Justin. l. v. c. 8, & 11. Athenæus, l. xiii.

Upon

a Upon the death of *Darius* his son *Artaxerxes* went to *Pasargada*, to be there inaugurated after the *Persian* custom by the priests of *Bellona*. He was no sooner arrived there but he was informed by one of the priests, that his brother *Cyrus* had formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to murder him in the very temple: Upon this information *Cyrus* was seized, and sentenced to death. But his mother *Parysatis* prevailed upon the king not only to save his life, but to send him back to the government of *Asia Minor*, which his father had left him [a].

Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Cyrus's conspiracy.

*Artaxerxes* was no sooner settled on the throne but *Statira* his queen, whom he was very fond of on account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of *Udiastes*, who had killed her brother *Teriteuchmes*. This b quarrel had its rise in the reign of *Darius*, and the whole was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. *Statira* was daughter to *Hidarnes*, a *Persian* lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, then called *Arsaces*, falling in love with her, married her; and at the same time *Teriteuchmes* her brother married *Hamestris*, one of the daughters of *Darius*, and sister to *Arsaces*, by reason of which marriage he was appointed on his father's death to succeed him in his government. But falling in love with his own sister *Roxana*, no ways inferior in beauty to *Statira*; that he might without any constraint enjoy her, he resolved to dispatch his wife *Hamestris*, and raise a rebellion in c the kingdom. *Darius* being acquainted with his wicked designs, engaged *Udiastes*, an intimate friend of *Teriteuchmes*, to murder him, which he did accordingly, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. *Mithridates*, the son of *Udiastes*, who was one of *Teriteuchmes*'s guards, and greatly attached to his master, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered all manner of imprecations against him; and to shew his abhorrence of so vile an action, seized on the city of *Zaris*, and openly revolting, declared for the son of *Teriteuchmes*. *Mithridates* was by the king's forces blocked up in the city of *Zaris*, and with him the son of *Teriteuchmes*: All the rest of the family of *Hidarnes* were apprehended and delivered to *Parysatis*, to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage done or d intended against her daughter. That cruel princess began with *Roxana*, whose beauty had been the occasion of all this mischief, and caused her to be sawed in two. The others were all beheaded, except *Statira*, whom she spared at the earnest intreaties and thro' the importunate tears of her husband *Arsaces*, contrary to the opinion of *Darius*, who told her that she would afterwards have occasion to repent it. Thus the case stood at the death of *Darius*. But *Arsaces* was no sooner settled on the throne than *Statira* prevailed upon him to deliver *Udiastes* into her hands; whereupon she caused his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the most exquisite torments she could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. His son *Mithridates* she appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had shewn to *Teriteuchmes*. But *Parysatis* bitterly resenting this fact, poisoned the son of *Teriteuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* herself, as we shall hereafter relate [b].

Statira's resentment against Udiastes.

Parysatis's cruel revenge.

Udiastes's cruel death.

e *Cyrus* returning to his government of *Asia Minor* full of resentment for the sentence of death, which his brother had pronounced against him, resolved to revolt, and use his utmost endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view he employed *Clearchus*, a *Lacedæmonian* general, to raise a body of *Greek* troops for his service, under pretence of a war which the *Lacedæmonians* were to carry into *Thrace*. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* being well apprised of the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of *Pharnabazus* with a design to proceed from thence to the *Persian* court, and acquaint *Artaxerxes* with the whole scheme. Had he arrived there, a discovery of such importance had without all doubt procured him the favour of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the re-establish- f ment of his country. But the partisans of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Athens*, that is the thirty tyrants, fearing the negotiations of so superior a genius, found means to induce *Pharnabazus* to put him to death; whereby the *Athenians* lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily recovering their former state [c].

Cyrus *designs a war against his brother.* Year of the World 2596. Before Christ 403.

The cities that were under the government of *Tissaphernes* revolted from him to *Cyrus*. This incident, which was the effect of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. *Cyrus*, under pretence of arming against *Tissa-*

[a] Plutarch. in Artax. Xenoph. de exped. Cyri, l. 5. Justin. l. 1. c. 5, 11. [b] Ctes. in Pers.
[c] Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. l. 1. Plut. in Artax.

Artaxerxes *over-reached by* Cyrus.

*phernes*, assembled troops openly; and to amuse the court more speciously, made grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. *Artaxerxes*, being deceived by these appearances, believed that all *Cyrus*'s preparations were designed only against *Tissaphernes*, and not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased [d]. a

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had assisted the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories which made them masters of *Greece*, he thought he might safely disclose to them his design, and ask their assistance for the accomplishing of it. The *Lacedæmonians* readily granted him his demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of *Tamos* his admiral. But they took care not to mention *Artaxerxes*, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case *Artaxerxes* should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him for what they had done [e]. b

Cyrus's *great army.*

The army which *Cyrus* had raised consisted of 13000 *Greeks*, who were the flower of his army, and 100,000 regular troops of other nations. *Clearchus* the *Lacedæmonian* commanded all the *Peloponnesian* troops, except the *Achæans*, who were led by *Socrates* of *Achaia*. The *Bœotians* were under *Proxenes* a *Theban*, and the *Thessalians* under *Menon*. The other nations were commanded by *Persian* generals, of whom the chief was *Ariæus*. The fleet consisted of 35 ships under *Pythagoras* a *Lacedæmonian*, and 25 commanded by *Tamos* an *Egyptian*, admiral of the whole fleet [f]. *Cyrus* opened his design to none of the *Greeks* except *Clearchus*, fearing the boldness of the enterprise might discourage the officers as well as the soldiers. *Proxenes*, between whose family and *Xenophon*'s an ancient friendship subsisted, presented that young *Athenian* to *Cyrus*, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the *Greek* mercenaries [g]. *Cyrus*, having at length got all things ready, set out from *Sardis*, directing his march towards the upper parts of *Asia*, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war, they were to be employ'd; for *Cyrus* had only given out that he was marching against the *Pisidians*, who with frequent incursions harassed his province. However, *Tissaphernes* judging these preparations to be too great for so small an enterprise, set out with all possible expedition from *Miletus* to give the king a true account of them. *Artaxerxes* being now well apprised of his brother's designs, assembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time *Cyrus* advancing with long marches arrived at the straits of *Cilicia*, where he found *Syennesis*, king of that country, prepared to dispute his passage; wherein he would have easily succeeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass to defend his own territories against *Tamos* and the *Lacedæmonian* fleet which appeared upon the coasts [h]. c d

Tissaphernes *discovers* Cyrus's *intention.*

The Greeks *mutiny against* Cyrus.

When they arrived at *Tarsus* the *Greeks* refused to proceed any farther, suspecting that they were marching against the king, and protesting that they did not enter into the service upon that condition. *Clearchus* at first made use of his authority to quell the tumult, but with very ill success; and therefore, desisting from force, he pretended to enter into their views, and advised them to send deputies to *Cyrus* to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be employed. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and was himself chosen for one of the deputies. *Cyrus*, whom he had acquainted before-hand with what had happened, answered, that he was going to attack *Abrocomas*, who was at twelve days march distance, encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*. The *Greeks* plainly saw that this was not his true design, but nevertheless shewed themselves willing to proceed, on condition that their pay was increased. This *Cyrus* willingly granted, and having gained their affections during the march by treating them with extraordinary kindness and humanity, he at last declared that he marched against *Artaxerxes*. Upon this some complaints were heard at first, but they soon gave way to expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises to the army [i]. e f

*Reduced by* Clearchus.

[d] Xenoph. ubi supra. Plut. in Artax. [e] Xenoph. ubi supra. Plutarch. ibid. Justin, l. v. c. 11. [f] Xenoph. ubi supra. p. 252. [g] Xenoph. l. ii. p. 294. [h] Idem. l. i. p. 248——261. [i] Xenoph. & Plut. ibid.

*Cyrus*

a *Cyrus* arriving, after a long march, in the plains of *Cunaxa* in the province of *Babylon*, found there *Artaxerxes* with an army of 900,000 men ready to engage him. Whereupon leaping out of his chariot he ordered his troops to stand to their arms, and fall into their ranks, which was done with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refresh themselves. *Clearchus* advised *Cyrus* not to charge in person, but to remain in the rear of the *Greek* battalions. This advice *Cyrus* rejected with indignation, saying that he would not render himself unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the *Greeks* fell upon them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them was at the very first or set put to flight; whereupon *Cyrus* was, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king by those b who stood round him. But he, in the mean time, perceiving that *Artaxerxes* was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with 600 chosen horse, killed *Artagerses*, captain of the king's guards, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter discovering his brother, he cried out, *I see him*, and spurring on his horse engaged him with great resolution, which in some degree turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to assure himself of the crown by the death of his rival. *Cyrus* killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when *Cyrus* attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and had already lifted up his hand to give him a third, which the king's guards observing, they all c discharged their arrows, aiming at him alone, and he at the same time throwing himself headlong upon the king, was run through by his javelin, and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the spot; and all the chief lords of his court, resolving not to survive their master, were killed in the place where he fell: A certain proof, says *Xenophon*, that he well knew how to chuse his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Some writers tell us, that *Cyrus* was killed by a *Carian* soldier. *Mithridates*, a young *Persian* nobleman, boasted that he had given him the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. *Artaxerxes*, after having caused his head and right hand to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great d part of their baggage and provisions. The *Greeks* had defeated the king's left wing commanded by *Tissaphernes*, and the king's right wing, commanded by himself, had routed the enemies left; and as neither knew what had happened elsewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day. But *Tissaphernes* acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the *Greeks*, he immediately rallied his troops in order to attack them. The *Greeks*, under the command of *Clearchus*, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was drawing near, the *Greeks* halted at the foot of the hill, much surprized that neither *Cyrus* himself nor any messenger from him appeared; for they yet knew nothing of his death, or the defeat of the rest of the army. They determined therefore to e return to their camp, which they did accordingly; but found there that the greatest part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their provisions taken, which obliged them to pass the night in the camp without any sort of refreshment. The next morning as they were still expecting to hear from *Cyrus*, they received the sad news of his death, and the defeat of that part of the army. Whereupon they sent deputies to *Arieus*, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him, as conquerors, the crown of *Persia* in the room of *Cyrus*. *Arieus* rejected the offer, and acquainted them, that he intended to set out early the next morning on his return to *Ionia*, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and under the conduct of *Clearchus* began f their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to *Greece* [k]. They were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the *Persian* empire, surrounded by a numerous and conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greece* but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemies country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties; and in spite of a powerful army, which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the *Greek* cities on the *Euxine* sea. This was the longest march, and most memorable retreat, that ever was made through an enemy's country. *Clearchus* had the conduct of it first, but he being cut off by the

*The battle of* Cunaxa.

Cyrus *wounds the king.*

*Cut is slain, with all his friends.*

*Year of the flood* 2598. *Before Christ* 401.

*The camp of the* Greeks *plundered by* Darius.

*Their noble retreat.*

[k] Xenoph. ibid. 272—292. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 255—257.

treachery

*Under* Xenophon.

treachery of *Tissaphernes*, *Xenophon* was chosen in his room, and to his valour and a wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into *Greece*. As the same *Xenophon* has given a minute account of this expedition, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle to their own country, we shall find a more proper place to mention it in the history of *Greece*, and return to what passed in the court of *Artaxerxes* after the battle of *Cunaxa*.

*Parysatis becomes the king's bloody executioner.*

As he believed that he had killed *Cyrus* with his own hand, and looked upon that as the most glorious action of his own life, to dispute that honour with him was wounding him in the most tender part. Being therefore informed that the *Carian* soldier, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he caused him to be delivered to *Parysatis*, who had sworn the destruction of all those who were b any ways concerned in the death of her son. She made that unhappy wretch suffer the most exquisite torments she could invent during ten days, and then put him to a most cruel death. *Mithridates* likewise having boasted that it was he who gave *Cyrus* his mortal wound, was treated in the manner we have described, where we spoke of the punishments used among the *Persians* †. *Masabates*, one of the king's eunuchs, who by his order had cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus*, being delivered to *Parysatis*, was flea'd alive, and his skin stretched before his eyes upon two stakes prepared for that purpose. Nor did the cruelty and resentment of *Parysatis* stop here; for having conceived an implacable hatred against *Statira* for reproaching her, as if she had countenanced her son *Cyrus*'s revolt against his brother, that revengeful woman c

*Statira poisoned by her.*

poisoned her own daughter-in-law in the following manner. *Parysatis*, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to supper, and a certain bird being served up, which was a great rarity among the *Persians*, she divided it between *Statira* and herself with a knife, which was poisoned on one side only: The sound part she immediately eat, which encouraged *Statira*, though upon her guard, to eat the other; whereupon she was that instant seized with horrible convulsions, and died in a few hours. *Artaxerxes* being greatly afflicted for the loss of his beloved wife, and suspecting his mother, caused all her domesticks to be put to the rack, when *Gygis* one of her confidents discovered the whole. *Artaxerxes* caused *Gygis*, who was privy to

*Parysatis confined to* Babylon.

the crime, to be put to a cruel death, and confined his mother to *Babylon*, telling d her that he would never set his foot within the gates of that city while she was there; but at length time having alleviated his grief, he allowed her to return to court,

*Reconciled.*

where, by an entire submission to his will, she regained his favour, and bore a great sway at court to her death [1].

*Tissaphernes oppresses the* Greeks.

After the death of *Cyrus*, *Tissaphernes* being sent back to his former government, and moreover invested with the same power which had been given to *Cyrus*, he began to harass and oppress the *Greek* cities that were within the verge of his authority, and had sided with that unfortunate prince. Whereupon they sent embassadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, imploring their assistance and protection. The *Lacedæmonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, e laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro* with an army against them, which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces that *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, they took the field against *Tissaphernes*. But *Thimbro* being soon recalled upon some complaints, and sent into banishment, *Dercyllidas* was appointed to succeed him. As he was both a brave general and a famous engineer, he was attended with far better success than his predecessor. Upon his first arrival finding that *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, governors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made a truce with the former, and marching against the latter with all his forces drove him quite out of *Æolis*, and several cities of other provinces. *Pharnabazus* fearing he f might invade *Phrygia*, the chief province of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, leaving him in possession of what he had taken. Upon this truce he marched into *Bithynia*, where he took up his winter-quarters to avoid being chargeable to his allies. At the same time *Pharnabazus* took a journey to the *Persian* court, and there made loud complaints against *Tissaphernes* for concluding a peace with *Dercyllidas*, instead of assisting him against the common enemy. He likewise earnestly pressed the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral, telling him that as *Conon* was the best

*The* Lacedæmonians *make war upon the* Persians. *Year of the flood* 2599. *Before Christ* 400.

Dercyllidas's *success against* Tissaphernes.

† See before p. 61. e. [1] Plutarch. in Artax.

sea-

a sea commander of his time, he might by that means obstruct the passage of all farther recruits from *Greece*, and soon put an end to the power of the *Lacedæmonians* in *Asia*. His proposal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered 500 talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet with instructions to give *Conon* the command of it [m].

*A Persian fleet put under Conon's command.*

In the mean time *Dercyllidas*, having reduced *Atarna*, marched into *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* usually resided. For the *Lacedæmonians* believing, that if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands in order to save that province, had sent *Dercyllidas* express orders to march thither. This *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* no sooner heard, but they united against *Dercyllidas*, whom they came b up to within so disadvantageous a post, that had they charged him immediately, he must inevitably have perished. *Pharnabazus* was for attacking him, but *Tissaphernes*, who at the battle of *Cunaxa* had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement; but sent heralds to *Dercyllidas* to invite him to a parley, in which proposals for a peace being offered on both sides, they made a truce till the answer of their respective masters should be known. Thus *Dercyllidas* and his army were saved from utter destruction, through the cowardice of his enemy, when nothing else could have delivered them [n].

*Dercyllidas's narrow escape.*

In the mean time the *Lacedæmonians* receiving accounts from *Asia*, that the king of *Persia* was equipping a powerful fleet on the coasts of *Phœnice*, *Syria* and c *Cilicia*, and supposing it to be designed, as it truly was, against them, resolved to send *Agesilaus*, one of their kings into *Asia*, in order to make a diversion. All things being ready for this expedition, *Agesilaus* set sail with a considerable body of troops, and arrived at *Ephesus* before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of this design; with such secrecy and expedition was the whole managed at *Sparta*. *Agesilaus* upon his arrival took the field with 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and, finding no body in a condition to oppose him, carried all before him. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* sent a messenger to enquire for what end he was come into *Asia*, and why he had taken up arms. *Agesilaus* replied, that he was come to assist the d *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia* and restore them to their ancient liberty. *Tissaphernes*, being quite unprepared for a war, assured *Agesilaus* that his master would grant him what he demanded, provided he committed no acts of hostility till the return of an express which he had sent to court. *Agesilaus* believed him, and a truce was agreed on and sworn to on both sides. But *Tissaphernes*, without any regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce than to assemble troops on all sides, and sent to the king for more forces, and as soon as he received them, he sent word to *Agesilaus* to depart *Asia*, denouncing war against him in case of refusal. This message greatly alarmed the *Lacedæmonians* and their confederates, as not believing themselves in a condition to oppose the now numerous army of *Tissaphernes*, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the *Persian* empire. As for *Agesilaus* himself, he heard e *Tissaphernes*'s heralds with a gay and easy air, and desired them to tell their master, that he was under great obligations to him for having made the gods by his perjury enemies to *Persia* and friends to *Greece*. Having with this answer dismissed the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but as soon as he understood, that *Tissaphernes* had caused all his troops to march into that province, he turned short and fell upon *Phrygia*. As his coming thither was wholly unexpected, he over-ran great part of the province without any opposition, took many towns, and loaded with an immense booty marched back by the sea-coast into *Ionia* and wintered at *Ephesus* [o].

*Agesilaus passes into Asia.*

*Year of the flood 2603. Before Christ 396.*

*His army, and success there.*

*Over-reached by Tissaphernes.*

*His noble message to him.*

*Success in Phrygia.*

Early in the spring *Agesilaus* took the field, and gave out that his design was f to invade *Lydia*. But *Tissaphernes*, who had not forgot the stratagem of the former campaign, took it for granted, that he now truly intended to fall upon *Caria*, and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province. But *Agesilaus* led his army, as he had given out, into *Lydia*, and approached *Sardis*. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* recalled his forces from their former rout, with a design to relieve the place. But *Caria* being a very mountainous country and unfit for horse, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horse behind on the borders of that province. Whence on their marching back to the relief of *Sardis* the horse being some days marches before the foot, *Agesilaus* took the advantage of so favour-

*Out-wits Tissaphernes.*

[m] Diodor. l. xiv. p. 417. Justin. l. vi. c. 8. Pausan. in Atticis. [n] Diodor. ibid. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. & Orat. de Agesil. Æmil. Prob. [o] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. Plut. in Agesilao. Pausan. in Laconic.

*Defeats the* Persians.

able an opportunity, and fell upon them before the foot could come up to their assistance. The *Persians* were routed at the very first onset, and *Agesilaus*, becoming by this victory master of the field, over-ran the whole country, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered *Persians* [p].

Tissaphernes *accused by* Conon.

The loss of this battle greatly incensed the king against *Tissaphernes*, and increased the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had something else in view besides his master's interest. At the same time *Conon* arriving at the *Persian* court heightened the king's displeasure with new complaints against him; for he had deprived the soldiers on board *Conon*'s fleet of their pay, and thereby disabled him from doing the king any service. Queen *Parysatis*, actuated by an irreconcileable hatred against all those who had any share in the death of her son *Cyrus*, did not fail on this occasion to aggravate the charges brought against him. Hereupon the king resolved to put him to death, but being afraid to attack him openly by reason of the great authority he had in *Asia*, he charged *Tithraustes*, captain of the guards, with that important commission, giving him at the same time two letters; the one directed to *Tissaphernes*, and empowering him to pursue the war against the *Greeks* in what manner he thought best; the other was addressed to *Arieus* governor of *Larissa*, commanding him to assist *Tithraustes* with his counsel and all his forces in seizing *Tissaphernes*. Upon the receipt of this letter *Arieus* desired *Tissaphernes* to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the ensuing campaign. *Tissaphernes*, who suspected nothing, went to him with a guard only of 300 men. But while he was bathing, according to the *Persian* custom, and disarmed, he was seized and put into the hands of *Tithraustes*, who caused his head to be struck off and sent into *Persia*. The king gave it to *Parysatis*, an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper [q].

*And put to death.*

Upon the death of *Tissaphernes*, *Tithraustes*, who was appointed to succeed him, sent great presents to *Agesilaus*, telling him, that the cause of the war being removed, and the first author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation; that the king his master would allow the *Greek* cities in *Asia* to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, which was all that the *Lacedæmonians* required when they first began the war. *Agesilaus* replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from *Sparta*. However as he was willing to give *Tithraustes* the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into *Phrygia*, which was the province of *Pharnabazus*, *Tithraustes* paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. Upon his march he received a letter from the magistrates of *Sparta*, giving him the command of the fleet as well as of the land-forces. By this new commission he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in *Asia* both by sea and land. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed *Pisander*, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by the due regard he ought to have had for the publick good; for though *Pisander* was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other respects equal to that trust, as the event sufficiently proved [r].

Agesilaus *made chief commander by sea and land.*

*Agesilaus* having settled the maritime affairs pursued his design of invading *Phrygia*, where he reduced many cities, and amassed great sums of money, maintaining his army on the territories of *Pharnabazus* in great affluence. From thence he marched into *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates* a noble *Persian* who had revolted from the king. There he concluded a league with *Cotys* king of that country, and returning into *Phrygia* took the strong city of *Dascylium*, and wintered there in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, obliging the adjacent countries to supply his army with all sorts of provisions [s]. *Tithraustes* finding that *Agesilaus* was for carrying on the war in *Asia*, sent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece* with large sums of money to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war against the *Lacedæmonians*. This stratagem produced the intended effect, for the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and others entering into confederacy, obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recall their king, as we shall see in its proper place. In the beginning of the next spring as *Agesilaus* was ready to take the field, *Pharnabazus* invited him to an interview, and he accepting the invitation, *Pharnabazus* after expatiating

*His success against the* Persians.

Dascylium *taken.*

*His interview with* Pharnabazus.

[p] Xenoph. ibid. p. 501—657. Plut. in Artax. p. 1028. & in Agesil. p. 601. [q] Xenoph. ubi supra. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 220. Polyæn. stratag. l. vii. [r] Pausan. in Laconicis. Xenoph. & Plutarch ubi supra. [s] Plut. in Agesil. Xenoph. Hellenic. l. iv. p. 507, 510.

a expatiating on the services he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, reproached them with ingratitude in the bitterest terms, since in return for so many favours they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at *Dascylium*, which were his hereditary estate. As what he had said was true, *Agesilaus* and the *Lacedæmonians*, that attended him, were to such a degree ashamed in seeing themselves so justly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to answer, nor how to excuse such an ungenerous proceeding. However, to make him the best amends they could, they obliged themselves by a solemn promise not to invade any of the provinces under his government, so long as there were others into which they might carry the war against the *Persian* king. They were as good as their word, and immediately with-
b drew with a design to invade the upper parts of *Asia*, and prosecute the war in the very heart of the *Persian* empire. But while *Agesilaus* was projecting this expedition, a messenger arrived at the camp from *Sparta*, acquainting him that the *Ephori* recalled him to defend his own country, against which several states of *Greece* had formed a strong confederacy. He readily complied with this order and made all the haste thither he could, but complained at his departure, that the *Persians* had driven him out of *Asia* with 30,000 archers, alluding to the *Persian Darics*, which were pieces of gold stamped on one side with the figure of an archer [t].

*Agesilaus recalled.*

*Year of the flood 2605. Before Christ 394.*

*His bitter sarcasm against the Greeks.*

*Conon* on his return from the *Persian* court having brought money enough to pay the soldiers and mariners their arrears, and supply the fleet with arms and provisions, took *Pharnabazus* on board, and forthwith set sail in quest of the enemies. The *Per-*
c *sian* fleet consisted of 90 vessels and upwards; that of the *Lacedæmonians* was not so numerous, but their ships were larger. They came in view of each other near *Cnidos*, a maritime city of *Asia Minor*. *Conon*, who had in some measure occasioned the taking of *Athens* by losing the sea-fight at *Ægospotamos*, or the *Goats river*, was determined to use his utmost efforts in order to retrieve that misfortune, and efface by a glorious victory the disgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand *Pisander* was desirous to justify by his conduct and valour the choice with *Agesilaus* his brother-in-law had made in appointing him admiral. In effect he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at first some advantage. But *Conon* having boarded his ship and killed him with his own hand, the rest of the fleet betook themselves to flight. *Conon* pursued them, took fifty of their ships, and having gained a com-
d pleat victory put an end to the power of the *Lacedæmonians* in those parts. The consequence of this victory was a general revolt of all the allies of *Sparta*; some declaring for the *Athenians*, and others resuming their ancient liberty. After this battle the empire of the *Lacedæmonians* declined daily, till at length the over-throws, which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantinea*, compleated their downfal [u].

*The Lacedæmonians defeated at Cnidos.*

After this victory *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* being masters at sea sailed round the islands and coasts of *Asia*, reducing the cities, which in those parts were subject to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Sestus* and *Abydus* were the only two cities that held out against them. *Pharnabazus* attacked them by land, and *Conon* by sea; but neither succeeding in the attempt, the former on the approach of winter retired home, leaving *Co-*
e *non* to take care of the fleet, and strengthen it with as many ships as he could assemble from the cities on the *Hellespont* against the ensuing spring [x].

*Conon and Pharnabazus' success against the Asiatic islands.*

*Conon* having assembled, pursuant to his commission, a powerful fleet against the time appointed, he took *Pharnabazus* again on board, and steering his course thro' the islands, landed in *Melos* the most distant of them all. Having reduced this island, as lying very convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the country of the *Lacedæmonians*, he made from thence a descent on the coasts of that province, pillaged all the maritime places, and loaded his fleet with an immense booty. After this *Pharnabazus* returning to his government of *Phrygia*, *Conon* obtained leave of him to repair to *Athens* with 80 ships, and 50 talents, in order to rebuild the walls of that city, having first convinced him that nothing could more effectually contribute to the weakening of *Sparta*, than putting *Athens* again in a condition to rival its power. He no sooner arrived at *Piræus*, the port of *Athens*, but he began the work, which, as he had a great number of hands, and was seconded by the zeal of all those that were well inclined to the *Athenians*, was soon compleated, and the city not only restored to its former splendor, but rendered more formidable

*Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.*

*Year of the flood 2606. Before Christ 393.*

[t] Xenoph. ubi supra. p. 513. Plut. in Agesil. p. 603, 604. See also before, p. 62. c. [u] Xenoph. ubi supra. p. 518. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 302. Justin, l. vi. c. 2, 3. Æmil. Prob. in Conon. [x] Xenoph. ibid. p. 534. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 441. Æmil. Prob. ibid. Plut. in Agesil. Justin. l. vi. c. 5.

than

than ever to its enemies. Thus *Athens* was rebuilt by the *Persians*, who had destroyed a it, and fortified at the expence, and with the spoils of the *Lacedæmonians*, who had dismantled it. *Conon* having rebuilt the walls of the city, of the port, and those which led from the former to the latter, and were called the *Long-walls*, he distributed the 50 talents, which he had received of *Pharnabazus* among his citizens, and offered the gods a sacrifice of an hundred oxen in thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of his native country [r].

THE *Lacedæmonians* could not behold without great concern so glorious a revolution, and finding themselves unable to maintain a war with men as brave as themselves, assisted with the treasures of *Persia*, dispatched *Antalcidas* one of their citizens to *Tiribazus*, governor of *Sardis*, enjoining him to conclude a peace with b *Artaxerxes* upon the most advantageous terms he could. The other cities of *Greece* in alliance with the *Athenians* sent at the same time their deputies, and *Conon* was at the head of those from *Athens*. The terms, which *Antalcidas* proposed, were, that the king should possess all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but the islands and other cities in *Greece* should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As these proposals were very advantageous to the king, and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, the other embassadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The *Lacedæmonians* bearing an implacable hatred to *Conon* for the restoring of *Athens*, had charged *Antalcidas* to accuse him to *Tiribazus* of having purloined the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and of having formed a design for the taking of c *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and uniting them anew to the republick of *Athens*. Upon these accusations *Tiribazus* seized him, and having supplied the *Lacedæmonians* underhand with considerable sums of money for the equipping of a fleet against the *Athenians*, set out for the *Persian* court to give the king an account of his negotiations. *Artaxerxes* was well pleased with the terms, which the *Lacedæmonians* had proposed, and directed him to put the last hand to the treaty. At the same time *Tiribazus* laid before the king the accusations, which the *Lacedæmonians* had brought against *Conon*. Whereupon he was, according to some writers [s], sent to *Susa* and there put to death by the king's command; but the silence of *Xenophon*, who was his contemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event [t]. d

Antalcidas *sent to make peace with* Artaxerxes.

Conon *accused and disgraced.*

WHILE *Tiribazus* was attending the court, *Sathras* was charged to guard the coasts of *Asia* in his absence. On this occasion observing the havock, which the *Lacedæmonians* had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived such an aversion to them, that he sent what supplies he could spare to their enemies the *Athenians*. This obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to send *Thymbro* into *Asia* to renew the war there; but as they were not in a condition to supply him with men or money sufficient for such an undertaking, he was soon cut off, and his army dispersed by the superior power of the *Persians*. *Diphridas* was sent in his room to carry on the war with the scattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better success, all their attempts upon *Asia* after the battle of *Cnidus* being but faint struggles of a e declining power. In the mean time *Tiribazus* returning from *Susa* summoned all the deputies of the *Greek* cities to be present at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king. The terms were; that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and besides, the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomena*; that the islands of *Scyros*, *Lemnos* and *Imbros* should be restored to the *Athenians*; and all the cities of *Greece*, whether small or great, should be declared free. By the same treaty *Artaxerxes* engaged to join those who accepted the terms he proposed, and assist them to the utmost of his power against such as should reject them. These conditions were equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name; however, as *Greece* was extremely weakened and exhaust- f ed by domestick divisions, and therefore no ways in a condition to carry on a war against so powerful a prince, they were all forced to swear to the treaty. This is called the peace of *Antalcidas*, for he was the first that proposed it, giving up to the *Persians* with the utmost injustice and baseness all the *Greeks* settled in *Asia*, for whose liberty *Agesilaus* had so long contended [u].

Tiribazus *offists the* Athenians.

*The peace of* Antalcidas. *Year of the flood* 2676. *Before Christ* 393.

*Artaxerxes* being now quite disengaged from the *Grecian* war, turned his whole power against *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, whom he had long before designed to

[r] XENOPH. & DIODOR. ibid. & al. supr. citat. [s] CORNEL. NEP. in Conone. [t] XENOPH. ubi supr. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 442. [u] XENOPH. l. v. p. 548—551. DIODOR. ubi supra. p. 447. PLUTARCH in Agesil. & Apothegm. Laconic. JUSTIN, l. vi. c. 5. ÆMIL. PROB. in Conon.

drive

a drive out of that island, but had never been at leisure to put his design in execution. *Evagoras* was descended from the ancient kings of *Salamine*, the capital city of the island of *Cyprus*. His ancestors had held that city for many ages in quality of sovereigns; but were at last driven out by the *Persians*, who making themselves masters of the whole island, reduced it to a *Persian* province. *Evagoras*, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in subjection to a foreign yoke, expelled *Abdymon* a *Citian*, governor of *Salamine*, for the king of *Persia*, and took possession of his paternal kingdom. *Artaxerxes* attempted to recover that city, but being diverted by the *Greek* war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the last, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprize. In the mean time *Conon* by means of b *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*, who was chief physician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences between *Evagoras* and *Artaxerxes*, the latter promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom. But *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the city of *Salamine* alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master in a manner of the whole island of *Cyprus*. The *Amathusians*, *Solians* and *Citians* alone of those *Islanders* held out against him. These had recourse to *Artaxerxes*, who becoming jealous of the power of this active and wise prince, promised them an immediate and powerful support. But being employed elsewhere, he could not perform his promise so soon as he expected. Having at length concluded a peace with the *Greeks*, he bent c all his force against *Evagoras*, determined to drive him quite out of the island. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the treaty of peace lately made with the *Persians*, and the many favours received at their king's hands, could not forbear assisting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occasions. Having therefore equipped ten men of war, they sent them with all possible expedition under the command of *Philocrates* to assist him. But the *Lacedæmonian* fleet commanded by *Telautias*, brother to *Agesilaus*, falling in with them near the isle of *Rhodes*, surrounded them so that not one ship could escape[c]. The *Athenians*, determined to assist *Evagoras* at all adventures, sent *Chabrias* with another fleet and a considerable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new supply arrived safe, and in a short time obliged the d whole island to submit to *Evagoras*. But the *Athenians* being forced by the articles of a new treaty, concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the cities of *Greece*, to recall *Chabrias*, the *Persians* attacked with all their forces the island of *Cyprus*, not doubting but they should soon reduce it, since no supplies could be sent thither from *Greece*. The king's army consisted of 300,000 men, and his fleet of 300 ships. The land-forces were commanded by *Orontes* son-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus* the son of *Tamus*, whom we have mentioned above. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief both of the sea and land-forces. *Evagoras* seeing himself threatened with so dreadful a war, had recourse to all those princes, who were at enmity with the *Persians*, receiving supplies both of men and money from the *Egyptians*, *Lybians*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations. Besides, as he had amassed immense treasures, he hired a great e number of mercenaries of various nations. As he had about 90 ships, that is 70 of his own, and 20 from *Tyre*, he still intercepted all the enemies ships that brought provisions from the continent, and thereby reduced their numerous army, after their landing in the island, to such straits, that they began to mutiny, and killed several of their officers. But the whole *Persian* fleet putting to sea, the army was again plentifully supplied from *Cilicia*. At the same time *Evagoras* likewise received a great supply of corn, and fifty ships from *Egypt*, which together with those he had already, and 60 more which he caused to be fitted out with all speed, and those which he received from *Egypt*, making up a fleet of 200 sail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force f of the *Persians*. At first he had the advantage, and took or destroyed several of the enemies ships; but *Gaus* advancing with a few ships, attacked him with such vigour, that *Evagoras* was obliged to retire after an obstinate resistance. The rest of the *Persian* fleet being encouraged by the example of their admiral, returned to the charge, and at last obtained a compleat victory, driving the enemies ships into their harbours. *Evagoras* with a few ships escaped to *Salamine*, where he was immediately closely besieged both by sea and land. After this victory *Tiribazus* went in person to acquaint the king with the success that attended his arms in *Cyprus*, and having obtained 2000 talents for the use of the army, he returned with that new supply to carry on the war more vigorously than ever. During his absence, *Evagoras*, leaving the defence

*Artaxerxes bends all his forces against* Evagoras.

Athenians *assist him against the* Persians.

*Defeated by the* Lacedæmonians.

Chabrias *sent against them, but recalled.*

*The* Persians *invade* Cyprus *with* 300,000 *men.*

*Year of the flood* 2613. *Before Christ* 386.

Evagoras *defeated at sea.*

Salamine *besieged by sea and land.*

[c] Xenoph. ubi supra, Diodor. l. xv. p. 459.

of the city to his son *Pythagoras*, got through the enemies fleet in the dead of the night with ten ships and sailed for *Egypt*, in hopes of engaging *Acboris*, king of that country, to join with him with all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the last extremities, and himself destitute of all means of raising the siege, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were; that he should abandon all the cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamine*, which he should hold of the king as a servant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were; but he could by no means be brought to consent to that of holding *Salamine* as a servant under his master, and persisted in declaring that he would hold it no otherwise than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the least alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretensions; whereupon *Evagoras*, being determined to die sword in hand rather than yield to such terms, broke off the conference, and applied himself intirely to the defence of the city[d].

Evagoras *forced to capitulate.*

*Year of the flood* 2614. *Before Christ* 385.

In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the superiority with *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intrusted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the success that attended him, wrote secretly to court accusing him amongst other things of forming designs against the king's interest, and holding a private correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*. Upon the receipt of these letters *Artaxerxes* immediately dispatched orders to *Orontes* to seize *Tiribazus* and send him prisoner to court, which being without delay put in execution (P), the chief command was conferred upon *Orontes*. *Orontes* finding the army ready to mutiny under his command, made haste to conclude a treaty with *Evagoras* upon the terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected, *viz.* that he should hold *Salamine* as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of *Persia*. Thus the siege was raised, and a peace concluded with *Evagoras* after a war which had cost the *Persians* above 50,000 talents, that is, near ten millions of our money. For the elogy and character of this prince we refer the reader to *Isocrates*[e].

*Obtains a better treaty from* Orontes.

The peace concluded with *Evagoras* did not put an end to the war in those parts. For *Gaus* resenting the unjust usage of *Tiribazus*, whose daughter he had married, and fearing to be involved in the same prosecution with his father-in-law, and put to death on bare suspicions, sent deputies to *Acboris* king of *Egypt*, and having concluded an alliance with him against the king of *Persia*, openly revolted and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, most of the officers being intirely at his devotion. He likewise sollicited the *Lacedæmonians* to come into the league, assuring them that he in his turn would, at the end of the war, employ all his forces in their favour, and make them masters of all *Greece*. They hearkened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy such an opportunity of making war upon the *Persians*, being highly dissatisfied with the peace of *Antalcidas*. But before matters were ripe for execution *Gaus* was treacherously slain by one of his own officers, and *Tachis*, who took upon him to carry on the same design, soon died; whereby the vast preparations they had made came to nothing; and the *Lacedæmonians* never afterwards meddled with the affairs of *Asia*[f].

Gaus *revolts.*

*Is killed.*

*Artaxerxes* had no sooner finished the *Cyprian* war, but he entered upon another against the *Cadusians*, who probably had revolted from him. This people inhabited the mountains between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and being from their infancy inured to a hard and laborious life were accounted a very warlike race. The king marched in person against them at the head of 300,000 foot, and 20,000 horse. But the country by reason of its barrenness not affording provisions sufficient to maintain so numerous an army, they were soon reduced to feed upon the beasts of burden, which accompany the army; and these became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for 60 drachma's. The king's provisions too began to fall short, and only a few horses remained. In this sad posture of affairs *Tiribazus* contrived a stratagem which saved the king and the army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was

Artaxerxes *ill success against the* Cadusians.

*Year of the flood* 2615. *Before Christ* 384.

Tiribazus *saves him and the army.*

[d] Diodor. l. xv. p. 459, & seq. [e] Isocrat. in Evan. Diodor. ubi sup. [f] Diodor. l. xv.

(P) *Orontes*, it seems, dreading his power with the army, was forced to catch him by a stratagem; that is, by inviting him to a private interview, and placing him upon the entrance of a deep cave, the mouth of which was covered with some rich tapestry, so that he sunk into the bottom as soon as he had seated himself on the chair prepared for him, and was that very night privately sent bound to the king †.

† *Polyæn. Stratagem. l.* 7.

carried

a carried about as a prisoner, being in disgrace by reason of the crimes laid to his charge by *Orontes*, as we have said above. The *Cadusians* had two kings, who were incamped apart from each other. *Tiribazus*, who took care to be informed of all that passed in the enemy's camp, found that there was some misunderstanding between them, and that the jealousy and mistrust, which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. Whereupon he advised the king to enter into a treaty with them, and taking upon himself the whole management of it, went in person to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other. Each of them informed the king, to whom they applied, that the other had sent embassadors to treat separately with *Artaxerxes*, and advised him to lose no time, but make his peace as soon as possible, b that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the desired effect, and both princes were brought separately to submit to the king, which saved both him and his army from impending destruction [g] (Q).

*Over-reaches the two* Cadusian *kings.*

THE king lost in this ill-projected expedition a great number of his best troops, and all his horses. Among others who lost their lives on this occasion was *Camissares*, by nation a *Carian*, a man of extraordinary courage and conduct. He was governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was succeeded in that government by his son *Datames*, who attended *Artaxerxes* in this expedition, and distinguished himself in a very particular manner. *Datames* was the greatest commander of his time, and by none ever exceeded, as *Cornelius* c *Nepos*, who has wrote his life, informs us, in courage, boldness and abilities for contriving and executing military stratagems. But his eminent qualities, and too great merit occasioned his ruin, as we shall have occasion to relate hereafter.

Datames's *excellent character.*

ON the king's return to *Susa*, the eminent service which *Tiribazus* had done him in that expedition, inclined him to have his cause thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For that purpose he appointed three commissioners, who were all of eminent rank and distinguished probity. These, after an impartial discussion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent; whereupon he was by the king restored to his former honours, and *Orontes* his accuser with dis- d grace banished the court [h].

Tiribazus *acquitted, and in high favour.*

*Artaxerxes* being now at leisure from all other engagements resolved to reduce the *Egyptians*, who had long before shaken off the *Persian* yoke; and accordingly made great preparations for that war. *Acboris*, who then reigned in *Egypt*, foreseeing the storm, was not wanting on his side to provide against it the best he could. He joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own subjects. *Pharnabazus*, being charged with the management of this war, sent embassadors to *Athens*, complaining of *Chabrias* for engaging to serve against the king of *Persia*, with whom the state of *Athens* lived in amity, and threatening the republick with his master's resentment, if he were not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time *Iphicrates* another *Athenian*, e and the best general of his time, to command the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* service. The *Athenians*, who at that time had a great dependance on the *Persian* king's friendship to support them against their domestic enemies, recalled *Chabrias*, ordering him to repair to *Athens* on pain of death by a certain day. *Iphicrates* was sent to take upon him the command of the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* army. On his arrival having mustered the forces he was to command, he so exercised them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Iphicratesian* soldiers. And indeed he had time enough to instruct them before they entered upon action; for the *Persians* being very slow in their preparations, two whole years elapsed before they were in a condition to take the field. *Acboris*, king of *Egypt*, died in the mean time, and was succeeded by *Psammuthis*, who reigned only a year. After him *Nepherotes* reigned four months, and then *Nectanebis*, the first of the *Sebennytic* race, twelve years [i].

Artaxerxes *renews the war with* Egypt.

Iphicrates's *excellent discipline.*

Achoris *dies in* Egypt.

[g] PLUT. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024. DIODOR. l. xv. p. 462. [h] DIODOR. ubi supra, p. 463. [i] EUSEB. Chron. Syncell. p. 257. See before Vol. I. p. 275. a, b.

(Q) A modern writer is of opinion (76) that the *Cadusians* were descended from the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, which the king of *Assyria* carried out of the land of *Canaan*; but as he has no other foundation to ground his opinion upon but the similitude between the words *Cadusian* and *Kedushim*, which signifies *Holy people*, we cannot fall in with him.

(76) *Fuller Miscel. l.* ii. *c.* 5.

*Artaxerxes*

*Artaxerxes*, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of *Greece* for his *Egyptian* war, a
sent embassadors thither to put an end to their domestic broils, and declare in his name to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure they should live in peace with each other upon the terms of the treaty of *Antalcidas*, and that, all garrisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own laws. This declaration was received with pleasure by all the cities of *Greece*, except the *Thebans*, who, aspiring to the empire of all *Greece*, refused to conform to it [k].

*His unsuccessful expedition against* Egypt. *Year of the flood* 2625 *Before Christ* 374.

At length all things being in a readiness for the invasion of *Egypt*, the *Persian* army was drawn together at *Ace*, since called *Ptolemais*, the place of the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of 200,000 *Persians* b
under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and 20,000 *Greeks* under that of *Iphicrates*. Their forces by sea were in proportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of 300 galleys, besides an incredible number of vessels which followed to furnish both the fleet and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The war was to begin with the siege of *Pelusium*; but *Nectanebis*, having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore instead of making a descent, as had been at first projected, sailed from thence to the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile*; for the *Nile* at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, c
and each of these was defended by a fort and a strong garrison. But the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile* not being so well fortified as the *Pelusian*, where the enemy was expected, they landed their forces there without great opposition, carried the fortress that guarded it, and put all the *Egyptians* that were found in it to the sword. After this action *Iphicrates* was for reimbarking the troops without loss of time, and attacking *Memphis* the capital of *Egypt*. Had this opinion been followed before the *Egyptians* recovered from the consternation, which so formidable an invasion and the blow already received had thrown them into, they would have found the place without any defence, and must have certainly taken it and re-conquered all *Egypt*. But the main body of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would under- d
take nothing before their arrival. *Iphicrates*, in the utmost despair to see so favourable an opportunity lost, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made pressing instances for leave to attempt the place with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But *Pharnabazus* out of a mean jealousy of the honour that would redound to *Iphicrates*, should he succeed in the enterprize, would by no means hearken to his proposal. This delay gave the *Egyptians* time to recover their courage, and put themselves in a condition to oppose any further attempts. For *Nectanebis* having lodged a sufficient garrison in *Memphis*, with the rest took the field, and so harassed the *Persians* that they could not advance farther into the country; and the *Nile* at the accustomed period overflowing the land, the *Persians* were e
obliged to return into *Phœnice*, having lost great part of their army in this unsuccessful expedition. Thus ended this war, which had cost immense sums, two whole years having been spent in making the necessary preparations for so fruitless an attempt. The only effect that it produced was an irreconcileable enmity between the two generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the miscarriage upon *Iphicrates*; and he, with more reason, on *Pharnabazus*: but being well apprised that *Pharnabazus* would find more credit at the *Persian* court than he, and remembering what had happened to *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship and retired to *Athens*. *Pharnabazus* sent embassadors to *Athens* accusing him of making the *Egyptian* expedition miscarry, and requesting f
the republick to punish him according to his demerit. The *Athenians* made no other answer, than that if he were found guilty he should undergo the punishment he deserved. But, it seems, they were so well convinced of his innocence, that they never called him to a trial on that account; nay, he was not long after appointed sole admiral of their whole fleet [l].

*The* Mendesian *fort taken.*

Iphicrates's *proposal of attacking* Memphis *rejected.*

Persians *forced to retire into* Phœnice.

*And* Iphicrates *to* Athens.

*The* Egyptian *war renewed.*

Twelve years after this expedition *Artaxerxes*, who had not laid aside the thoughts of subjecting *Egypt* notwithstanding his many miscarriages in that attempt, began to make new preparations for invading of that country. *Tachos*, who had

[k] Diodor. l. xv. p. 355. [l] Diodor. l. xv. p. 478.

succeeded

a succeeded *Nectanebus*, drew together what forces he could to defend himself against so powerful an enemy. To strengthen himself the more, he sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedæmonians*, who were at that time exasperated against *Artaxerxes* for obliging them to include the *Messenians* in the late peace, to send a good number of troops under the command of *Agesilaus*. This commission did no ways redound to the honour of *Agesilaus*, for it was thought below the dignity of a king of *Sparta*, and a great commander, who had acquired such reputation in the world, and was then above eighty, to become a mercenary, and hire himself to a *Barbarian*. However *Agesilaus*, either out of vanity to be still at the head of an army, for *Tachos* had promised to make him commander in chief b of all his forces, or out of a prospect of great gain, willingly accepted the commission, and set sail for *Egypt*. On his landing he was met by *Tachos*, who in their first interview conceived such disadvantageous ideas of him, that he ever after slighted his counsels, and despised his person. For both he and his *Egyptian* generals expected to see a great and magnificent prince with an attire and equipage equal to the fame of his exploits; and not a little old man of a mean aspect, and dress in an old robe of coarse stuff, without any pomp, magnificence, or outward shew. This hasty and ill-grounded impression proved the ruin of *Tachos*; for he would allow *Agesilaus* no other command but that of the mercenaries, which alone had been sufficient to disgust so great, so old, and so experienced a commander, and c was the first cause of his aversion to *Tachos*. The charge of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias*, reserving to himself the chief command over all. Having joined the *Egyptians* and mercenaries into one body, he resolved to march into *Phœnice*, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the theatre of the war, than to expect the enemy at home. *Agesilaus*, being apprised of the bad consequences that might attend this resolution, advised him against it, remonstrating that his affairs were not so well settled in *Egypt* as to admit of his absence, and that it would be more for his interest to manage the war abroad by his lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom to be at hand in case of any disturbance. *Tachos* despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. But the event shewed, d that *Agesilaus*'s advice was the result of a very prudent forecast; for while *Tachos* was in *Phœnice*, the *Egyptians* revolting set up *Nectanebus* his cousin, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, his son in his stead. *Agesilaus* laying hold of this opportunity to vent his resentment against *Tachos*, joined the revolters, and drove him quite out of *Egypt*. The dethroned prince fled first to *Sidon*, and from thence to the *Persian* court, where he was not only received with great kindness, but entrusted with command of the troops against the rebels [m] (R).

*Agesilaus assists the* Egyptians.

*Year of the flood*, 2637. *Before Christ*, 362.

*Despised for his mean appearance.*

Tachos *dethroned by* Nectanebus.

Agesilaus *joins with the latter.*

Towards the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes* great disturbances arose in the *Persian* court rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility to support their pretensions to the crown. He had 115 sons by his concubines, and three by his queen, *viz. Darius*, *Ariaspes*, and *Ochus*. To put a stop e to these practices and contentions he declared *Darius* the eldest his successor, and the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the *Tiara*, even in his own life-time. But this not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted with his father for refusing him one of his concubines whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the conspiracy fifty of his brothers. *Tiribazus*, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the most to his taking this unnatural resolution, and that for a like subject of discontent. *Artaxerxes* had promised him

Artaxerxes *declares his son* Darius *his successor, who conspires against him.*

[m] Diodor. l. xv. p. 397—401. Plut. in Agesil. p. 616, 618. Xenoph. Plutar. and Corn. Nep. in Ages.

(R) *Plutarch* condemns *Agesilaus* as guilty of treachery in thus turning his arms against the prince who had hired him. But *Agesilaus* alledged in his justification, that he had been sent to assist the *Egyptians*, and that therefore, as they had taken up arms against *Tachos*, he could not serve against them without new orders from *Sparta*. He accordingly dispatched messengers thither, and the instructions he received were, to act as he should judge most advantagious for his country; whereupon he immediately declared for *Nectanebus*. Thus *Agesilaus* pretended to cover so criminal a conduct, says *Plutarch*; but if we remove that delusive blind of the publick good, the only true name that can be given to this action, is that of perfidy and treason (77). *Xenophon* endeavours to palliate this conduct by saying, that *Agesilaus* joined that king who seemed the best affected to *Greece* (78).

(77) *Plut. in Agesil.* (78) *Xenoph. de reg. Agesil.* 663.

*Tiribazus joins in the conspiracy.*

in marriage one of his daughters, but falling in love with her married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another daughter, he married that likewise. These two disappointments provoked *Tiribazus*, to such a degree, that to revenge the affront he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the execution of their design, when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king. Whereupon the conspirators were seized as they were entering the king's palace, and all put to death.

*They are detected, and put to death.*

*Darius* being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which before his being declared king had rent the court into several factions. Three of his brothers were competitors, *Ariaspes*, *Ochus*, and *Arsames*. The two first claimed the crown in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. *Ochus* prompted by his restless ambition found means to get rid of his two rivals. For *Ariaspes* being of an easy temper, and very credulous, he suborned the eunuchs of the palace to threaten him in the king's name in such manner, that expecting every moment to be treated as *Darius* had been, he poisoned himself to avoid a more cruel death. But *Arsames* still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being for his wisdom, and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father and all others the most worthy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the son of *Tiribazus*. This loss added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, overwhelmed the king, who was then 94 years old, with such grief, that not being able to bear up against it, he broke his heart, and died in the 46th year of his reign [a]. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected throughout all the empire. This *Ochus* was sensible of, and well knew that it would be quite otherwise with him, the death of his two brothers having alienated the minds both of the nobility and people. To avoid the inconveniences that might attend this general hatred and aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs and others, that were about the king's person, to conceal his death, and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and issuing decrees in the name of *Artaxerxes*, as if he had been still alive; by one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire †. After having thus governed near ten months, believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of *Artaxerxes*. Historians, however, most frequently call him *Ochus*, and under this name we shall speak of him in the sequel of this history.

*Ochus rids himself of his two contending brothers.*

*Artaxerxes Mnemon dies.*

*Year of the flood 2939. Before Christ 360.*

*Ochus takes the name of Artaxerxes.*

*A great number of provinces revolt from him.*

It was no sooner known that *Artaxerxes* was dead, and *Ochus* in possession of the throne, but all *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and many other provinces openly revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt, were *Ariobarzanes* governor of *Phrygia*, *Mausolus* king of *Caria*, *Orontes* governor of *Mysia*, and *Antophradates* governor of *Lydia*. *Datames* likewise, whom we have mentioned before, was engaged in the rebellion, being at that time governor of *Cappadocia*. By this, as we may call it, general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder had not been sufficient to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they acted in concert. But they did not long keep firm to each other, and those, who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, strove who should soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. The provinces of *Asia Minor* on withdrawing their obedience had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen *Orontes* for their general. They had also resolved to add 20,000 mercenaries to their own troops, and charged *Orontes* with the care of raising them. But when he had received a sufficient sum both for the raising those forces and maintaining of them for a year, he kept the money for himself, and delivered up to the king, those, who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. *Rheomitres*, another of the chiefs of *Asia Minor*, being sent into *Egypt* to negotiate succours in that kingdom, was guilty of a like treachery. For having brought from thence 500 talents and 50 ships of war, and assembled the ringleaders of the revolt at *Leucas*, a city of *Asia*

*Their leaders fall out among themselves, and betray each other.*

[a] Diodor. l. 15. p. 397—401. Plut. in Artax. † Polyæn. Stratagem. l. 7.

*Minor*,

a *Minor*, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiations, he seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the *Persian* empire to the very brink of ruin, came to nothing; and *Ochus* was without striking a blow settled on the throne[o]. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having possessed himself also of *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. By what we read of him in *Cornelius Nepos*[p], and *Polyænus*[q], it appears that he maintained himself a long time in both those provinces, and was at last murdered by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his intimates (S).

Datames *holds out against* Ochus, *and is murdered.*

*Ochus* was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of that race in *Persia*. For b he had not been long on the throne, when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasiness, which the princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death without any regard to sex, age or proximity of blood. He caused *Ocha*, his own sister and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles with an hundred of his sons and grandsons in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their arrows[r]. This uncle seems to have been the father of *Sisigambis*, mother to *Darius Codomannus*. For *Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* caused 80 of her brothers, together with their father, to c be massacred in one day †. With the same barbarity he treated all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility who betrayed the least mark of discontent or disaffection to his person.

Ochus's *bloody reign and character.* *Year of the flood*, 2640. *Before Christ*, 359.

But all the cruelties he practised could not keep his subjects in awe. *Artabazus*, governor of one of the *Asiatic* provinces, rebelled, and engaged *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him with a fleet and body of troops, which he commanded in those parts. *Ochus* sent an army of 70,000 men against the rebels; but they were by *Chares* and his *Athenians* all cut in pieces. *Artabazus* in reward of so great a service gave *Chares* a sum of money sufficient to pay his fleet, and the forces he had on board. The king highly resented this conduct of the *Athenians*, and as they were d then engaged in a war with the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, he threatned to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recal *Chares*. The *Athenians* fearing to provoke so powerful an enemy, ordered *Chares* to return forthwith into *Greece*[s].

Artabazus *revolts.* Chares's *success against* Ochus. *Recalled.*

*Artabazus* being thus deserted by the *Athenians* had recourse to the *Thebans*, who sent to his assistance a body of 5000 men under the command of the brave *Pammenes*. With this reinforcement *Artabazus* again took the field, and gained two very considerable victories over the king's forces, which greatly redounded to the honour of the *Thebans* and their commander[t]. However they made their peace soon after with the king, who having given them 300 talents, they returned home. *Artabazus* e thus destitute of all support was at last overcome and forced to take refuge with *Philip* of *Macedon*[u].

Thebans *success against* Ochus, *and bought off.*

This rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians* being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt*. The *Persians* were then making vast preparations to reduce *Egypt*; but as they could not approach the borders of that kingdom any other way than by marching through *Phœnice*, the revolt of that country happened very opportunely for the king of *Egypt*. Therefore, to keep up their courage, he detached a body of 4000 *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian* to join them, f in hopes of making *Phœnice* a barrier to *Egypt*, and keeping the war at a distance.

*Year of the flood*, 2648. *Before Christ*, 351.

*The* Phœnicians, *&c. revolt.*

[o] Diodor. l. xv. p. 506. Polyæn. Stratag. l. vii. [p] Corn. Nep. in vita Datam. [q] Polyæn. stratagem. l. vii. [r] Justin. l. x. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. † lib. x. c. 8. [s] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 527, 528. [t] Diodor. ibid. [u] Idem, p. 438.

(S) *Diodorus Siculus* (79) places this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but as he was greatly esteemed and beloved by his subjects, it is not likely that so great an insurrection should have happened under him. We have therefore placed it in the reign of his successor *Ochus*, whose cruelty, chiefly in the murder of his two brothers, incensed the nobility and governors of the provinces against him, who therefore refused to submit to him. As he took the name of *Artaxerxes*, this may have led *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing in the father's reign what happened in the son's.

(79) *Diodor. l.* xv. *p.* 400.

The

The *Phœnicians* encouraged by this supply took the field, and having routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia* that were sent to reduce them, they drove the *Persians* quite out of their territories [w]. a

Cypriots *join in the revolt.*

The *Cypriots*, being likewise ill-used by their *Persian* governors, and encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians*, joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same alliance [x]. Hereupon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idriens* king of *Caria*, enjoining him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. *Idriens* in compliance with his command having equipped a fleet, sent it with 8000 *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Phocian* an *Athenian* and *Evagoras* (T) to make a descent in the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and being reinforced with other bodies from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land [y]. b

Salamine *besieged.*

*Ochus*, finding that his lieutenants made no progress against the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, resolved to head his forces in person; and accordingly having drawn together an army of 300,000 foot, and 30,000 horse, marched at the head of them into *Phœnice*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who was then at *Sidon* with the *Greek* mercenaries, being terrified at the approach of so great an army, sent privately one of his intimate friends to *Ochus* to make peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but to join him with the troops under his command. *Ochus* glad of this proffer spared no promises to draw him over to his party, knowing what signal service he could do him in the *Egyptian* war, as being thoroughly acquainted with the country. And accordingly *Mentor*, having received such assurances as he desired, engaged *Tennes*, king of *Sidon*, in the same treacherous design, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* up to the *Persians*. The *Sidonians* seeing themselves thus betrayed, and the enemy within the walls, shut themselves up with their wives and children, in their houses, and setting fire to them, consumed themselves to the number of 40,000 men besides women and children. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his subjects, for *Ochus* seeing he could do him no farther service, and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he had brought upon his country, as we have related elsewhere [z]. The ruin and total destruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the designs he had upon *Egypt* [a]. c d

Ochus *heads a vast army against the revolters.*

Sidon *betrayed by* Mentor *the* Rhodian.

*The desperate catastrophe of the* Sidonians.

Phœnice *submits.*

But before he marched thither, his army received from *Greece* a reinforcement of 10,000 mercenaries. For the *Thebans* sent him 1000 men under the command of *Lachares*, and the *Argives* 3000 commanded by *Nicostratus*; the rest joined him from the *Greek* cities of *Asia*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* excused themselves, telling the king's embassadors, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with their master, but could not at that time spare him any succours [b]. The *Jews* also seem to have been engaged in this revolt of *Phœnice*. For *Ochus* from *Sidon* marched into *Judea*, where he besieged and took *Jericho*, carrying along with him into *Egypt* a great many captive *Jews*, and sending others into *Hyrcania*, where they were planted in the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea [c]. e

Judea *reduced by* Ochus.

Cypriots *make peace.*

*Year of the flood*, 2649. *Before Christ*, 350.

*Ochus* at the same time put an end to the *Cyprian* war, and compounded with the nine *Cyprian* kings, having his mind entirely bent on the reducing of *Egypt*. He willingly redressed all their grievances, and confirmed them in their respective governments [d].

[w] Diodor. Sic. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, 533. [x] Idem, ubi supra. p. 532. [y] Idem, ibid. [z] Vol. I. p. 411, 412. [a] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, &c. [b] Idem, ibid. p. 533. [c] Solin, c. xxxv. Syncell. ex Africano, p. 256. Oros. l. xxxi. c. 7. Joseph. l. i. contra Apion. Solin. c. 35. [d] Diodor. p. 534.

(T) Another *Evagoras* had formerly reigned in the city of *Salamine*, whom we have spoke of above. On his death he was succeeded by *Nicoles* his son, and this *Evagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicoles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war began. He gladly joined the *Persians* in hopes of recovering his crown; and the knowledge he had of the country, made him a very proper person to command in this expedition (80). *Cyprus* had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject and tributary to the king of *Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city (81).

(80) *Isocrat. in Evag. & Nicol.* (81) *Diodor. l. xvi. p. 532.*

*Ochus*

a *Ochus* having thus settled the affairs both of *Phænice* and *Egypt* set out on his *Egyptian* expedition. On his march he lost a great many men who were drowned in the lake of *Serbonis*, which lies between *Phænice* and *Egypt*, and extends about 30 miles. When the south-wind blows, the whole surface of the water is covered with sand from the desart in such manner that no one can distinguish it from the firm land. Several parties of *Ochus*'s army for want of good guides were lost in it, and we are told that entire armies have there met with the same fate [e]. When he arrived on the frontiers of *Egypt*, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each body being commanded by a *Persian* and a *Greek* general. The first was led by *Lacbares* the *Theban*, and *Rosaces*, governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; the second by *Nicostratus* the *Theban*, and *Aristazanes*; the third by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himself, and encamped near *Pelusium*, with a design to watch there the events of the war. In the mean time *Nectanebus* drew together an army of 100,000 men, consisting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece*, as many from *Lybia*, and the rest *Egyptians*; but they did not all amount to a third of the *Persian* army. With some of these he garrisoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the passes, through which the enemy was to enter the country. The first *Persian* detachment under the command of *Lacbares* sat down before *Pelusium*, garrisoned by 5000 *Greeks*. While the siege was carrying on, *Nicostratus* with his detachment embarked on board a squadron of the *Persian* fleet, and sailing up the *Nile* landed his forces in the heart of the country, and there formed a strong encampment. Hereupon all the garrisons of the neighbouring castles, taking the alarm, joined *Clinius* of the island of *Cos* in order to dislodge him. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obstinacy; but at last the *Egyptians* were put to flight, having lost *Clinius* with above 5000 of his men; the rest were utterly broken and dispersed, which, we may say, determined the fate of this war. For *Nectanebus* fearing lest *Nicostratus* should sail up the *Nile* with his victorious forces, and take *Memphis* the metropolis of his kingdom, hastened thither and left open the passes which he ought chiefly to have defended. The *Greek* mercenaries, who garrisoned *Pelusium*, hearing of the king's retreat, gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a parley with *Lacharis*, delivered up the city to him, upon condition that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted, entered the country, and giving out that *Ochus* would graciously receive all that submitted, and utterly destroy such as resisted, treating them as he had treated the *Sidonians*, both the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* strove which should first make their submission. *Nectanebus* seeing he could no longer hold out, took with him what treasures he could carry, and withdrew into *Ethiopia*. *Ochus* having thus reduced all *Egypt*, dismantled their strong holds, plundered their temples, and returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with immense treasures [f]. Henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Persia* till *Alexander* overturned that monarchy, and delivered the *Egyptians* from the *Persian* tyranny.

*Artaxerxes marches into Egypt.*

b

*Encamps near Pelusium.*

*Nectanebus's army.*

c

*Egyptians defeated, and Clinius slain.*

d

*Pelusium delivered up, and*

*Egypt reduced.*

*Year of the flood 2649. Before Christ 350.*

e

*Ochus* having ended with such success the *Egyptian* war, sent back the *Greek* mercenaries to their respective countries with ample rewards. But as all his conquests were chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he distinguished him above all the rest, not only rewarding him with an hundred talents, and other presents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coasts of *Asia*, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was still carrying on against some provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. These, what by cunning and stratagems, what by open force, he reduced, and restored the king's authority in all the parts of that vast empire.

*Mentor's single merit rewarded.*

f All the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace established throughout the whole empire, *Ochus* gave himself up to ease, luxury, and pleasure, leaving the administration of publick affairs entirely to his ministers. The chief of these were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch, and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper *Asia*, and the latter those of the lower [g]. *Bagoas* being by birth an *Egyptian*, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured, on the conquest of *Egypt*, to influence the king in favour of the *Egyptian* ceremonies; but in spite of all his endeavours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the sacred records

*Divides the administration with Bagoas.*

[e] Diodor. Sic. l. xvi. p. 534, 535. [f] Idem. ibid. [g] Idem, p. 537.

Ochus's *sacrilege in* Egypt.

that were lodged in them; and in contempt of their religion slew the god *Apis*, that is, the sacred bull, which they worshipped under that name. This irreligious behaviour *Bagoas* deeply resented, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of revenging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemeed with a great sum of money, and sent them back into *Egypt*. But the injury done to his God he thought could be no otherwise atoned for but by putting the sacrilegious king to death; which he did accordingly by the help of the king's physician, who in his sickness gave him a strong poison instead of physick, in the twenty first year of his reign. Nor did his revenge stop here; for the king's body he kept, causing another to be buried instead of it: and, because the king had caused his attendants to eat the flesh of their god *Apis*, he cut his flesh in pieces, and gave it so mangled to the cats, making of his bones handles for swords. Having in this barbarous manner dispatched his master and benefactor, and seeing the whole power of the empire in his hands, he placed *Arses*, the youngest of the dead king's sons, on the throne, and put all the rest to death, that he might the better secure to himself the authority, which he had usurped. For the bare name of king was all that he allowed to *Arses*, reserving for himself the whole power and authority of the government [h].

Bagoas *the eunuch poisons him for it, and raises* Arses *to the throne.*

*Year of the flood* 2661. *Before Christ* 338.

Arses *slain by* Bagoas.

*Arses* did not long enjoy even this shadow of power, being slain by the same *Bagoas*, who finding that the king, well apprized of his wickedness and treachery, was taking measures to bring him to condign punishment, was before-hand with him, putting to death him and his whole family in the second year of his reign [i].

Darius Codomannus.

*Year of the flood* 2663. *Before Christ* 336.

The throne becoming again vacant by the death of *Arses*, *Bagoas*, who durst not yet usurp it himself, placed it on *Darius*, the third of that name in *Persia*. Before his accession to the crown he was called *Codomannus*, and is said not to have been of the blood royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However he was of the royal family, being descended from *Darius Nothus*, whose grandson *Arsanes*, marrying his own sister *Sysigambis*, had by her *Codomannus*. *Ostanes*, the son of *Darius Nothus*, and father to *Arsanes*, was put to death by *Ochus* on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons [k]. How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter is no where said. In the reign of *Ochus* he made but a very poor figure, being only an *Astanda*, that is one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces, a mean employment for one of the royal family [l]. In the war, which *Ochus* made upon the *Cadusians* towards the latter end of his reign, one of those *Barbarians* having challenged the whole *Persian* army to find a champion that durst encounter him in a single combat, *Codomannus* accepted the challenge after all the others had declined it, and slew the *Cadusian*. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of *Armenia* [m], and thence raised to the throne by *Bagoas* in the manner we have already related. But he had not long enjoyed the sovereign power, before *Bagoas*, finding that he would not be entirely governed by him, which was all he aimed at in advancing him to the crown, resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had done his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion: but *Darius* being acquainted with his design, when the potion was brought him, made *Bagoas* himself drink it, and having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he settled himself on the throne without any further difficulty or opposition [n]. Authors represent *Darius* as a prince of a mild and generous disposition, of great personal valour, and for his stature and shape far preferable to any of the whole *Persian* empire. But having such a fortunate rival as *Alexander the Great* to encounter, he was not able with all his good qualities and personal courage to withstand him; and he was scarce warm on the throne when he found this powerful enemy preparing to drive him from it.

*His extract and rise.*

Bagoas *forced to drink the poison he had prepared for* Darius.

Philip *made chief commander of the wars against* Darius.

For *Alexander* having settled his affairs in *Macedon*, and used all imaginable precautions to prevent any troubles that might arise there during his absence, set out for *Sestus*, and thence passed over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, in the second year of *Darius*'s reign. A war against the *Persians* had been resolved on some time before in a general assembly of the *Amphictyons*, to revenge the many injuries, which *Greece* had received from the *Barbarians* during the space of 300 years, and *Philip* king of *Macedon* had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined for this expedition. But *Philip* being in the mean time murdered, his son *Alexander*

[h] Diodor. p. 564. Ælian var. hist. l. iv. c. 8. Sever. Suplit. l. ii. vid. & Suid. in ἔτος. [i] Diodor. & al ibid. [k] Diodor. ibid. Plut. in Artax. [l] Plut. de vita & fortuna Alexandri. [m] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 564. Justin. l. x. c. 3. [n] Diodor. ubi supra. Curt. lib. 6. c. 4. Strab. lib. xv. Ælian. & al.

summoned

a summoned a general assembly of all the states and free cities of *Greece* to meet at *Corinth*, and having prevailed with them to chuse him in his room, he obliged each city to furnish its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse. But they were all chosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, most of them having served under *Philip* during his long wars, and all of them been employed in several expeditions. *Parmenio* commanded the infantry. *Philopatus* his son had the command of 1800 horse, all *Macedonians*; *Callas*, the son of *Harpalus*, led the same number of *Thessalian* cavalry: the rest of the horse had their particular commanders, each being set over those of his own nation.

*It succeeded by his son* Alexander *the great.*

*Year of the flood* 2665. *Before Christ* 334.

b With this army he crossed the *Hellespont*, as we have hinted above, and pursuing his march, arrived at the river *Granicus*, where he found the *Persian* governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with an army of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse with a design to dispute his passage (U). *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor over all the coasts of *Asia*, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged for want of provisions to return back into *Europe*. But *Arsites*, governor of *Phrygia*, opposed the opinion of *Memnon*, protesting that he would never suffer the *Greeks* to make such havock in the countries he governed. This rash and impolitick counsel prevailed, and *Memnon* was even suspected to hold intelligence with the enemy, or at least to be desirous of spinning c out the war, and thereby continuing the command to himself [o].

Memnon's *advice rejected.*

The *Persian* cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the *Granicus*, and formed a large front in order to oppose *Alexander*, where-ever he should attempt a passage; and the foot, consisting chiefly of *Greek* mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. *Parmenio*, observing the disposition of the enemies army, advised *Alexander* to incamp on the opposite banks of the river, that his troops might have time to rest, and not to attempt the crossing over till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks very craggy and steep, his troops tired with their march, and those of the enemies quite fresh, as having been incamped in that place for several days. But all the reasons he could produce made not the least d impression on *Alexander*, who answered, that it would be a disgrace to him and his army, should he, after crossing the *Hellespont*, suffer his progress to be stopt by a rivulet; for so, out of contempt, he called the *Granicus* [p].

Alexander *crosses the* Granicus.

The two armies being drawn up in battle-array on the opposite banks of the river, continued some time in sight of each other, as though they dreaded the event. The *Persians* waited till the *Macedonians* should enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing; and the *Macedonians* were looking for a convenient place to cross in, which they no sooner found, than *Alexander* ordered a strong detachment of horse to advance into the river, he himself following with the right wing, which he commanded in person, the trumpets in the mean e time sounding, and loud shouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The *Persians* let fly such showers of arrows against the detachment of the *Macedonian* horse as caused some confusion, several of their horses being killed or wounded; and as they drew near the bank a most bloody engagement ensued, the *Macedonians* endeavouring to land, and the *Persians* pushing them again into the river. As *Memnon* commanded in this place with his sons, the first ranks of the *Macedonians* were intirely cut off, and the rest, after having with the utmost difficulty gained the shore, driven anew into the river. *Alexander*, who followed them close, observing the confusion they were in, headed them himself, and landing in spite of all opposition attacked the enemy's cavalry with great vigour, and obliged them f after an obstinate resistance to give way. However, *Spithrobates* governor of *Ionia*, and son-in-law to *Darius*, being surrounded by forty *Persian* lords, all of them his relations, still maintained his ground, and did all that lay in his power to lead the *Persians* back to the charge. *Alexander* seeing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, advanced full gallop to engage him; neither did he decline the

*The battle of* Granicus.

*Year of the flood* 2655. *Before Christ* 334.

*The* Persians *repulsed by* Alexander.

[o] Arrian, l. i. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. iii. [p] Diodor. Arrian. Plutarch. Curt. & alii, ubi supra.

(U) *Justin* and *Orosius* tell us, that the *Persian* army consisted of 600,000 foot, and 20,000 horse; *Arrianus* makes it amount to 200,000 foot. We have chosen to follow *Diodorus*'s account, which to us seems the most rational.

combat,

combat, and both were slightly wounded at the first encounter. *Spithrobates* having a
thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced sword in hand against *Alexander*, who, being upon his guard, run him through with his pike as he was lifting up his arm to discharge a blow with his scimitar. But *Rosaces*, brother to *Spithrobates*, gave *Alexander* at the same time so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and slightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow, *Clitus* with one stroke of his scimitar cut off *Rosaces*'s head, and by that means saved the life of his sovereign. The *Macedonians*, animated by the example of their king, attacked the *Persian* horse with new vigour, who not being able to stand so violent a shock, first gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitous flight. *Alexander* did not pursue b
them, but immediately charged at the head of the right wing the enemies foot, who seeing themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the *Macedonian* phalanx, which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The *Grecian* infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to *Alexander*, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed sword in hand into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut to pieces, his horse being killed under him. The *Greeks* defended themselves a long time with incredible valour, but being at last over-powered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the *Persians* lost 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse; of the *Macedonians* 25 men of the c
king's own troop fell in the first attack, whose statues, made by *Lysippus*, *Alexander* some time after caused to be set up in *Dia*, a city of *Macedon*, whence they were many years after carried to *Rome* by *Q. Metellus*. About 60 others of the horse were killed, and 30 of the foot, who were all buried the next day with great solemnity, the king exempting their parents and children, from all taxes and burdens[q].

*Alexander to imminent danger.*

*The Persians defeated.*

This victory was attended with all the happy consequences that could be expected. For *Sardis*, which was the key of the *Persian* empire, immediately surrendered, and was by *Alexander* declared a free city, the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From *Sardis* he advanced to *Ephesus*, where d
he was received with great joy. Here he offered a great number of sacrifices to *Diana*, and assigned to the temple of that goddess, all the tributes that were paid to the *Persians*. Before he left *Ephesus* the deputies of *Trallis* and *Magnesia* waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From *Ephesus* he advanced to *Miletus*, which city, flattered with the hopes of being soon relieved, refused him admittance; and indeed the *Persian* fleet, which was very numerous, made as if they would succour the city; but after various fruitless attempts they sailed off. *Memnon* had shut himself up in this strong hold, with a considerable number of his men, who had escaped from the battle on the *Granicus*, and was resolved to make a vigorous resistance. *Alexander*, having surrounded the city with his whole army, planted scaling-ladders on all sides, thinking that the most expeditious manner of becoming master of e
the place. But his men being every where repulsed, and the city well stored with provisions for a long siege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines night and day without intermission. Several breaches were made, but still he could not master the town, the besieged sustaining all his efforts with incredible bravery. At last the town being almost quite dismantled, and the besieged tired out with the hard service, *Memnon* demanded to capitulate, and surrendered the city upon honourable terms; the *Milesians* were allowed to live according to their own laws, and *Memnon* with his *Greeks* to march out unmolested; but the *Persians* were either put to the sword or sold for slaves[r].

*Sardis and Ephesus surrendered to Alexander.*

*Miletus besieged and taken.*

Having thus possessed himself of *Miletus*, he marched into *Caria* in order to be- f
siege *Halicarnassus* the metropolis of that province, which refused to submit. That city was both by nature and art one of the best fortified in all *Asia*; and besides, *Memnon* had thrown himself into it with a considerable body of chosen men, resolved to signalize, in the defence of so important a place, his courage and attachment to the interest of *Darius*, with whom he had left his wife and children as pledges of it. And accordingly he made a most vigorous resistance, being seconded by another general of great prowess, by name *Ephialtes*. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the art of war,

*Memnon's brave defence of Halicarnassus.*

[q] Plut. in Alex. Diodor. p. 503. Justin. l. xi. c. 6. Arrian, l. i. c. 18. [r] Diodor. ubi supra. Arrian. l. i. c. 19.

was

a was practised on this occasion both by the besiegers and the besieged. After the *Macedonians* had with the utmost difficulty filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, their works were all demolished in an instant, and the engines set on fire by the besieged. No sooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering rams, but a new one was raised in its stead, the *Macedonians* finding themselves no farther advanced after an immense labour than they were when they first sat down before the place. The city held out so long, and the besiegers had so many difficulties to struggle with, that any general besides *Alexander* would have given over the enterprize. But his troops were encouraged to pursue the undertaking by those very difficulties, which would have disheartened others; and their patience at

*Halicarnassus abandoned by Memnon. Taken and razed. Year of the flood 2666. Before Christ 333.*

b last proved successful, *Memnon* being obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the sea was open, he placed a strong garrison in the citadel which was stored with all sorts of provision, and going on board the *Persian* fleet, whereof himself was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the island of *Cos*, not far distant from *Halicarnassus*. *Alexander* finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to besiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was destroyed [a].

*Greek cities submit to Alexander.*

After the reduction of *Halicarnassus* all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* declared for *Alexander*, he giving out where-ever he came that he had undertaken this war with no other view but of freeing them from the *Persian* bondage. In the second year c of this war he reduced the provinces of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, and appointed such of his friends to govern them as he thought fit. These transactions we shall relate more at length in the life of this great warrior †.

*Memnon's excellent advice to Darius.*

In the mean time *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for a vigorous defence. *Memnon* advised him to carry the war into *Macedon*; and a wiser resolution could not have been taken: for the *Lacedæmonians*, and several other *Greek* states, that were disaffected to the *Macedonians*, and jealous of their over-grown power, would have readily joined his enemies; which would have obliged *Alexander* to leave *Asia*, and return to the defence of his own country. *Darius* being well apprised of the rea-

*Made his admiral.*

d sonableness of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged *Memnon* to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be imployed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice, for *Memnon* was by far the best general in his service, and had for many years given undoubted proofs not only of his courage and conduct, but of an extraordinary fidelity and attachment to the *Persian* interest, not abandoning his sovereign, as other mercenaries had done, when his arms were unsuccessful. Having received this new commission, he assembled the scattered remains of the army, and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the island of *Cos*, where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the islands of

*His death.*

e *Chios* and *Lesbos*, except the city of *Mitylene*. From thence he designed to pass over into *Eubœa*, and make *Greece* and *Macedon* the seat of the war; but died before *Mitylene*, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could befal the *Persian* empire, having defeated the wise measures which he had proposed; for *Darius* not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprize, the only one that could have saved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and entirely depend upon his eastern armies. These he appointed to as-

*Darius's army mustered at Babylon.*

semble at *Babylon*, and having set up his standard there, and mustered his forces, he found that they amounted in all to the number of four, five or six hundred thousand men, according to the various accounts of authors [b].

f The news of *Memnon*'s death confirmed *Alexander* in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of *Upper Asia*. Accordingly he marched with all possible expedition into *Cilicia*, and arriving at a place called *Cyrus*'s camp (whether from *Cyrus* the Great, as *Curtius* tells, or from the younger, as we read in *Arrian*, is uncertain) about fifty stades distant from the straits of *Cilicia*, he was informed, that the enemy guarded that important pass with a considerable body of troops. Whereupon, leaving *Parmenio* there, he marched in person at the first watch to surprize them; but the *Persians*, having intelligence of his design, be-

[a] Arrian. l. ii. sub. initio. Diodor. ub. sup. † See hereafter Vol. III. p. 330, & seq. [b] Vide Plut. in Alexand. Arrian. l. ii. c. 6. Justin. l. xi. c. 9. Curt. l. iii. c. 4.

Alexander *takes the important pass call'd* Cyrus's Camp.

took themselves to flight, and abandoned the pass, which *Alexander* entered, and after viewing with attention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned that he might have been stopped with great ease, seeing the road was so narrow, that four men could scarce pass abreast, and so broke in several places, and encumbered by large stones rolling down from the mountains, that a very small number of resolute men might have kept back with no other weapons but stones a more numerous army. From the straits of *Cilicia* the whole army marched to the city of *Tarsus*, where they arrived the instant the *Persians* were setting fire to the place, in order to prevent the *Macedonians* from enriching themselves with the plunder of so wealthy and flourishing a city. They arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and save the city from utter destruction [a].

Tarsus *preserved from being burnt.*

In the mean time *Darius* had begun his march at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vast plains of *Mesopotamia* (U). Here the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him. But *Darius* would not hearken to their advice, hastening blindly to the mountainous parts of *Cilicia*, where his cavalry and the number of his troops would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any service in an engagement [b].

Darius's *march into* Cilicia.

*The pompous order of his march.*

The order he observed in his march was as follows. Before the army was carried on silver altars, the sacred and eternal fire, as they called it, attended by the *Mages*, singing hymns after the manner of their country, and three hundred and sixty-five youths in scarlet robes. After these came a chariot consecrated to *Jupiter* drawn by white horses, and followed by one of an extraordinary size, whom they called the horse of the sun; all the equerries were cloathed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the van-guard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, and all armed in a different manner; this body of horse was followed by another of foot, called by the *Persians immortal*, because if any of them died, his place was immediately supplied by another; they were ten thousand in number, and remarkable for the sumptuousness of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were cloathed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves garnished with precious stones. About 30 paces distance came the king's relations or cousins, to the number of 15,000, apparelled like women, and surpassing even the *immortal* body in the pomp and richness of their attire; they were honoured with the title of the king's cousins, and possibly several of the king's relations were in this body. After these came *Darius* himself attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne; the chariot was supported on both sides by the gods of his nation cast in pure gold; from the middle of the beam, which was set with jewels, rose two statues of pure gold, a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, and both shaded with the wings of a spread eagle of the same metal. The king was cloathed with a garment of purple striped with silver, wearing over that a long robe enriched with a great number of precious stones; and the scabbard of his scimitar, as our author tells us, was made out of a single precious stone. On either side of the king walked 200 of his nearest relations, followed by 10,000 horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipt with gold; after these marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and lastly 400 led horses belonging to the king. At a small distance followed *Sysigambis*, the king's mother, and his consort, both seated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horse-back, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who were charged with the care of their education. Next to these were the royal concubines to the number of 360, all attired like so many queens; they were followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of bow-men. This pageant march was closed by a great many chariots carrying the wives of the crown-officers and lords of the court, and guarded by some companies of foot lightly armed [c].

*His chariot described.*

*His guard.*

*His household and retinue.*

[a] Arrian. l. ii. Curt. l. iii. c. 8. [b] Arrian. & Curt. ibid. [c] Arrian. & Curt. ibi supra.

(U) Contrary to the wholesome advice of *Chabidemus*, whom *Alexander* had banished from *Athens*, and who advised *Darius* not to march against him in person, but to commit the care of his army, which needed not to consist of above 100,000 men and one third of them mercenaries, to some experienced general. But for this he became so obnoxious to the king and his lords, that he was immediately put to death †.

† *Diodor. l.* xvii. *Q. Curt. l.* iii. *c.* 5.

*Alexander,*

a *Alexander*, upon advice that *Darius* was advancing towards the *Euphrates* in order to enter *Cilicia*, detached *Parmenio* to possess himself of another narrow pass (W) leading from *Assyria*, or rather *Syria*, into *Cilicia*. As for himself he marched from *Tarsus* to *Anchialos*, and thence to *Soli*, which city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refused at first to admit him into their city, to pay 20,000 talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at *Castabala*, a small city not far from mount *Amanus*, news was brought him, that *Darius* with his whole army was advanced as far as the city of *Socbus* in *Syria* within two days march of *Cilicia*. Hereupon *Alexander* summoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army should march the next day, and wait for *Da-*
b *rius* among the mountains of *Cilicia*; which they did accordingly, encamping on a spot of ground, which was but just wide enough for two small armies to act in, and so reduced both in some degree to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the *Persian* camp that *Alexander* had halted in the midst of the mountains, the *Greek* commanders, who served in *Darius*'s army, advised him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of *Mesopotamia*, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the same time and surround the enemy; whereas within those straits there not being room any where to draw up above 30,000 men in battle-array the *Macedonians* could bring all their men to engage, and the *Persians* not the twentieth
c part of theirs. If he did not approve of this council, they then advised him to divide his army into several bodies, and not to put all to the chance of one battle. But his adverse fate did not suffer him to follow so wholesome an advice; nay, the courtiers did here again traduce those, who had suggested it, as traitors, telling *Darius* that they advised him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after such a separation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands whatever should be in their power. However, *Darius* thanked the *Greeks* for their zeal and good-will, and even condescended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The courtiers had made him believe that *Alexander* was flying before him, and that therefore he ought to march
d forward with all possible expedition, and fall upon him while entangled in those straits, lest he should make his escape. Upon this it was agreed in a council of all the *Persian* generals, that they should engage the enemy in the narrow passes, the Gods, says our *historian* [1], blinding that prince, that they might pave a way to the destruction of the *Persian* empire. *Darius* having sent his treasures and most valuable moveables to *Damascus* in *Syria* under a small convoy, led the main body of the army towards the straits of mount *Amanus*, through which he entered *Cilicia*, and advanced as far as the city of *Issus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was behind; for he had been told, that the *Macedonians* were retired in great disorder into *Syria*. In the city of *Issus* he barbarously put to death the sick and wounded *Macedo-*
e *nians* that had been left there by *Parmenio*, sparing only a few, whom he dismissed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witnesses of the immense number of his forces. These brought *Alexander* word of *Darius*'s approach, which he could scarce believe, though he desired nothing more earnestly. However having offered a sacrifice to the gods of the place, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of *Issus*, bounded on one side by the mountains, and by the sea on the other. Here *Darius*, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the *Macedonians* by reason of the narrowness of the place, could dispose of his great army no otherwise than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first line, and that recoiling
f upon the second, and the second again upon the third, and so on, the whole *Persian* army was put in disorder; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the advantage by pressing forward, the confusion was increased to such a degree, that even the bravest among the *Persians*, who were desirous to signalize themselves, could neither stand their

Soli *taken, and fined.*

*The* Greek *generals advice to* Darius *rejected.*

*The battle of* Issus. *Year of the flood* 2666. *Before Christ* 333.

*The* Persians *straitned, and put into disorder.*

[1] Arrian. l. ii. Curt. l. iii. c. 11.

(W) For the clearer understanding of *Alexander*'s march, and that of *Darius*, we must distinguish three straits, the first leading from *Cappadocia* into *Cilicia*, through which *Alexander* marched his army; the second leading from *Cilicia* into *Syria*, which *Parmenio* took possession of; and the third called the straits of mount *Amanus* lying to the north of the pass of *Syria*; through this *Darius*'s army from *Assyria* entered *Cilicia*.

ground,

ground, nor manage their arms. As the croud, which was made in the flight of a so numerous an army, was very great, those who fell that day were for the most part trampled to death by their own men as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with much difficulty got out of the croud, and fled in his chariot to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horse-back, and persued his flight, leaving behind him his bow, his shield and royal mantle. *Alexander* was prevented from following him by the *Greek* mercenaries, who charging the *Macedonian* phalanx with incredible bravery, killed *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus* with 120 officers of distinction, besides a great many private men, and though attacked in flank by *Alexander* in person, maintained their ground till they were from twenty reduced to eight thousand. They retired then in good order over the mountains b towards *Tripoli* in *Syria*, where finding the transports that had conveyed them from *Lesbos*, lying on the shore, they fitted out such a number as suited their purpose, and sailed to *Cyprus*, after having burnt the rest to prevent their being pursued. *Alexander* no sooner saw them put to flight than he hastened after *Darius*; but growing weary of the pursuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. *Sysigambis*, *Darius's* mother, and his wife, who was also his sister, with his son *Ochus* not full six years old, and his two daughters both marriageable, and besides some noblemens daughters, who attended them, were found in the camp and taken prisoners. The rest had been sent to *Damascus*, with part of *Darius's* treasure, and all the rich furniture, which the *Persian* c monarchs used to carry with them into the field; so that in the camp they found only three thousand talents of silver; but the rest of the treasures fell afterwards into the hands of *Parmenio* at his taking the city of *Damascus*[a]. In this engagement the *Persians* lost, according to *Arrian*[b], 10,000 horse, and 90,000 foot, and with him other writers agree as to the number of the horse; but as to the foot, they all vary not only from him, but from each other, some making the number of the dead amount to 80, others to 90, others to 100, and some to 120 thousand, adding that 40,000 were taken prisoners, while *Alexander*, according to the highest computation, lost in all but 300 men[b].

*Darius put to flight.*

*The Greek mercenaries obstinate bravery.*

*The Persian camp seized and plundered.*

*Their loss.*

The next day *Alexander*, after visiting the wounded, caused the dead to be d buried in great pomp in the presence of the whole army, which was drawn up in battle-array. The same honours he paid to the manes of the *Persians* of rank, and allowed *Darius's* mother to bury as many as she pleased according to the customs and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princess used that permission with great modesty and reserve, burying only a few, who were her near relations. *Alexander* treated her and the other captive princesses with great humanity; they were, says *Plutarch*[c], in *Alexander's* camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a holy temple designed for the asylum of virtue, they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion, but such as were appointed to attend them. As *Darius's* consort and her two daughters were prin- e cesses of an extraordinary beauty, *Alexander* after the first visit resolved never to see them any more, that his frailty might not expose him to any danger. This memorable circumstance we find in a letter which he wrote to *Parmenio*, commanding him to put to death certain *Macedonians* who had abused the wives of some captives. In short, he used them with such respect, good-nature and humanity, that nothing but their captivity could make them sensible of their misfortune[d].

*Alexander's noble treatment of Darius's family.*

*Alexander*, seeing himself now master of the field, detached *Parmenio* to *Damascus*, where *Darius's* treasures were lodged, with the *Thessalian* horse. As he was on his march thither, he met with a messenger sent by the governor of that city with a letter to *Alexander*, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. The fourth day f *Parmenio* arrived at *Damascus*, when the governor, pretending that he was not able to defend the city against a victorious army, caused by day-break a vast number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure and rich furniture, as if he intended to retire and save them for his master, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with *Parmenio*, who had opened the letter directed to the king. At the first sight of the forces, which this general headed, the *Persians* who convoyed the treasures betook themselves to flight, and

*Damascus and Darius's treasure betrayed to Alexander.*

[a] Plut. in Alex. Curt. l. iii. Arrian. l. ii. Diodor. l. xvii. [b] Arrian. ubi supra. [c] Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian. Curt. Justin. ubi supra. [d] Plut. de fortuna Alexandri. [e] Plut. ibid.

left

a left the *Macedonians* masters of all the gold and silver that was designed to pay so numerous an army. Among the prisoners of distinction taken in the city were three young princesses, daughters of *Ochus*, who had reigned before *Darius*, and his widow; the daughter of *Oxathres*, brother to *Darius*; the wife of *Artabazus* or *Artabanus*, the greatest lord at court, with his son *Ilioneus*; the wife of *Pharnabazus*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of all the cities on the coast; three daughters of *Mentor*; the wife and son of *Memnon*, that illustrious and renowned commander, insomuch that there was scarce one noble family in all *Persia*, which did not share in this calamity. Besides, the immense treasures which the *Macedonians* had already taken, they found in the city 2600 talents in ready money, and 500 in bullion, b which was afterwards coined; they took 30,000 prisoners, and with the plunder of the city loaded 7000 camels. The *Thessalian* horse had the best share of this booty, having been sent by *Alexander* on this expedition that they might enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city, in regard they had distinguished themselves above the rest in the late engagement[e]. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to *Darius*[f].

After this victory *Alexander* marched into *Syria*, most of the cities of that country voluntarily submitting to the conqueror, and even *Darius*'s governors and commanders delivering themselves and their treasures up into his hands. Being arrived at *Marathon*, he received a letter from *Darius*, in which he stiled himself c king without bestowing that title on *Alexander*. He rather commanded than entreated him to ask what sum he pleased for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children; and as to their dispute about empire, they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops; but if he were still capable of wholesome counsel, he would advise him to be contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another, to which he had no right; that for the future they should live in friendship and amity, and that he was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and receive *Alexander*'s oath. This letter, which was wrote with such an unseasonable pride and haughtiness, provoked *Alexander* to a great degree, who therefore in his answer began thus; *Alexander the king to Darius*; he then enumerates d the many injuries and calamities which the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had suffered from the *Persians*, repoaches that nation with the base and treacherous murder of his father *Philip*, and *Darius* in particular with setting a price upon his his own head; whence he concludes that he is not the aggressor, but has taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father, and the injuries done to his country; and that the gods, who always declare for the just cause, approved of this war, he shews from the success that attended it, since with their protection he had already subdued great part of *Asia*, and defeated the mighty host of the *Persians* in a pitched battle with a handful of men. However he engaged his word that he would restore to him his wife, mother and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a suppli- e ant, and humbly begged him to give them their liberty, assuring him that he might do it without the least danger. He concluded by desiring him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addressed a king, but his king. *Thessippus* was ordered to carry this letter[g].

*Alexander* marched from thence into *Phœnice*, where the citizens of *Biblos* opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by other cities in proportion as he advanced into the country; but none received him with greater joy then the *Sidonians*, whose city *Ochus* had laid in ashes about eighteen years before, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. Since that time they bore such a hatred to the *Persian* name, that they were overjoy'd at this opportunity of shaking off the yoke; f and indeed were the first in *Phœnice*, who submitted to *Alexander* by their deputies, in opposition to *Strabo* their king, who was in the *Persian* interest. *Alexander* deposed him, and permitted *Hephæstion* to elect in his room whomsoever of the *Sidonians* he should judge worthy of so exalted a station[h], as we have elsewhere related at length[i].

While *Alexander* was in *Phœnice*, some of the *Persian* generals, who had escaped from the battle at *Issos*, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted

[e] Plutarch. de fort. & Curt. l. iii. c. 25. [f] Curt. ibid. [g] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. xi. c. 10. [h] Curt. l. iv. c. 2. Justin. l. xi. c. 10. [i] Vol. I. p. 412.

 with

with the assistance of the *Cappadocians* and *Paphlagonians* to recover *Lydia*; but a
were in several engagements routed, and at last intirely dispersed by *Antigonus*, whom *Alexander* had appointed governor of that province. At the same time the *Macedonian* fleet sailing from *Greece* fell in with that of the enemies commanded by *Aristomenes*, whom *Darius* had sent to recover the cities on the *Hellespont*, and attacked them so briskly that not one single ship escaped[k].

All *Syria* and *Phœnice* were already subdued, except the city of *Tyre*, which he besieged and took by assault after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for seven whole months, as we have related in the history of *Phœnice*[l].

While *Alexander* was carrying on the siege of *Tyre*, he received a second letter from *Darius*, who at last condescended to give him the title of king; he offered him b
ten thousand talents by way of ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter *Statira* in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the *Euphrates*; he put him in mind of the inconstancy of fortune, and set out in most pompous terms the vast number of troops he could still bring into the field; he represented the difficulties he might meet with in crossing the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Araxes*, and the *Hydaspes*, which were so many barriers to the *Persian* empire; that he would not have always the opportunity of shutting himself up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged some time or other to engage in an open and champain country, where he would be ashamed to appear before him with a handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter *Alexander* summoned a council, in which c
*Parmenio* was of opinion, that he ought to accept the offers of *Darius*, declaring that he would agree to them, were he *Alexander*; and so would I, replied *Alexander*, were I *Parmenio*. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he answered, that he did not want the money *Darius* offered him; that it did not become him to offer what he no longer possessed, nor pretend to dispose of what he had already lost; that if he was the only person who did not know which of the two was the best commander, a battle would soon determine it; that he should not be frightened with rivers after having crossed the sea, and would not fail to pursue *Darius*, and come up with him at last to what place soever he should think proper to retire[m]. *Darius* upon the receipt of this letter lost all hopes of an accommodation, and began anew d
to prepare for war.

*The city of Gaza besieged, and taken by Alexander.*

*Alexander* having reduced *Tyre*, marched from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from *Jerusalem* to *Gaza*. On his arrival at that city he found it defended by a strong garrison under the command of *Betis*, or as some call him *Babemesis*[n], one of *Darius*'s eunuchs, who being a man of great experience in military affairs, and very faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out against *Alexander* till he was reduced to the last extremities. As this place was the only inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not pass thither till he was become master of it, and therefore was forced to besiege it. But notwithstanding his men behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his commanders exerted the utmost of military skill, yet it cost him and his e
whole army two entire months to reduce it. The stop which this put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds, which he received in the siege, provoked him to such a degree, that on his taking the place he treated the commander, inhabitants and soldiers in a manner no-ways becoming a conqueror. For having cut 10,000 of them in pieces, he sold the rest with their wives and children for slaves. When *Betis*, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly deserved, and a generous enemy ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city till he expired; bragging that herein he imitated his f
progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* relates, caused the dead body of *Hector* to be thus dragged round the walls of *Troy*, as though a man ought ever to take pride in imitating a bad example. Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of *Alexander* much more so; for *Achilles* caused only *Hector*'s dead body to be so abused, whereas *Alexander* thus treated *Betis*, while alive, and for no other reason but because he had served his sovereign with fidelity in the post committed to his charge, which even *Alexander*, though an enemy, would have admired and rewarded,

[k] Curt. l. iv. c. 4. [l] Vol. I. p. 418. [m] Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101. [n] Joseph. Antiquit. l. xi. c. ult.

had

a had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity the rule of his actions; but his sentiments and conduct began now to change with his fortune [o]. He sent great part of the booty he found in the city to *Olympias*, to *Cleopatra* and his friends, and having left a garrison there, he marched directly for *Egypt*, and in seven days arrived before *Pelusium*, where he was met by great numbers of *Egyptians*, who flocked thither to make their submission to him. The hatred they bore to the *Persians* was such, that they willingly embraced all opportunities of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, and seemed not to care by whom they were governed, provided they could but meet with one who were able to rescue them from that insolence and indignity with which the *Persians* treated them and their religion. *Ochus* had slain b their god *Apis* in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the *Persian* governors treated their gods in the same manner; which raised their indignation to such a height, that when *Amyntas* (X) came thither a little before with a handful of men, he found them ready to join him in driving out the *Persians*. *Alexander* therefore no sooner appeared on the frontiers, but the *Egyptians* flocked to him from all parts, and received him with open arms. His arrival at the head of a powerful and victorious army gave them secure protection, which they could not promise themselves from *Amyntas*, and on this consideration they openly declared, without reserve, in his favour. Hereupon *Mazæus*, who commanded in *Memphis*, seeing he was not in a condition to oppose this general insurrection, opened the gates to c the conqueror, and put him in possession of the metropolis of that kingdom, with 800 talents, and all the king's rich furniture [p]. Thus *Alexander*, without any opposition, became master of all *Egypt*. Egypt *submits to* Alexander.

At *Memphis Alexander* formed a design of visiting the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, and in his way thither built *Alexandria*, which soon became the metropolis of that kingdom. On his return from the temple he settled the affairs of *Egypt*, and marched from thence in the beginning of the spring to find out *Darius*. On his return into *Phœnice* he staid some time at *Tyre*, that he might there settle the affairs of the countries, which he was to leave behind him before he set out to make new conquests; and having ordered matters as he thought fit, he began his march, d and with his whole army arrived at *Thapsacus*, where he crossed the *Euphrates*, and continued his march towards the *Tigris* in quest of the enemy. *Darius* in the mean time, after several overtures for a peace, finding that there was no hopes of an accommodation unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make the necessary preparations for another engagement. For this purpose having assembled at *Babylon* an army half as numerous again as that with which he fought at *Issus*, (for it consisted of 110,000 men) he took the field, and marched towards *Nineveh*. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached *Satropates* commander of the cavalry, at the head of a thousand chosen horse, and *Mazæus* governor of that province, with six thousand, to prevent *Alexander* from crossing the *Tigris*, and to lay waste the country through which he was to pass. But they came too late, e *Alexander* having with the utmost difficulty crossed the river a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river, during which time there happened an eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the *Macedonians*, that they refused to proceed in their march, crying out, that heaven displayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged against the will of the gods to the utmost extremities of the earth, and that even the moon refused to lend them her usual light.

[o] Curt. l. iv. c. 10. Arrian. l. ii. prope finem. Plut. in Alex. p. 679. [p] Curt. l. iv. c. 20. Justin. l. xi. c. 11. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104--110. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 526--529.

(X) This *Amyntas* having fled from *Alexander* to *Darius* was one of the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries at the battle of *Issus*, from whence having brought off 4000 of his men, he got safe to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, where he imbarked, as we have related above, and sailed first to *Cyprus*, and then to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, which city he seized, making the garrison believe that he had been appointed governor of *Egypt* in the room of *Sabaces* who had been killed in the battle of *Issus*. Assoon as he found himself possessed of this important place, he threw off the mask, and declared his design of seizing *Egypt* for himself, and driving the *Persians* from thence. Whereupon the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Persians*, readily joined him, and he, having formed a considerable army, marched directly for *Memphis*, where he defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle, and shut them up in the city. But after this victory, permitting his soldiers to straggle up and down the country in quest of booty, the *Persians* sallied out upon them thus dispersed, and cut them all to pieces with *Amyntas* their leader (82).

(82) *Arrian. l.* ii. *Curt. l.* iv. *c.* 3. *Diodor. l.* xvii. *p.* 587, 588.

Hereupon

Hereupon *Alexander*, having summoned the officers of the army into his tent, com- a
manded the *Egyptian* soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. These were well acquainted with the natural causes of eclipses, but without entering into such enquiries, they replied that the sun was predominant in *Greece*, and the moon in *Persia*, whence as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This answer being immediately spread abroad among the soldiers it revived their hopes and courage; and *Alexander* taking advantage of this ardor, began his march after midnight, having on his right the *Tigris*, and the *Gordyæan* mountains on his left[q]. At day-break the scouts he had sent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that *Darius* was on full march to meet him; whereupon he immediately drew up his forces, and put himself at the head of the b
army. But as they drew near, he found that it was only a detachment of 1000 horse, which as the *Macedonians* advanced, retired in great haste to the main army; they were pursued by *Aristo*, commander of the *Pæonian* horse, who having defeated that body and killed *Satropates* their leader, brought back his head, and threw it down at *Alexander*'s feet, telling him that in his country such a present was usually rewarded with a cup of gold. *Alexander* replied smiling, with an empty one, but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine[r]. Not long after *Alexander* received intelligence, that *Darius* was not above 150 furlongs off; whereupon he halted to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great store of provisions. During this time he intercepted some letters wrote by *Darius* to the c
*Greeks*, solliciting them with great promises either to kill or to betray *Alexander*. The king was in doubt with himself whether he should read them in a full assembly, for he relied as much on the fidelity of the *Greeks* as on that of the *Macedonians*; but *Parmenio* dissuaded him from it, telling him that even the raising of such thoughts in the minds of soldiers might be attended with some danger, and that the hopes of a great reward was capable of prompting a man to attempt the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forward[s]. He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought him word, that *Statira* *Darius*'s wife was dead, whereupon he immediately returned, and entering the pavilion, where *Sysigambis* and the other royal prisoners were kept, comforted them in d
so kind and tender a manner as plainly shewed his deep concern. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princess to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence, which *Darius* hearing, and at the same time being informed with what respect *Alexander* had treated her in her life-time, he is said to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the fates for the transferring of the *Persian* empire into other hands was come, none might sit on the throne of *Cyrus*, but so just, so merciful, so generous a conqueror as *Alexander*[t]. And although he had twice sued in vain for peace, yet being overcome by the tenderness and humanity, which *Alexander* had shewn his wife, mother, and children, dispatched ten of his relations as embassadors, offering him new conditions of peace more advantagious than the e
former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had indulged his family. He had in his former proposals offered him all the provinces of *Asia* as far as the *Halys*; but now he added the countries lying between the *Hellespont* and the *Euphrates*, that is, whatever *Alexander* was already master of, and offered 30000 talents by way of ransom for his family. *Parmenio* again advised *Alexander* to accept of the conditions, telling him that the provinces between the *Euphrates* and the *Hellespont* would be a great addition to the kingdom of *Macedon*, and that the *Persian* prisoners were only an incumbrance to the army, whereas the treasure offered for their ransom might be employed for the use of his troops, or serve to reward f
the services of his friends. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following answer to the embassadors; that the clemency he had shewn to the wife and children of *Darius* proceeded from his own good nature, without any regard to their master; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon such only as appeared in arms against him; that if *Darius* had sued for peace in good earnest, he would have hearkened to his proposals; but since he continued to spirit up, with large bribes, his own soldiers to murder or betray him, he could not believe that his offers were sincere, and therefore was determined to pursue him with the utmost vigour, not as a fair enemy, but as a traitor and assassin; that as

[q] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 24. [r] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 23. Plut. in Alex.
[s] Curt. l. iv. c. 25. [t] Curt. & Plutarch. ibidem.

to

a to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own, and if *Darius* could force him to retire beyond the *Euphrates*, which he had already crossed, he might then offer them as his; that he proposed to himself, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all those kingdoms which *Darius* still enjoyed; wherein whether he flattered himself with a vain hope or no, the next day's engagement should determine. He concluded by telling the embassadors, that he was come into *Asia* to give and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns, and therefore if *Darius* would submit to him, acknowledging him his lord and sovereign, he would then hearken to proposals[u]. The embassadors returned back, and told b *Darius* that he must prepare for an engagement; whereupon that prince encamped near a village called *Gaugamela*; in a large plain at a considerable distance from the city of *Arbela*, having before-hand levelled the ground that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease. *Alexander* hearing that *Darius* was so near, continued four days in his camp to rest the army, and surrounded it with deep trenches and pallisades, being determined to leave there his baggage and such of his men as were indisposed. He set out about the second watch with a design to engage the enemy at break of day, and arriving at a rising ground whence he could discover their whole army, he halted and summoned a council, being in doubt whether he should encamp there or immediately fall upon the enemy. *Parmenio* c advised him to attack their camp in the night-time, alledging, that they might easily be defeated, if taken by surprize, and in the dark; but the king answered, that it did not become *Alexander* to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. Accordingly he encamped there in the same order in which the army had marched, and after giving the proper orders he retired to repose the remaining part of the night, but being under no small concern he could not sleep till towards the morning, so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly surprized to find that he was not yet awake. *Parmenio* after waiting some time thought fit to call him, and seeming amazed that he should sleep so sound when he was upon the point of hazarding d a battle, on which depended the empire of *Asia*, *Alexander* told him that *Darius*, by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might pursue them into different countries[w]. He then without delay put on his armour, mounted on horse-back, and having drawn up his men in battle-array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who was at a very small distance.

Both armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the center, and the cavalry on the wings; *Darius*'s front was covered with 200 chariots armed with scythes, and 25 elephants. Besides his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had posted the *Grecian* infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the *Macedonian* phalanx. As his army took up a far greater space e of ground than *Alexander*'s, his design was to surround and charge them at the same time in front and flank; which *Alexander* suspecting, ordered those, who led the wings, to extend them as wide as possible without weakening the center. His baggage and the captives, among whom were *Darius*'s mother and children, were left in the camp under a small guard. *Parmenio* commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and *Alexander* the right. When the two armies were in sight of each other, the *Macedonians* halted, waiting till the enemies should advance to attack them, which they did accordingly, *Darius* himself charging in the first line. *Arrian* and *Curtius*[x] describe this battle at length; they tell us that the *Persians* were often repulsed, but returned again to the charge; that victory inclined some-f times to one side, and sometimes to another; that *Parmenio*, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground; that *Alexander*'s rear was put in disorder, and the baggage taken; that both kings wrought wonders, *&c.* But after all *Curtius* tells us, that the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the great opposition they met with, lost only 300 men, and *Arrian* allows not a third of that number slain; whereas of the *Persians* there fell 40,000, says *Curtius*, 30,000 according to *Arrian*, and 90,000, if we believe *Diodorus*. From these accounts, we can form no other judgment of this great encounter, but that the *Persians* at the very first onset betook themselves to flight, and the *Macedonians*

[u] Curt. l. iv. c. 26. Justin. l. xi. c. 12. [w] Justin. l. xi. c. xiii. Curt. l. iv. c. 3--31. Plut. in Alex. [x] Arrian, l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 25, & seq.

purſued them: for had the ſeven or eight hundred thouſand men, which *Darius* a
brought into the field, thrown each one dart or a ſtone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the empire of the eaſt at ſo eaſy a rate. In the heat of the battle, whenthe *Macedonians* were in the greateſt danger, *Ariſtander* the ſoothſayer cloathed in his white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the firſt ranks, and in concert with *Alexander* to have cryed out that he ſaw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a ſure omen of victory; he pointed with his finger at the pretended bird, and the ſoldiers believing him, and ſome even fancying they ſaw it, renewed the attack with more courage and reſolution than ever. We are told that *Darius* ſeeing his numerous army put ſo ſhamefully to flight, drew his ſcimeter, and was ſome time in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould b
lay violent hands on himſelf, rather than fly in ſo ignominious a manner, but at laſt reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight, and arrived at *Arbela* the ſame night (Y). After he had paſſed the *Lycus*, ſome, who attended him in his flight, adviſed him to break down the bridge in order to ſtop the enemy's purſuit; but he reflecting how many of his own men were haſtening to paſs over the ſame bridge, replyed, that he had rather leave an open way to a purſuing enemy, than ſhut it to a flying friend[y] (Z). He arrived about midnight at *Arbela*, whither he was followed by a great many of his nobles and commanding officers, whom he called together, and acquainted them that he deſigned to leave all for the preſent to *Alexander* and fly into *Media*, from whence and from the reſt of the northern provinces c
he could draw together new forces to try once more his fortune in battle. *Alexander* purſued him as far as *Arbela*, but before his arrival there, he was by the quickneſs of his flight got over the mountains of *Armenia*, attended by ſome of his relations, and a ſmall body of guards called *Melophori*, becauſe each of them bore a golden apple on the point of their ſpear. In *Armenia* he was joined by 2000 *Greek* mercenaries, who under the command of *Pharon* an *Ionian*, and *Glaucus* an *Eolian* had eſcaped from the battle. *Alexander* took the city of *Arbela*, where he ſeized on immenſe ſums of money, with all *Darius*'s rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army ſome days of reſt, he ſet out on his march to *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was governor of that city and province, and had d
after the late battle retired thither with the ſcattered remains of the body he commanded. But on the approach of *Alexander*'s victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppoſe him; marching therefore out to meet him, he delivered the city and himſelf with his children into the conqueror's hands. *Bagaphanes* governor of the caſtle, where all *Darius*'s treaſures were lodged, did the ſame, and *Alexander* entred the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching againſt an enemy. After a ſtay of 30 days in that city, he continued *Mazæus* in the government of that province, but giving the command of the caſtle and garriſon to a *Macedonian*, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched towards *Suſa*, where he arrived twenty days after his departure from *Babylon*. As he drew e
near the city, *Abulites* governor of the place, ſent his ſon to meet him, and acquaint him that he was ready to deliver the city and all the king's treaſures into his hands. The king received the young nobleman with great marks of kindneſs, and uſing him as a guide, advanced to the river *Choaſpes*, where *Abulites* himſelf met him with preſents worthy of ſo great a prince; among other things he preſented him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible ſwiftneſs, and twelve elephants,

[y] Curt. l. iv. c. 36, 37. Justin. l. xi. c. 14.

(Y) This battle was fought at *Gaugamela* near the river *Bumelus*, as *Ptolemy Lagi* and *Ariſtobulus*, who were preſent, aver; they are followed both by *Strabo* (83), and *Plutarch* (84), and nevertheleſs becauſe *Gaugamela* was only a ſmall village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, ſignifying the *camels houſe*, the battle is ſaid to have been fought at *Arbela*, which was a great and famous city in thoſe parts (85). *Gaugamela* and *Arbela* were at a conſiderable diſtance from each other; for between the river *Bumelus* on which ſtood *Gaugamela*, and the *Lycus*, on the banks of which *Arbela* was ſituated; *Curtius* reckons 80 furlongs (86). According to *Strabo*'s deſcription of thoſe places *Arbela* in *Ptolemy*'s fifth map of *Aſia* ought to be placed where we find *Gaugamela* (87).

(Z) In *Juſtin* we read *Cydnus* inſtead of *Lycus*, which laſt river runs through the city of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; and hence it is, that *Oroſius*, who ever follows *Juſtin*, was led into ſo groſs a miſtake as to think, that this great battle was fought at *Tarſus* (88).

(83) *Strabo, lib.* 26. *p.* 737. (84) *Plut. in Alexand.* (85) *Arrian. l.* 6. *p.* 101. *Strabo, ubi ſupra.* (86) *Curt. l.* iv. c. 20. (87) *Vide Strab. l.* ii. p. 79. (88) *Oroſ. l.* iii. c. 17.

which

a which *Darius* had sent for out of *India*. Having entred this city, the governor delivered up to him 50,000 talents in bullion, and 40,000 in ready money, with all the king's furniture to an immense value. Here he found part of the rarities, which *Xerxes* had brought out of *Greece*, namely the brazen statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which he sent to *Athens*, where they were still standing in *Arrian*'s time. As for the purple and scarlet robes he sent them all to *Sysigambis*, together with some others curiously wrought, which had been sent him out of *Macedon*; adding in his message to her, that if she liked the *Macedonian* robes, he would send her those who had wrought them that her grand-children might learn the art by way of amusement. At these words she could not help betraying some concern and unea-
b sinesS, it being looked upon by the *Persian* women as mean and unbecoming to employ themselves in works of nature; which when *Alexander* understood, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done; and accordingly went immediately to wait upon her, and beg that she would not consider that as an affront, which was entirely owing to his ignorance of the *Persian* manners; adding, that the robes he then wore were not only a present from his sisters, but wrought with their own hands[a].

*Alexander* having thus comforted *Sysigambis*, took his leave of her, and leaving a strong garrison in the city of *Susa*, advanced towards the province of *Persis*. He arrived in four days march on the banks of the *Pasitigris*, which river he crossed with
c 9000 foot and 4000 horse, and entred the country of the *Uxians*. This province extends from *Susiana* to the frontiers of *Persis*, and was governed by one *Madates*, who had married the niece of *Sysigambis*. *Madates*, who was not, like the other *Persian* governors, a time-server, but faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out to the last extremity, and with this design retired into a strong hold in the midst of craggy mountains, and surrounded on all sides by steep precipices. Here he held out for some time with great bravery, and, when the city was taken by assault, withdrew into the citadel, whence, seeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he sent 30 deputies to *Alexander* to treat of a surrender. The king, who was greatly provoked against *Madates*, would not at first hearken to any proposals; but in the
d mean time receiving letters from *Sysigambis*, wherein she intreated him to pardon her relations, he not only complied with her request, but set all the prisoners at liberty, restored *Madates* to his former dignity, left the city untouched, and the *citizens* in the full enjoyment of their antient liberty and privileges[b].

Having reduced the *Uxians*, he ordered *Parmenio* with part of his army to march through the plain, while he himself at the head of the light-armed foot advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of *Persia*. The fifth day he arrived at the straits of *Persia*. These *Ariobarzanes* held with 4000 foot and 700 horse, which he had posted on the tops of the hills out of the enemies reach. As soon as *Alexander* advanced to attack him, the *Persians* from the tops of the moun-
e tains rolled down stones of such a prodigious size, that they crushed at once whole ranks. The king being greatly frightened at this sight, commanded a retreat to be sounded, and withdrew about 30 furlongs from the pass, where he lay encamped some time, not knowing how to advance, and being ashamed to return; but in the mean time a *Greek* deserter coming to his camp offered himself readily to conduct him through by-paths to the very top of the mountain, whence he might easily so annoy the *Persians* as to oblige them to abandon the straits, and leave an open passage to the whole army. He was as good as his word; for *Alexander* at the head of some chosen troops having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived a little before day-break at the top of a mountain, which com-
f manded all the hills where the enemies were posted; which they observing, betook themselves to flight; and at the same time *Craterus*, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, possessed himself of the straits. *Ariobarzanes* with part of the cavalry breaking through the *Macedonians* with great slaughter both of them and of his own men, made his escape over the mountains, with a design to throw himself into *Persepolis*; but finding all the passes leading to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon those that pursued him, and was killed with all those that followed him, after having cut in pieces great numbers of the *Macedonians*[c].

[a] Curt. l. v. c. 8. [b] Curt. l. v. c. 9. [c] Curt. Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra, & Polyenus, l. iv. stratagem.

Being

Being now possessed of the straits, *Alexander* pursued his march into *Persis* or *Persia*, properly so called. When he was some distance from *Persepolis* the metropolis of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting him that the citizens upon the news of his approach were ready to plunder *Darius*'s treasures, with which he had been intrusted, and desiring him to march with all possible expedition that he might seize them himself. *Alexander*, upon the receipt of this letter, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of the cavalry, and having passed the *Araxes* on a bridge, which by his order had been built some days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs of *Persepolis*. The next day having assembled the generals of his army, he represented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to *Greece* than *Persepolis*, the antient residence of the *Persian* monarchs, and the capital of their empire; that from thence those mighty armies had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste great part of *Europe*, and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to revenge on that proud metropolis the many injuries and calamities which their ancestors had suffered. The commanders being encouraged by this speech, allowed their soldiers to practise all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants, who were massacred in most barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, leaving *Craterus* and *Parmenio* in the place, the king with a small body went to reduce the neighbouring cities and strong holds, which all submitted at the approach of his troops; he then returned to *Persepolis*, and there took up his winter quarters. In this city he is said to have found 120,000 talents lodged in the treasury to defray the expences of the war [c].

During his stay at *Persepolis*, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, making daily great entertainments for his officers to refresh them after the great fatigues they had endured. In one of these entertainments both the king and his guests having drunk to excess, *Thais*, a famous *Athenian* courtezan, and at that time mistress to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards king of *Egypt*, proposed the burning of *Darius*'s palace, telling *Alexander*, with a gay air, that it would be matter of inexpressible joy to her, were she permitted to burn the stately palace of *Xerxes*, who had burnt *Athens*, and set it on fire with her own hands, that it might be said in all the parts of the world, that the woman, who had followed *Alexander* in his expedition to *Asia*, had revenged more severely the many calamities *Greece* had suffered from the *Barbarians*, than all the generals that had been employed against them. As the whole company was drunk, the proposal was received with general applause, and the king himself rising from table, and taking a torch in his hand followed *Thais*. The rest of the *Macedonians*, crouding at this noise to the palace, armed themselves, after the king's example, with lighted tapers, and surrounding the palace, burnt it with the city, for the flames could not be stopt, down to the ground [d]. Thus the most stately edifice in the world was, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, reduced to ashes.

From *Persepolis* *Alexander* marched early in the spring to *Pasargada*, resolved to pursue *Darius* who was fled to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. That unhappy prince had still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 *Greeks*, who continued faithful to the last. Besides these he had 4000 slingers, and 3000 horse, most of them *Bactrians*, and commanded by *Bessus* governor of *Bactria*. When he heard that *Alexander* was in full march towards *Ecbatan*, he left that city with a design to retire into *Bactria*, and there raise another army. But he was not far advanced when he altered his resolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces then about him. While he was making the necessary preparations for the engagement, *Bessus* governor of *Bactria* and *Nabarzanes* a *Persian* lord of great distinction, formed a conspiracy against him, proposing to seize his person, and if *Alexander* pursued them, to gain his friendship and protection by betraying their master into his hands; but if they escaped, their design was to murder him, usurp the crown, and renew the war. They easily won over the troops by representing to them, that *Darius* was dragging them to destruction, that they were no ways in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, that they would inevitably perish, if they followed *Darius*, crushed under the ruins of an empire which was

[c] Curt. l. v. c. 13. Justin. l. xi. c. 14. Arrian. l. iii. Justin. l. xi.

[d] Curt. l. v. c. 15. Diodor. Plut. in Alex.

ready

a ready to fall. Though these practices were carried on with great secrecy, yet they came to *Darius*'s ear, but he could not believe them. *Patron*, who commanded the *Greeks*, earnestly entreated him to encamp among them, and trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. *Darius* replied, that he had rather suffer any misfortune among those of his own nation, than seek for shelter among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them, and that he could not die too soon, if his own *Persians* thought him unworthy to live. Not long after *Darius* had occasion to repent his not following *Patron*'s advice; for *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* seizing his Person, bound him, out of respect to the royal dignity, in chains of gold, and shutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him b towards *Bactria*. The cart was covered with skins, and strangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the prisoner was they had in their custody [e]. *Bessus* was proclaimed commander in chief in *Darius*'s room, by the *Bactrian* horse; but *Artabazus* and his sons, with the forces they commanded, and the *Greeks* under the command of *Patron* retired from the body of the army under *Bessus*, and marched over the mountains towards *Parthiene* [f]. In the mean time *Alexander* arriving at *Ecbatan*, was informed that *Darius* had left that city five days before. Here the *Thessalians* shewing a great reluctancy to accompany him any further, he gave them leave to return to their own country, and at their parting divided 2000 talents among them over and above their full pay; to such as were willing to continue in c his service he gave three talents apiece [g]. He then commanded *Parmenio* to lay up in the castle of *Ecbatan* the remaining part of the treasures, which, according to *Strabo* [h], amounted to 180,000 talents, and afterwards to march with the *Thracians* and great part of the cavalry into the country of the *Cadusians*. He dispatched orders to *Clitus*, who had fallen sick at *Susa*, to repair, as soon as he recovered, to *Ecbatan*, and from thence to follow him into *Parthia* with the cavalry and 6000 *Macedonians*, that were left in *Ecbatan*. *Alexander* with the rest of his army pursued *Darius*, and the eleventh day arrived at *Rages*, having marched in that space of time 3300 furlongs. Most part of those who accompanied him died through the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; insomuch that on his arrival at *Rages*, d he could muster but 60 horse-men [i]. Finding that he could not come up with *Darius*, who had already passed the *Caspian* straits, he staid five days at *Rages* in order to refresh his army, and settle the affairs of *Media*. From thence he marched into *Parthia*, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the *Caspian* straits, which he passed the next without any opposition. He had scarce entered *Parthia* when he was informed by *Bagisthenes* a *Persian* nobleman, that *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* had conspired against *Darius*, and designed to seize him. Hereupon leaving the main body of the army behind under the command of *Craterus*, he advanced with a small troop of horse lightly armed, and having marched night and day without ever halting except a few hours, came the third day to a village where *Bessus* with his *Bactrians* e had encamped the day before. Here he understood that *Darius* had been seized by the traitors; that *Bessus* had caused him to be shut up in a close cart, which he had sent before that he might be the surer of his person, and that the whole army, except *Artabazus* and the *Greeks*, who had taken another rout, obeyed *Bessus*, and acknowledged him for their general. This was a fresh motive for *Alexander* to hasten his march; taking therefore along with him a small body of light-armed horse, for the others could not possibly proceed any further, he set out again the same night, and early next morning was acquainted by *Orcillus* and *Mithracenes* two *Persian* Officers, who in detestation of the treachery of *Bessus* had fled over to him, that the *Bactrians* were not above 500 furlongs off, and that they could lead him to f them by a nearer way. Taking them therefore for his guides he set out again the same night, and after marching 300 furlongs was met by the son of *Mazæus* formerly governor of *Syria*, who informed him that *Bessus* was not above 200 furlongs off, and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in disorder, and might easily be surprized and cut in pieces. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and at last came in sight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival struck the *Barbarians*, though far superior in number, with such terror, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and because *Darius* refused to

[e] Curt. l. v. c. 18, 22, 23. Arrian. l. iii. p. 67. [f] Curt. l. v. c. 23. Arrian. l. iv. p. 63. [g] Curt. l. vi. c. 3. Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex. [h] Strabo, l. xv. p. 741. [i] Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex.

Darius Codomannus *slain.* *Year of the flood* 2658. *Before Christ* 331.

follow them, *Bessus* and those that were about him discharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood to the mercy of the *Macedonians.* This done they separated and took different routs, *Bessus* flying towards *Hyrcania,* and *Nabarzanes* into *Bactria,* that by this means they might elude the pursuit of the enemy, or at least oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only by a few horse, the rest now destitute of leaders, dispersing themselvs up and down the country as fear or hope directed their steps. *Alexander* seeing in what confusion the enemies were, sent *Nicanor* with a troop of light-armed horse to stop their flight, and himself followed at the head of 3000 *Macedonians.* *Nicanor* put near 3000 of the stragglers to the sword, but could not come up either with *Bessus* or *Nabarzanes,* which *Alexander* observing sent him orders to give quarters to all those that should throw down their arms and submit. In the mean time the horses that drew the cart in which was *Darius* halted of their own accord, for the drivers had been killed by *Bessus,* near a certain village about four furlongs from the highway; whither *Polystratus,* a *Macedonian,* being pressed with thirst in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants to refresh himself at a fountain not far from the place where they stopt. As he was filling his helmet with water he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round him discovered a cart with a team of horses, not able to move for the many wounds they had received. As he drew near he saw *Darius* lying in the cart and very near his end, having several darts still sticking in his body. However he had strength enough to call for some water, which *Polystratus,* being by a *Persian* captive informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily brought him. *Darius* after drinking turned to the *Macedonian,* and told him with a faint voice, that in the deplorable state, to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him that his last words would not be lost; he then charged him to return his hearty thanks to *Alexander* for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother and children, and acquaint him that with his last breath he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe. He added, that it did not so much concern him as *Alexander* to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors, who had treated with such cruelty their lawful sovereign, that being the common cause of all crowned heads; then taking *Polystratus* by the hand, "Give *Alexander,* said he, your hand, as I "give you mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give "in this condition of my gratitude and affection." Having uttered these words he expired in the arms of *Polystratus.* *Alexander* coming up a few minutes after, and beholding *Darius*'s body, burst out in tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, said he, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloke and covered it, causing it to be embalmed, and sent in a rich and magnificent coffin to *Sysigambis,* that it might be interred with the other *Persian* monarchs. Thus died *Darius* in the fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacifick prince, his reign having been unsullied with injustice, cruelty or any of those vices which most of his predecessors had been greatly addicted to. In him the *Persian* empire ended, after it had lasted from the first of *Cyrus* 209 years under thirteen kings, viz. *Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes* I. *Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes* II. *Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arses, Darius Codomannus*[k]. Upon the death of *Darius* all his commanders submitted to the conqueror, by whom they were restored to their former honours and employments; but above all others he distinguished *Artabazus,* in regard of his constant and unshaken fidelity to his master, and *Oxathres, Darius*'s brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high station and noble birth. He was even, to his great dishonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon *Nabarzanes,* who together with *Bessus* had murdered *Darius.* But *Bessus* having fled into *Bactria,* and there assumed the title of king, *Alexander* in the beginning of the next spring marched against him: but his march out of *Persia* into these northern countries is by authors described with great confusion; for after they had told us that he was resolved to find out *Bessus* in *Bactria,* they make him take the way of *Hyrcania,* from thence wandering northwards into the country of the *Mardi,* bordering on the *Caspian* sea, and after subduing the *Mardi* cross mount *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana.* Be that as it will, he arrived at last after a long

[k] Curt. l. v. c. 25. Justin. l. xi. c. 15. Arrian. p. 69. Plut. in Alex.

and

a and tedious march in *Bactriana*, and having rested his army some time at *Drapsaca*, he advanced against and reduced *Aornas* and *Bactra*, the two strongest cities of that province. *Alexander* had no sooner reached the confines of *Bactria*, but 8000 *Bactrians* who till that time had followed *Bessus*, abandoning him, withdrew to their respective homes. Hereupon *Bessus* at the head of the few troops, that continued faithful to him, crossing the river *Oxus*, retired into the province of *Sogdiana*, with a design to raise there a new army. In order to prevent *Alexander* from pursuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made use of in passing over his troops, hoping that as the river was no where fordable, and the country affording no timber, he would thereby be obliged to return and give over the persuit. But no difficulties were b unsurmountable to that conqueror, who, finding no timber wherewithal to make boats or floats, caused the hides, which covered the soldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with straw, and tied together. By this means he supplied the want of timber, and passed his whole army over that large and deep river in the space of five days; which *Bessus* might have easily prevented, had he but dared to look the *Macedonians* in the face. When the *Bactrians*, who were encamped at a place called *Nautaca*, heard that *Alexander* had crossed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, *Spitamenes*, whom *Bessus* most confided in, together with *Catanes* and *Dataphernes*, formed a conspiracy to seize *Bessus*, and purchase their own safety by delivering him up to *Alexander*; which they did accordingly, tear- c ing in pieces his diadem and royal robes, of which he had stript his lawful sovereign *Darius*, and carrying him loaded with chains to the *Macedonian* camp. *Spitamenes* himself presented the traitor to *Alexander*, not only bound, but stark naked, holding him by a chain round his neck; a sight no less agreeable to the *Persians* than the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, having amply rewarded *Spitamenes* and his companions, and caused the traitor's nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius*'s brother, to suffer whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict for so base and treacherous a murder[l]. *Plutarch*[m] has left us an account of this execution; he tells us, that several trees being by main force bent down to the ground, and to each one of the traitor's limbs fastened, the trees as they were let return to their natural position, flew back with such vio- d lence, that each carried with it the limb that was tied to it. Thus *Bessus* suffered the punishment that was due to his treachery, and at his death *Alexander* saw himself in quiet possession of the whole *Persian* empire. This is what we have gathered from the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians of the best account concerning the affairs of the ancient *Persians*: In the following section we shall hear the orientals on the same subject.

*Bessus put to death.*

*Year of the flood* 2659. *Before Christ* 330.

l Curt. l. 7. c. 12. Arrian. l. 3. Diodor. l. 17. m Plut. in Alex. & Diodor. l. 17. p. 554. Arrian. l. 4. c. 7. Curt. l. 7. c. 10.

In stating the times of the *Persian* empire we have followed all along *Ptolemy*'s canon, and the records of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors. For the *Jews* own such kings only as they find mentioned in the books of the *Old Testament*; whence, according to their computation in the greater chronicle *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the *Medo-Persian* empire, from the building of the temple in the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, flourished only 34 years. *Josephus* acknowledges only the following kings of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius*; this *Darius*, who was *Darius Nothus*, he confounds with *Darius Codomannus*, who was conquered by *Alexander*, and refers to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, whatever happened in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*.

SECT.

## SECT. V.

### *The history of* Persia *according to the* Oriental *writers.*

*What degree of certainty may be expected in the following history.*

We have been so long used to hear every thing transcribed from eastern authors censured as vain and fabulous; that how unwilling soever we may be to trouble the reader with preparatory discourses, yet in this case, there seems to be a necessity of saying somewhat in support of the narratives we are going to recite, that they may not be taken for mere figments, or romances void of all foundation. It is far from being our opinion, that every thing recorded by the *Persian* writers is strictly fact, that would be to place them not on a level with the best historians of other nations, but in a class high above them. For what people, what kingdom, what republick, can boast of such a faultless series of history? or why should we expect a greater degree of clearness in the history of *Persia*, as written by *Oriental* authors, than we find in the history of *Greece*, though written by *Greeks*, who were so proud of their own abilities, that they stiled all the rest of the world Barbarians? It is sufficient for our purpose (which is no more than to gain the reader's proper attention for what we have collected of the *Persian* history from eastern writers) that we shew there is as just reason to suppose they have delivered us a great many truths in their accounts of these early times, as can be produced in favour of any other history as ancient. In order to this we shall neither multiply arguments nor words. In the first place, we are told by *Moses* [a], that there were kings in *Persia* in the age immediately following that, in which the *Persian* writers placed the beginning of their monarchy. It is therefore evident that these writers are not wrong in making their kingdom so ancient as they do. But *secondly*, there is no just cause to doubt, that either as soon or within a small time after the settling of regal government amongst them, histories, or at least historical poems were also introduced. This was the custom in all places at least as far as we are able to trace things back. *First*, a people lived miserably and without order, then some great genius reformed and reduced them into society, successive kings cherished and increased that society, and men having leisure and ease considered these benefits, and gratefully sung the praises of their benefactors. *Moses* has preserved two fragments of an *Ammoritish* poem, as old in all probability as the times we are speaking of; and if the bards of that country sung so early the praises of *Sihon* [b], why might not the *Persians* have persons among them as capable of transmitting to posterity the memorable deeds of their princes? *Thirdly*, it is universally allowed, that the present *Persians* have not only quick wits, but are wonderfully studious, and in a particular manner addicted to the conversation of the antiquities of their country. It may indeed be objected to this, that the modern and the ancient *Persians* are not one and the same people; but hereto it may be replied, that the *Persees*, the unadulterated remnant of the old inhabitants of this wide empire, are still more studious and more thoughtful than the present *Persians* [c]. We may therefore conclude, that there were formerly many authentick histories of the reigns of the most ancient kings of this realm; I say, we may conclude this from the reasons already given if we had no other proof, but as we have, it would be unfair not to mention it, especially since it may be drawn into very little room. The authorities which may be adduced in support of this assertion, that the ancient *Persians* kept authentick records of their affairs, may be reduced under these two heads, *viz.* sacred and profane. The authors of the books of [d] *Ezra* and [e] *Nehemiah* speak frequently not only of the immutability of the *Persian* laws, which implies that they were recorded, but also of publick acts and registers. In the book of [f] *Esther*, we have not only frequent mention of these, but also of the chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings of *Persia*, wherein every thing of moment was set down. As to prophane writers, [g] *Herodotus* and [h] *Xenophon* are sufficient to satisfy any impartial Person as to the wisdom and virtue of the ancient *Persians*, and their care of all things which had regard to the honour or welfare of their country.

[a] Genes. xiv. 1, 9. [b] Numb. xxi. 27. [c] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 130. [d] vi. 2. [e] ii. 6. [f] ii. 23. vi. 1. [g] Clio, p. 25. [h] Cyropædia.

Supposing

a SUPPOSING it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing will admit, that the *Persians* had amongst them of old the histories of their kings and heroes, we are next to shew how these can be reasonably believed to be yet in being, and to have reached these distant times. Of this however we are not positive ourselves; all that we can say is this, that the *Persians* having lived under their own laws down to the time of *Yezdegberd*, there seems to be no difficulty in allowing that till then their histories were frequent amongst them: for though the *Macedonians* might burn and destroy their records, yet it is incredible that they should destroy all the books in the empire; besides we know that the modern *Persees* have the *Zend* or original *Code* of *Zerdusht* amongst them, with many other ancient books; now it being gene-
b rally agreed that *Zerdusht* flourished in the days of *Darius Hystaspes*, it will be hard to assign a reason why some of their ancient histories might not be preserved as well as these books of their law. But farther still, *Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandschah* commonly called *Mirkhond* or *Mirkhound*, with other modern *Persian* authors, constantly and uniformly assert that they write from such authorities, and therefore we have no just reason to doubt them, unless we could shew the contrary (A).

*How the ancient histories have been preserved.*

IT is from the author before-mentioned, that we take for the most part what is delivered in the following pages concerning the *Oriental* history of *Persia*. He is allowed to have been a person of great learning and judgment by such as are well versed in oriental history, and his works are esteemed as oracles throughout the east.
c We may justly hope therefore, that what we transcribe from him, with the addition of such circumstances as we can meet with elsewhere, will render this section as useful and as agreeable as could be expected on so abstruse a subject. Without farther introduction therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

*On what authorities this history is founded.*

A Table of the kings of PERSIA, to the time of ALEXANDER the great, according to MIRKHOND.

The first Race:

d Or the Dynasty of the PISCHDADIANS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Kejomaras or Cajoumaras* | 40 |
| 2 | *Siamek* | |
| | *Kejomaras resumes the kingdom* | |
| 3 | *Hushangh or Houschenk* | 50 |
| 4 | *Tahmuras* | 30 |
| 5 | *Giemshid or Giamschid* | |
| | *Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoâk* | |
| 6 | *Aphridûn, Phredûn, or Feridoun* | |
| e 7 | *Manugjahr or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz* | 120 |
| 8 | *Nodar* | 7 |
| 9 | *Apherâsiab or Afrasiab* | 12 |
| 10 | *Zab, Zaab, or Zoub.* | |

(A) This famous historian is quoted by various names, and those names have received some alteration from the different orthographies used in oriental appellations; sometimes he is called *Mirchond*, sometimes *Mirkhond*, and sometimes *Choandemir*; he wrote a general history from the beginning of the world to the year of the *Hegira* 900, under the title of *Roudhat al Safa*; he was a person of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well skilled in the *Persian* antiquities, and wrote from the best histories extant in his time (1); for this reason we find him often quoted by the very learned Dr. Hyde (2), and indeed by all the writers of note on *Persian* affairs. His fame became known in *Europe* by an abridgment of his work, published in *Spanish* by *Teixera*, which is however far from being correct, there is a better extract extant in a book cited at the bottom of the page (3); we shall have occasion to speak hereafter of this author and his works when we come to the history of the age in which he lived, and shall therefore put an end to this note here.

(1) *D'Herbelot. tit. Mircond.* (2) *Hyde rel. vet. Pers. cap.* viii. 152. (3) *Les Estats, Empires, & Principautés du Monde. Paris* 4to, 1662. p. 999.

The second Race,

Or the Dynasty of the KAIANITES.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 *Kaikobad* | | |
| 2 *Kaikaus* | 100 | |
| 3 *Kaikhosru* | 150 | |
| 4 *Lohrasp or Lohorash* | 60 | |
| 5 *Gushtâsp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasp* | 120 | |
| 6 *Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman* | 120 | |
| 7 *Queen Homai* | 112 | b |
| 8 *Darab* 1 | 32 | |
| 9 *Darab* 2. | 4 | |
| | 14 | |

A Table of the same kings, with the years of their reigns, according to other oriental authors.

The first Race,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 *Kejomaras or Cajoumaras* | | |
| *Siamek slain after a short reign* | 560 | |
| *Kajomaras resumes the kingdom, and reigned* | | |
| *An Interregnum* | 30 | c |
| 2 *Hushang or Houschenk, surnamed Pischdad* | 200 | |
| 3 *Tahmurash* | 50 | |
| 4 *Gienshid or Giamschid* | 700 | |
| 5 *Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoak* | 30 | |
| 6 *Aphridûn, Phridun, or Feridoun* | 1000 | |
| 7 *Manugjahr or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz* | 120 | |
| 8 *Nodar* | 500 | |
| 9 *Apherasiab or Asrasiab* | 7 | |
| 10 *Zab, Zaab, or Zoub* | 12 | |
| 11 *Gustasp son of Zoub* | 30 | d |
| | 30 | |

The second Race,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 *Kaikobad* | | |
| 2 *Kaikaus* | 120 | |
| 3 *Kaihosru* | 150 | |
| 4 *Lohrasp, or Lohorash* | 60 | |
| 5 *Gushtâsp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasp* | 120 | |
| 6 *Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman* | 120 | |
| 7 *Queen Homai* | 112 | |
| 8 *Darab* 1. | 32 | e |
| 9 *Darab* 2. | 14 | |

*The nature thereof in point of style, &c.*

IT is evident enough from the years set down in the two tables above, that there is a great mixture of fable and uncertainty in the accounts we have of these princes reigns, but there may notwithstanding this be a great deal of truth in these relations, and by comparing them with what the *Greek*, and other writers of the *Persian* affairs have given us of the same times, it may be very possible to extract a better idea of the ancient *Persian* empire, than could have been had without consulting the oriental writers at all. Reason will be everlastingly the supreme judge of f facts, and if a history be attended with continual improbabilities or absurdities, men of sense will either doubt or reject its authority, whether its author lived in the east, or in the west. On the other hand, where a history is composed of a series of mixt facts, some probable, and some romantick, the candid reader will receive those, though he throw away these, and will not destroy the wheat, because there are tares amongst it. As to the style of the following history, we have not pretended to follow the rhetorical pomp of the *Persian* authors; on the contrary, we have delivered our selves with the utmost plainness and perspicuity, and have endeavoured, as far as in our power lay, to rescue truth out of those metaphorick clouds,

a clouds, which often obscure the writings of the eastern historians. Farther remarks of the same nature we leave to the discernment of our readers.

*Keyomaras*, or *Cajumarath*, is allowed by all the oriental authors to have been the first king of the first race, surnamed the *Pischdadians* from *Pischdad*, which signifies a just judge, and was the surname given to *Hushangh* the second king of this race afterwards, however attributed to them all. The manner wherein *Keyomaras* ascended the throne was this. In the province of *Aderbayagjan*, the inhabitants feeling the sad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleased, they unanimously resolved to elect one who should be obeyed by all, and to whose judgment they would submit as to an b irrefragable law. His conspicuous virtues determined them on this occasion to *Keyomaras*, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, invested him with royal robes, and put a bonnet called *Tagi* on his head, kissing his feet in token of submission, which customs last mentioned were preserved in use by his successors [i]. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king; he applied himself to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of justice; he taught men to build houses, and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, such as the making woollen cloth, and spinning, and weaving silk; in a word, he civilized his people, and merited by his wisdom, justice, and goodness, that dignity, which out of modesty and a foresight of the cares it would be attended with, he for a long time refused [k]. The happiness enjoyed by such as lived under c so excellent a prince invited the neighbouring people to put themselves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the same means that it began, *viz.* thro' an opinion of his worth, and he upon their submission treated his new subjects with the same care and kindness as he had always shewn to his old. He sent his brother to take a view of these new-acquired dominions, and went afterwards to look upon them himself. In the province of *Chorasan* he met with his brother, and embracing him tenderly, he to perpetuate the memory of that interview erected the city of *Balch*, where it happened; that word being derived from a verb, which signifies to embrace. He was also the founder of abundance of other cities of *Persia*, particularly *Kabulstan*, *Sigistan*, *Gom*, &c. [l]. This prince had two sons, the name d of the elder was *Nazek*, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself intirely to study, for which reason he withdrew himself from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation; his father, who was himself a very learned man, went frequently to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand, he found his son dead with several wounds upon his body: on a strict enquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of *Tabrestan*. These *Keyomaras* pursued into their own country, defeated them, and after putting many to the sword made slaves of the rest, and employed them in his buildings [m]. The other son of *Keyomaras* or rather his grandson was *Siameck*, with whom the wife of *Nazek* e was big when he was murdered. This child as soon as he was born, *Keyomaras* adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he with the consent of the people transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his life-time. An event singular enough, if we consider that *Keyomaras* was the first to whom a crown in this country was offered, and the first also, who, disgusted with the weight of regal authority, desired to lay it down.

Keyomaras.

*Siamek* proved a gracious and a warlike prince. Within a short time after his accession, some of his neighbours entered his dominions in a hostile manner, whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where fighting valiantly he received a mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle and f died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father left his, big with child, conjuring her with his last words, if she brought forth a son to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who in so short a time had deprived him both of his life and empire. *Keyomaras* by this unlucky accident was forced to ascend the throne again. The first thing he did was to celebrate the obsequies of his deceased son with great magnificence, the next to take vengeance of those who had slain *Siamek*; after which he reigned for many years with great applause.

Siamek.

[i] Mirkhond, Proem. Hist. [k] Tarik. Montekheb. i. e. The select chronicle. [l] Mirkhond, Hist. Sect. 1. [m] D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Oriental. tit. Cajumarath.

There

There is nothing more uncertain than the lineage of this king, and the time in which he flourished. Some oriental writers have fancied him *Adam*, and because he was the first king would needs have him to be the first man also; but men of better judgments and cooler imaginations have conceived that this notion was owing to a mistake, and that the ancient *Persians* called him *Adam* by way of honorary surname, signifying that he was as much the father of their nation as *Adam* of mankind. The most judicious among the *Persian* writers believe him to have been the son of *Aram*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, and that he chose to erect the seat of his empire not far from mount *Ararat*, and the countries first planted after the flood. His religion is another disputable point, some holding him an idolater, and believing that the magnificent pile he reared for the burning of the body of his son *Siamek*, gave birth to the *fire-worship* ascribed to the *Magians*. But if we may credit graver authorities, *Keyomaras*, like most ancient kings, was at once both *prince* and *prophet*, taught his people the true religion of the patriarchs, particularly the existence of one infinite almighty being, and of a created evil being, the indefatigable enemy of mankind. The romance writers allow him a thousand years of life, and say that of these he reigned five hundred and sixty. How long he reigned before he resigned his throne to *Siamek* is uncertain, but from his resuming the sceptre to his death it is generally allowed there intervened thirty years [n].

Hushang. *Hushang*, or *Houschenk*, sur-named *Pischdad*, was a person of great parts, as well as great courage, and is equally famous throughout the east, for the extent of his knowledge, and his mighty feats of valour. He is said to have given a regular body of laws to his subjects, whence he was called *Pischdad*. He also divided his country, and established governours throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented most of the instruments of agriculture, as also the art of conveying water through subterraneous passages, for the moistening their grounds; to him likewise they ascribe the taming leopards, and other beasts of chace, and the introducing furs, for keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flourish through his wisdom, so he extended it by his courage, and after a reign of fifty years was killed by the fall of a piece of rock thrown from the mountains of *Damavend*, by an army of *Barbarians* who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion that he made the province of *Chusistan* the seat of this empire, by erecting there the famous city of *Sufa* or *Sushan* [o].

There is hardly an ancient prince in the world whose name is more famous in romance than that of *Hushang*; there is a *Persian* book which bears the title of *Hushang Nameh*, i. e. *Hushang*'s history, which for the many wonderful things it contains has been translated into the *Turkish* tongue. In this famous piece it is recorded, that our hero bestrid a monstrous animal, called *Rakhsche*, which he found in the dry island, or new world, being the issue of a male *Crocodile*, and a female *Hippopotamus*; this steed fed upon nothing but the flesh of *Serpents* and *Dragons*: after once *Hushang* had made this animal submit to the saddle, there was no giant so terrible, no monster so frightful, but he attacked and subdued. Amongst the rest of his conquests he reduced the people of *Mahiser*, so famous in the eastern romances for their having fishes heads, and thence esteemed a race of formidable monsters. The truth seems to be, that this prince subdued that people on the *Persic* gulph, called by the *Greeks Ichthyophagi*, from their living upon fish, whence the fruitful imagination of eastern poets deduced a people with fishes heads. The same fabulous writers ascribe to this monarch a certain book bearing the title of *Giavidan Khird*, i. e. the wisdom of all times; this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very ancient, and has been translated into various languages, particularly into *Arabick*, by the son of the vizier of the *Caliph Almamon*, and into *Turkish* under the title of *Anvar Sohaili*; it has also been in part rendered into *French*, and is in itself a very excellent treatise, whence in all probability it came to be attributed to this monarch, so famous for giving laws, and teaching wisdom and civility to his people; the reader will find a fuller account of the treatise before-mentioned at the bottom of the page [p] (B).

*Tahmuras*

[n] Sharistani ap. Hyde rel. vet. Persar. c. xxv. p. 175. [o] Leb. Tarik. Mirkhond, hist. Sect. iii. [p] D'Herbelot. Art. Houschenk.

(B) This piece is penned with all the enthusiasm natural to eastern writers; there are in it however some very fine sentences, amongst others these which follow:

" Great

a *Tahmurash*, surnamed *Diùbend*, i. e. the humbler of the devil, supposed by some to be the son, by others the grandson of *Hushang*, and by a third party his cousin, succeeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation. For finding that the wars of his predecessor had introduced both poverty and confusion in his dominions, he to remedy the first remitted all taxes for three years, and to reduce things into order, made new laws, and took care that the magistrates should every where put them in execution. He is the first *Persian* prince recorded to have had a vizier or prime minister; it is very possible that the disorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make use of such an officer. This king fortified the frontiers of *Persia* to prevent sudden invasions, and shewed so happy a b mixture of wisdom and valour in his disposition, that several of the neighbouring nations struck with the felicity of his subjects, voluntarily submitted themselves to him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. At last, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a pestilence which raged throughout his dominions, and destroyed with equal rapidity both man and beast, cut the thread of his life at *Balch* to the great grief of his subjects [q]. Tahmurash.

*Gjemshid*, or *Giamschid*, or rather *Gjem Schid*, his name being *Gjem*, to which *Schid* as a surname was added, because of his wonderful beauty, *Schid* in the *Persic* language signifying the *Sun*, his eyes having such a lustre that none could look him steadily in the face, tho' some authors are of opinion that he received this addition c to his name, not from the beauty of his person, but from the glory which resulted from his actions. It is not very certain whether this prince was the son of his predecessor, his nephew, or his grandson, but all agree that he was of the family of *Keyomaras*, and had a just right to the throne. The reputation of his ancestors inspired him with a laudable ambition of equalling at least, if not excelling them. With this view he encouraged all learned and wise men to come to his court, where he highly preferred them; amongst the rest were two persons of singular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied, the one, a *Jew*, says our author *Mirchond*, whose name was *Fael Issuf Rabban*, and the other a *Greek*, called *Fithagores*, i. e. *Pythagoras*: but this must be a mistake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of d these times, yet it is easy to discern from the circumstances of things that *Gjemshid* flourished at a considerable distance from *Pythagoras*. But such errors as these are not infrequent among *Oriental* writers, through their want of understanding thoroughly the history of *Greece*, of which however they have most of them a general idea. By the advice in all probability of these wise counsellors, *Gjemschid* divided his subjects into three classes; the first consisting of soldiers; the second of husbandmen; and the third of artizans [r]. In his time musick vocal and instrumental, and astronomy were first introduced in *Persia*. He was also the first who built granaries in *Persia*, into which he caused every year a certain quantity of corn to be carried, that in case of any deficiency in their harvests famine might not be felt. e In his time likewise wine came to be esteemed, or rather brought into general use throughout his territories from the following accident. A woman who was much in Gjemschid.

[q] Mirkhond. hist. sect. iv. D'Herbelot. tit. Tahmurash. [r] Mirkhond. hist. sect. v.

"Great kings are gods on earth, and have all "the attributes of power, wisdom and mercy, in "a superior degree, with respect to private persons, "as the Almighty hath over them. Let not this "however encourage them to use their subjects "with rigour. Thunder is seldom heard, but the "sun shines every day; we see ten thousand instances of God's goodness for one extraordinary act "of vengeance; let kings imitate him by doing "all the good they can, and always remember that "though death is in their power, yet life is not; "they may order a man to be cut into a thousand "pieces, but there their dominion ends, they cannot call him into being again; beware therefore "of sudden judgments, and of penitence coming "too late.

"Ministers are as the hands or instruments of "kings; men look not for an account of their actions from themselves, but from their masters; "a king therefore should look well to his ministers; "for it is as vain to throw the weight of crimes "upon them, when the people rise in rebellion, as "it would be for a murderer to tell the judge that "it was not he but his sword that killed his neighbour. Bad princes have sometimes had good "ministers, but good princes never have bad ones "long.

"The passions of men may by long acquaintance "be thoroughly known, but the passions of women "are inscrutable; therefore they ought to be sever'd "from men, lest the mutability of their tempers "should infect others. Their natures, humours and "constitution require restraint; large and coarse "stones are employed in ordinary buildings; marble and alabaster in palaces; but diamonds we "lock up in cabinets; and as things are rare or "common, of small value, or of great price, we "set them to shew, or shut them up close (4).

(4) *Hamaiun Namch. ap. Beauchamp's essays, Sect.* iii.

*Gjemschid*'s good graces was afflicted with an inveterate head-ach, which all the physicians in the court of *Gjemschid* were not able to alleviate or remove; this woman went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; and finding that it in some measure relieved her, she returned thither again after resting herself for some hours, and drank yet a greater quantity which compleated her cure: this she told to the king, and it being divulged through the court, every body began to regard wine as a universal medicine capable of removing the most stubborn diseases. Among the most illustrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may justly place the rectification of the kalendar which he undertook and perfected, instituting two years, a civil or ordinary year, and an ecclesiastick year, in which there was in the space of one hundred and thirty years a month intercalated[a] (C). He likewise instituted the *Nauruz*, *i. e.* the solemn observation of the new year, concerning which we are told that it had its rise thus; king *Gjemschid* going in progress through his provinces arrived in *Aderbayagjan*, and shewing himself on a royal throne to his people, the sun shone with such lustre on his crown adorned with precious stones and feathers, that the people shouted aloud, and said, This is *Nauruz*, i. e. the new day, whence the king took the opportunity of instituting a festival, wherein besides the presents made to the prince, 'twas usual for him to receive and grant the petitions of all sorts of people, to release prisoners, and to do all other acts of clemency and benevolence which could be expected from him. As to the particular ceremonies attending this festival, the reader may probably be pleased to know that it lasted six days. On the first of these the king gratified his people, or if the phrase may be allowed, his commons. The second day he paid the same regard to the learned men attending his court. On the third his priests and privy counsellors presented their petitions. On the fourth he heard the suits of his nobility and kindred. On the fifth those of his children. The sixth belonged to himself. In the evening of the fifth day a young man handsome in his person was picked out, and appointed to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber without ceremony, upon which the king with an air of familiarity asked him whence he came, whither he went, what his purpose, and his name, wherefore he came, and what he carried; to which the youth answered, *I am Al Mansur*, i. e. *August*; *my name is Al-Mobarek*, i. e. *the Blessed*, *I came hither from God*, *bearing the new year*. Then he sat down, and immediately entered the nobility, bearing each a silver vessel, in which were wheat, barley, pease, vetches, pulse, a sugar-cane, and two pieces of gold fresh from the mint. Out of this bason first the *Wasir* or *Vizier*, then the treasurer, afterwards the nobility according to their rank, each offered his silver vessel to the king. At the conclusion of the ceremony a very great loaf made of several kinds of corn was brought in and placed before the king, who after eating some of it himself, intreated such as were present to eat the rest in these words, *This is a new day of a new month*, *the beginning of a new year*; *it is fit therefore that we renew our ties to each other*. Then rising up in his royal robes he solemnly blessed his nobility, bestowing on them rich gifts[t]. The evening of this day the *Persians* called *Phristaph*, on which they did every thing that might testify joy and strong hopes of seeing a pleasant year. A great part of his reign *Gjemschid* remained in *Sigjistan*, thinking it the propereſt province of his empire for his court till affairs in the east were thoroughly settled; then he changed it for the proper *Persia*, where he erected the noble city of *Estechar*, which most take to be the *Persepolis* of the *Greeks*, though some believe it the city of *Schiras*. If what the ancient *Persian* writers deliver of the extent of this city of *Estechar* be true, *viz.* that it contained a square of twenty four leagues, then it is possible that both opinions may be true; but if we measure the probability of this account by the other things related of this prince, such as that he made the tour of the whole earth, was skilled in the occult

[a] Hyde, rel. vet. Persar. c. xiv. [t] Casiri, ap. Hyde. p. 237.

(C) The reader might probably expect here an account of the kalendar, as it was settled by *Gjemschid*; but as we shall be obliged to treat at large of this matter in another place, *viz.* when we come to speak of the æra of *Yezdegherd*, we thought it needless to interrupt the series of our history here with an imperfect account of this matter. The curious and learned reader may have recourse to Dr. *Hyde*'s book, where he will find this intricate subject treated at large (5).

(5) *Relig. vet. Persar.* c. xiv.

sciences,

a sciences, and possessed a magic cup of incomparable virtues; we may safely restrain the bounds of this city, and though we allow it to have been very great, especially for those times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the space they have assigned it. It is universally allowed that *Gjemschid* gave himself up entirely to the study of the arts of reigning, and some say that he was much helped in his political contemplations, by considering the transactions among the bees, and that he drew many customs from the hive into the court of *Persia*. Among other inventions the signet ring is ascribed to him, and that mode which still prevails throughout the east, of preferring the left hand to the right as the more honourable; he likewise directed that the different degrees of people should be b distinguishable from their garb; in a word, he made it the whole business of his life to render his kingdom flourishing, and his people happy, in which he succeeded to his utmost wish. But this great felicity proved the source of the deepest misfortunes; for having reigned long and gloriously, he unaccountably took it in his head that he was immortal; sent pictures of himself throughout his empire, and ordered them to be worshipped with divine honours. This madness soon lost him the hearts of the people, so that the province of *Sigjistan*, by the persuasion of a certain great captain who was related to the king, and whose name was *Abad*, took arms, and when they had formed themselves into a regular army, marched under the command of *Zoâk* or *Dahâc* towards *Schiras*, where *Gjemschid* met him with a powerful army c which he had raised; the engagement was fierce and bloody, but in the end *Gjemschid* was defeated and taken prisoner; upon which the tyrant ordered him to be immediately sawn asunder, which was performed in *Zoak*'s sight. This is the account given by *Mirchond*, and the best *Arabian* histories; others say that he escaped from the battle, and wandered through his dominions. He left behind him a son whose name was *Phridun* or *Aphridun* of three years old, whom his mother *Phramak* found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately till providence enabled him to ascend the throne of *Persia*[u].

*Dehoc*, *Dahac*, *Zahak*, *Zoak*; some authors affirm that the name of this prince is only an alteration of a nickname bestowed on him by the *Persians*, viz. *Deh-ak*, d signifying that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable, and that his real name was *Piurasb*. It is very uncertain of what family this prince was; some report that he was lineally descended from *Siamek*, the son of *Keyomaras*; others that he was an *Arabian*, the son of *Uluan*, descended in a direct line from *Abad*, the chief of the *Adites*. The truth seems to be, that he was an *Arab* by the father's side, but descended of the house of *Keyomaras* by the mother. There is indeed another fabulous genealogy or two, which scarce deserve to be mentioned, because they are glaringly false; the one supposes but two generations between him and *Adam*, the other that he was descended from *Ham*, the son of *Noah*, and is to be looked on as the *Nimrod* of the scriptures. It is very likely that all these e stories were invented to disgrace a prince whose cruelty rendered him odious, or that they happened through some mistakes in reading or transcribing the works of antient poets. As this monarch gained the crown by his sword, so he governed fiercely, and with little regard to his subjects. He was however a person of great genius, and deeply skilled in the occult sciences; in one word, he is represented to us as a compleatly wicked man: One whose abilities answered the evil intentions of his soul, and whose person struck beholders with horror, for he had a meagre pallid visage, eyes wild and sparkling, an air fierce and haughty; at the same time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural fourness of his temper was irritated by a sharp and incurable disease, consisting in two f painful ulcers, one on each shoulder, the anguish of which resembled the pain following the bite of a serpent; whence the story inserted in a famous oriental romance, that the devil having for many years obeyed him, demanded at last as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiss his shoulders, which being granted, an ugly serpent immediately took post in each, and gnawed itself a den in his flesh. Either some sorcerer, or the devil in a dream, suggested to *Zoab* an inhuman remedy for this evil, *viz.* that of washing these ulcers frequently with the warm blood of men; or, as others say, applying to them the brains of men newly slain. At first the tyrant put to death criminals of all sorts; but

Dehoc.

[u] D'Herbelot. sit. Gjemschid.

when

when there were no more of these, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that a
he might have wherewith to alleviate his pain. The priests and other persons in authority had recourse to all the arguments they could use to engage him to have recourse rather to the blood or brain of sheep, but to no purpose; those however who were intrusted with the care of these unhappy wretches destined to slaughter, for the tyrant's ease, often out of mere pity let them slip through their fingers, so that flying to the mountains in order to preserve themselves and their benefactors from danger, they there formed themselves into a particular nation, called since the *Curdes* [z]. All his reign long *Zoak* caused *Phridun*, the son of his predecessor to be searched for, but to no purpose, his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of *Zoak*'s enemies. However, the tyrant discharged his wrath upon her father, whom he put to death, b
as he did many others whom he suspected inclined to the interest of the young *Phridun*. The chief cause of these proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men who came to attack him; these he thought threw him down, and bound him. Afterwards, one of them gave him a mortal wound on the head, then the other two loosened his girdle, tied his feet therewith, and carried him into the territory of *Damavend*. Having applied to the most skilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions to know what this signified, they unanimously agreed that it portended the loss of his kingdom, and of his life, because amongst the *Persians* the girdle is a mark of dignity, now this *Zoak* conceived could never be done but by *Phridun* and his party. Among the numbers put to death, on various accounts, by *Zoak*, c
were the sons of a certain smith, whose name was *Gao*, or as others write it *Kaob*. This man driven to madness at the sight of his children's blood, ran up and down the streets, crying out for justice and help against the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a standard. In a short time the army he got together, became very formidable, so that he made himself master of various strong forts, and great cities, particularly of the city *Heri*, or *Herat*, the capital of *Chorasan*, where he staid for some time to put his affairs in order; and when he found that he was in a condition to bid *Zoak* battle, he made a long oration to incourage his people, assuring them amongst other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage, but that as soon as he had restored them to their d
liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for a king. The people with one accord offered the sovereignty to him, which he as positively refused, telling them that as the sense he had of his own injuries had put him upon first taking arms, so he would never consent to injure others; that *Phridun* the son of *Giamschid* was their lawful prince; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours are easily turned; the army on this speech grew as loyal to *Phridun* as they had been grateful to the smith. *Phridun* observing the spirit of his people, and being informed that *Zoak*'s army were by no means hearty in his interest, he marched with the utmost expedition to meet him, and the armies engaging after a brisk action, *Zoak*'s troops abandoned him, and e
he was taken prisoner, whereupon *Phridun* ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of *Damavend*, and gave directions for his being imprisoned in a cave there. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the *Persians* instituted a feast in memory thereof, which they called *Mihirgjan*, or rather *Mihragjân* [y] (D).

*Phridun*

[z] Mirkhond. hist. sect. vi. [y] Hyde, rel. vet. Pers. c. viii. p. 158. D'Herbelot, biblioth. orient. art. Feridoun, Gaoh.

(D) The history of *Zoak* makes a prodigious figure in the *Persian* romances; what is related in them of him being to us absurd as well as fabulous, it would be to no purpose to swell out a note with such stories. It is very likely that the poets immediately after the time of this cruel prince drew the most invidious characters of him they could devise, and heightened all the mischievous things he did with the utmost force of their inventions. If we conceive to ourselves poets writing with this view, and at the same time advert to the genius of oriental writers in general, and to poets in particular, we need not be at a loss for all the strange things that we now read of *Zoak*, and yet allow the first authors of them to have been men of good sense too. Metaphors well understood, allusions readily apprehended, and allegories easily explained, in one age appear all as matters, or at least as circumstances of fact in ages which succeed; and hence it comes to pass that a stroke of poetic satyr, or the rhetorical flourish of an author is misapprehended for a strict assertion, and so deliver'd by historians, who come after, and transcribe all they find without weighing or considering how or in what manner it was wrote. The first historians in all countries were poets, the second race prose-writers who copied from them; and hence it is that ancient histories are full of grave fables, which through length of time are hard to be understood:

a *Pheridun*, *Aphridun*, or *Feridoun*, this prince proved one of the greatest, wisest, and most successful monarchs that ever ruled in the east; his first act, after being quietly seated on the throne, was to make *Kaob* the smith general of his armies; after which he sent him towards the western parts of his dominions in order to reduce such provinces as during the troubles of the kingdom had shook off the *Persian* yoke. *Kaob* spent twenty years in this enterprize, in which space he added many fine countries to the *Persian* empire; at length the king recalled him and made him governor of *Aderbayagjan*, which he ruled ten years with equal satisfaction to the people and his prince, and then died much regretted by *Phridun*, who to do honour to his memory gave all his estates among his relations, and then taking b his sons into his own court, bred them there in a most honourable manner; and when they grew up gave each of them greater possessions than their father had acquired[a]. To shew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron which *Kaob* had hung upon a stick at the begining of the insurrection, the royal standard of *Persia*, calling it *Dirfesch Kaviani*, i. e. the standard of *Kaob*, that he might perpetuate his name and services to all posterity. This standard he adorned with precious stones, to which his successors continually adding, it became at last of such inestimable value, that being taken by the *Arabians* in the battle of *Cadesia*, it enriched the whole army[a]. As *Phridun* was desirous of restoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he sent persons not only of great parts but emi- c nent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married also with a view of interest only the daughter of his predecessor *Zoak*, by whom he had two sons *Salm* and *Tur*, but these proving like their grandfather, haughty, obstinate, and cruel, he took a *Persian* lady to his bed, by whom he had a son named *Irege*, equally wise and courteous, so that he became at once the darling of his father, and the delight of the people. Thus things passed on till *Phridun* feeling himself beginning to decline under the weight of age and illness, summoned his grandees together, and having informed them of his design to quit the regal dignity, desired to know which of his sons they wished he should make his successor; these lords unanimously answered, that if he would no longer govern himself, they desired to have d *Irege* for their prince, to which *Phridun* assented; but to prevent his brothers from taking this ill, he gave to *Tur* all the eastern provinces of his empire, to *Salm* the provinces on the other side, and restrained *Irege* within the compass of *Persia*, *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*. From this division came the names of *Turon* and *Iran*, the one signifying that great extent of country which lies to the east of *Persia*, and the other *Persia* itself, and the provinces dependant thereon[b]. As for *Tur* he built a noble city which he made the capital of his territories, calling it after his own name *Turon*, and the country *Turquestan*; this city was seated in the province of *Mauaralnahar* in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea, and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of *Turks*[c]. However large those shares might be which e *Salm* and *Tur* had received from their father, they still hated him and their brother *Irege*, whose ruin they concerted together. Things being at last ripe for the execution of their projects, *Salm* and *Tur* marched each with great forces into *Aderbayagjan*, and having joined their armies, they sent a sort of manifesto to their father, wherein they set forth, that with just reason they were displeased with the kindness which he had shewn *Irege*, whom they stiled a bastard, and declared at the same time that they would never lay down their arms till he was deposed

Phridun.

[a] Mirkhond. hist. sect. vii. [a] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Dirfesch. [b] Hyde, rel. vet. Persar. c. xxxv. p. 417. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Feridoun. [c] Mirkhond. hist. ubi supr.

stood: this has been the fate of *Greece*, and of *Rome*, of *Britain*, of *Ireland*, and why not of *Persia*? But fiction, though it may obscure, yet it does not absolutely destroy truth. *Zoak* was in all probability and *Arabian* invader, who, after making himself master of *Persia*, used his new subjects ill, till the weight of the loads he laid upon them grew too heavy to be born, and then they did, what a people may always do, threw them off their shoulders, and would bear no more. As to what we are told of his being confined in the caverns of *Damavand*, or rather of *Dunbavand*, we think it may be understood to mean no more than that he was kept there in some strong castle. These mountains are in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which, as we have more than once remarked, is part of the ancient *Media*; they are rocky, full of caverns, and consequently have a gloomy appearance. The poets therefore, taking the same licence here allowed them elsewhere, have feigned that *Tahmurab* after overcoming the *Divs* or vil *Genii*, imprisoned them in these grotto's; and by degrees these expressions grew so frequent, that a wizard or a tyrant was as readily sent to the mountains of *Damavand* as among our common people ghosts are *chained*, or, to preserve the true phrase, *laid* in the bottom of the *Red-Sea*.

from the sovereignty, and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his possession. *Phridun* justly displeased at this undutiful behaviour, sent immediately his orders to *Irege* to draw together all the forces he was able, and to march against his brethren. *Irege* however desired the king to have recourse to milder measures in hopes of preserving the peace of the empire. *Phridun* was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. *Irege* however, unwilling to do his brothers any wrong, took with him some of his wisest counsellors, and went with them to his brother's camp, in order if possible amicably to adjust the differences between them. They, who wished for nothing more, immediately seized him and struck off his head, which having stuck on a pole, they insolently sent to their father. *Phridun* was excessively grieved at his son's misfortune; he resolved however to carry on the war against *Salm* and *Tur*; in order to which he gave the dominions of *Irege* to his son *Manugeber*, who immediately marched with an army against his uncles. They despising his youth quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed and lost their lives by the hand of *Manugeber*, who after this glorious victory returned in triumph to his grandfather *Phridun* who was now grown blind; when he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of *Manugeber*, he asked who it was that presumed to enter his presence in such a manner. The young victor cried out, *It is your grandson* Manugeher, *the avenger of the blood of* Irege, *who hath slain* Salm *and* Tur *with his own hand.* *Phridun* then received him with open arms, and with all the demonstrations of paternal fondness. Afterwards he took the *Tagi* or *Tiara* from his head and put it on that of *Manugeber* or *Manugjar*, declaring him thereby sovereign of *Persia*, appointing at the same time one *Soam* or *Soham*, a person of great wisdom and valour, to be his vizier[d]. Within a short space after this, *Phridun* died full of years and glory (E).

As to the personal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated by oriental writers as the *Solomon* of *Persia*, one who made it his whole study to govern his people in such a manner as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a state of freedom. He extended his dominions with a view of extending happiness to those whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worshipper of the true God, and took such care to repress *Zabiism*, that some *Mohammedan* authors have not scrupled to assert that he was a mussulman. It is also recorded of him that he left this advice with his successor:

*Believe, my son, that the days of your reign are so many leaves of a book; be careful therefore to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have seen by posterity*[e]. Many other wise sayings of this great prince are scattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to insert here. Some *Persian* writers think that *Phridun* was co-temporary with *Abraham*. On the other hand, the learned Dr. *Hyde* has entertained a notion that this *Phridun* is the *Phraortis* of *Herodotus*[f], it

[d] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. SOHAM. [e] D'HERBELOT. Art. FERIDOUN. [f] HYDE, relig. vet. Persar. c. viii.

(E) The oriental writers are universally agreed that the terms *Touran* and *Iran* expressive of the two great empires on the other and on this side the *Oxus*, called by them the *Gjeihun*, took rise at this time. It may seem strange that such large tracts of country should receive appellations from persons who lived and governed them so short a time; for it appears that *Irege*, *Tur*, and *Salm*, all died in the life-time of *Phridun*, and within a small space after the partition of his dominions amongst them. But when this is more thoroughly considered, the wonder will cease. The monarchs of these extensive kingdoms were through a long course of ages, at war with each other; and this enmity proceeding originally from the quarrel of their ancestors, it was natural enough for them to call their dominions after those in whose right they held them. The whole empire belonged to *Phridun*; the descendants of *Tur* or *Tour* kept up the claim of their ancestor to the whole; the kings of *Persia* succeeding *Manugjahr* asserted the right of *Phridun* to divide his dominions as he pleased; and therefore it is likely that *Iran* and *Touran* were words first used in *Persia*, and by degrees spread themselves throughout the east. Whether *Tur* was the undoubted father of the *Turks* will admit of some question, since almost all the oriental writers affirm, that *Japhet* had a son called *Turk*, and yet many of them admit that *Turquestan* had its name from the prince we speak of. It would be needless and at the same time improper for us to enter into a prolix discussion of that point here, since it must be examined when we come to write the history of the *Turks*; however, we think it not amiss to remark, that there is nothing stranger or more perplexed in this double derivation of the name of the *Turks*, than there is in that of the *Hebrews*, whom some affirm to have been so called from *Heber* the son of *Salah*, and others from the surname of *Abraham*, who was stiled the *Hebrew* from his coming from the other side the river, *i. e.* the *Euphrates*. Such difficulties amuse weak minds, but men of solid understandings easily pass by these doubts, knowing that there is little more of certainty to be found in searching for the rise of denominations of far later date.

would

a would take up too much time to discuss this controversy here, and besides we shall have occasion to resume this subject hereafter, and to consider the opinions of the critics on oriental history all at once; in the mean time let us pursue the thread of our narration, and proceed to the reign of *Phridun*'s grandson (F).

*Manugjabr* or *Manugeber*, according to some authors, was not the son of *Irege*, but his grandson by a daughter; it is not very material to us which of these opinions is true[g], certain it is that he was a prince wise and of a mild disposition, and had a minister, *viz.* the vizier *Soham* before-mentioned, whose fame is still great throughout all the east. *Manugeber*, probably by his advice, made several just regulations in the government of *Persia*; he ascertained more exactly than any of his predecessors had b done the boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he sent a president or governor, independant of whom he established in every great town or borough a mayor or provost, so that the governors had no opportunity of setting up for themselves, and the provosts were obliged to behave themselves prudently for fear the governor should write against them to court. Observing the infertility of *Persia* to be chiefly owing to the want of water, *Manugeber* considered every way of supplying this defect; he caused fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* to refresh the barren countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the streams issuing from the little springs on the tops of mountains, that their waters might be made as useful as possible. To encourage his subjects to cultivate c their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to discover the virtues of herbs and flowers, causing such as were most valuable to be transplanted from mountains and uncouth places into his own gardens, or those of his courtiers. But while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, *Apherasiab*, the descendant of *Tur* or *Tour*, invaded his dominions with a great army of *Turks*, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his ancestor. *Manugeber* finding himself too weak to resist so formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of *Tabrestan*; some authors say, that there happened a battle between him and *Apherasiab*, and that *Manugeber* was routed. However that matter was, all are agreed that the king of *Persia* withdrew into a fortress, and prepared to defend d himself there against the attempts of his enemy. *Apherasiab* besieged him with all his army, but to no purpose; and the winter drawing on, the *Turk* being afraid lest his own men should desert him, began to think of peace. Upon this commissioners were dispatched on both sides, and a treaty concluded on these terms; that *Apherasiab* should possess all the country east of the river *Gihon*, and that he should leave *Manugeber* without molestation in possession of *Persia*, and the provinces dependant on it. Such was the event of this cruel war which threatened no less than the subversion of the monarchy of *Persia*[h]. As soon as *Apherasiab* was retired into his own country, *Manugeber* began to provide against such invasions for the future. He ordered all his governors to provide their quota's of troops; but these measures e alarming *Apherasiab*, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into *Persia*; but the *Turk* had not the same success in this as in the former war. The precautions of *Manugeber* perfectly answered his end, so that the enemy were not only repulsed where-ever they made their courses, but also lost a great number of their soldiers who were taken prisoners.

Manugjabr.

[g] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Manugrher. [h] Mirkhond. hist. sect. ix.

(F) The reader will easily perceive from the characters he has already seen drawn in this history, that among the oriental nations wisdom as well as valour is thought necessary in a hero. *Phridun* is as famous amongst them as any of the heroes of *Greece* or *Rome* amongst us; and for the same reason, because he was a man great in all things, in war and in peace, at the head of armies, and on the throne. On this account oriental writers preserve with as great care the wise sayings of their princes, as the accounts of their conquests. We have excused ourselves above from the repetition of all that has been recorded of this sort in relation to *Phridun*; but the reader will in all probability be pleased with the following specimens of his sapience, because they contain rules easily applied, and which concern mankind in general.

Man should weigh well the nature of himself,
The varying frailness of this flatt'ring world,
And the true excellence of heaven's high lord;
Then would he this despise, and trust in him.
The world deceives us all.—In God is truth.
Let not thy riches or thy power prevail
To swell thy bosom with conceits of pride:
Look back, remember those thou hast seen high,
And mark, if thou hast never seen them sink;
Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all!
And when inevitable death commands,
That we should follow to his dreary realm,
Matters it much, if from a royal couch,
Or from a mattress thrown upon the ground,
We rise to take our journey (5)?

(5) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Feridoun.*

*Apherasiab*

*Apherasiab* therefore very willingly renewed the peace, and left *Manugeber* to act as he thought fit in his own dominions. That wise and good prince made the city of *Sigjistan* for a time his royal seat, and when by his presence he had put all things on that side in good order, he sent thither his vizier *Sobam* to preserve all things in quiet, and went himself to reside in the centre of his empire, where he applied himself, as he had done before, to the cultivation of arts and sciences, and to every thing which might render his people powerful and happy. *Sobam* managed all things in the province of *Sigjistan* so as to gain the good-will of the people as well as to maintain the favour of the court; but in the midst of his happiness an accident fell out which suprized him not a little: his wife was brought to-bed of a son with long yellow hair, *Sobam* therefore gave him the name of *Zal-zer*, i. e. golden hair; this young man when he grew up to years of discretion gave manifest tokens of an exalted genius, insomuch that *Manugeber* sent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went, and the sight of the young nobleman augmented the esteem and gratitude *Manugeber* had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, *Sobam* and his son returned into their own country, and lived there with the same splendor and reputation that they had done before. One day it so happened that *Zal-zer* went to hunt in the province of *Kabluſtan*, dependant on the kingdom of *Touran*, but bordering northwards on the *Persian* dominions. *Meherab*, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of this, went out to meet him, that he might shew his respect to the father by the honours paid to his son. The conversation he had with *Zal-zer* charmed him so much, and made so strong an impression on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home, which had such an effect on the mind of *Roudabab* his daughter that she fell violently in love with *Zal-zer* on his report; and, as womens passions are ever sudden and ungovernable, she sent immediately one of her maids into the place where *Zal-zer* was incamped, that she might find an opportunity of speaking with him. Her project succeeded perfectly well, the young nobleman perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into discourse with her, enquiring her condition, and with whom she lived. The girl properly instructed, answered him that she was the servant of *Roudabab*, the daughter of *Meherab*, and then fell a talking of the family, expatiating on the wit, beauty, and sweet dispositions of her lady. *Zal-zer* immediately conceived a great esteem for this amiable person, which by degrees ripened into so warm a passion that he could neither eat nor sleep till he had concerted the means of speaking to her. An interview, as our author observes, between two persons who equally desire it, is very quickly obtained; the lovers made the best use of their time, that is they exchanged the most solemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to marry each other as soon as the consent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amour, *Zal-zer* made a visit at the same time to the father of his mistress, by whom he was very kindly received, and after staying with him all night, set out on his return to his father in the province of *Sigjistan*. Almost as soon as he came home he acquainted *Sobam* with all that had happened, and that it was impossible for him to live, at least in any degree of happiness, without the possession of the daughter of *Meherab*. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's consent to this marriage, for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a *Persian* to espouse a *Turk*. However the many services of *Sobam*, and the great merit of *Zal-zer* prevailed so far over *Manugeber*, that he at last yielded to all they desired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence; the inhabitants of *Sigjistan* and *Kabloustan* vying with each other in their expressions of joy on this occasion; nor were the consequences of this match less happy than its conclusion was splendid, for at the end of nine months the lovely *Roudabab* was brought to bed of a son who was named *Rustan*, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances[i]. The reader will hereafter perceive how the loves of this illustrious pair came to find a place in the *Persian* history. Let us now return to *Manugeber*, who spent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the best order imaginable with respect both to peace and war; that is, he took care to banish luxury, to encourage virtue, and to render every man's condition so happy as to engage him to fight for that government on the continuance of which it depended. The personal qualifications of this monarch have been already in some measure displayed; it remains

[i] MIRKHOND. hist. sect. viii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. MANOUCHER.

however

a however that we do him justice in one particular of greater importance than all the rest; he was a most zealous worshipper of the true God, of which we have the most shining instances in the history of his life and reign, written by *Tabari*[k] an ancient *Persian* author. By him we are informed, that as soon as this prince heard of the *Turks* passing the river *Gjeihon* in order to drive him out of his dominions, he assembled a great council of his nobility, wherein he delivered himself in these words; "The "most holy and high God delivered to me this kingdom, that I might render him "praise and glory by my actions as a prince, preserving my people in plenty and "ease, and impartially distributing justice, that thereby the glorious gift of God "might in my hand be strengthened and increased. If contrary to this my duty "I had acted ungratefully towards my creator, then I should justly have deserved b "to lose my kingdom here; and to suffer everlasting punishment for my wicked-"ness hereafter. The most holy and high God having caused me to be born of "royal blood, and in right thereof bestowed a kingdom upon me, let us not my "friends basely throw it away, or tamely suffer it to be taken from us; consider "well of the state we are in, and to-morrow I will more largely inform you as to "my sentiments of the matter." The next day accordingly the nobles of *Persia* assembled again, and the king being seated in his throne of state with his royal crown upon his head, and the *Mubad Mubadan*, or high priest seated near him in his golden chair, he rose up and spoke as he had done the day before, ascribing all dominion to the Almighty, and acknowledging that the crown of *Persia* was his gift; he then c observed that all things depended alike on the will of the supreme being, and that nothing could take effect but by his command, or with his permission. He said farther that God had long indulged the *Persian* nation in the full enjoyment of many blessings, in consequence of which they were bound to live in exact obedience to his laws, that is, making a proper use of the good things bestowed on them. He added, that as to the point at present before them, *viz.* the invasion of the *Turks*, it came not but by the permission of God, wherefore to him they ought first to apply themselves for its being taken away. He exhorted them to reform their lives, to be constant in prayer, to exert their courage and their understandings in the defence of their country, and to rest stedfastly in the hope that the Almighty would d not forsake them, but restore them again to peace and quiet, either by giving them a victory over their enemies, or inclining the hearts of their enemies to peace. The piety of this prince was rewarded with a very long life and reign; as to the extent of the former we have no certainty, but as to the latter authors agree in fixing it at 120 years. They say likewise that the death of *Manuyjabr* was like his life majestic and serene; that he called to him his son and successor, gave him in few words his advice as to the government of his dominions, and recommended his subjects most affectionately to his care[l].

*Nudar* or *Naudar* succeeded his father; but his reign was far from being as happy. Nudar. He was scarce seated on his throne before his grandees began to form parties, and e to create seditions in his empire; which weakened it so much that the *Turks* immediately conceived hopes of conquering it, a thing they had long set their hearts on. With this view *Pashangh* at that time king of *Touran*, the direct descendant of *Tour*, the son of *Phridun*, called his sons together; and having expatiated first on the right which their family had to the kingdom of *Persia*; and secondly of the low state the *Persian* affairs were then in; he told them that the intent of his drawing them together was to know which of them had courage enough to assert the pretensions derived to him from his ancestors, and to undertake the reduction of the provinces on the other side the *Gjeihon*. *Apherasiab* his eldest son stung with ambition, and desirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered himself to raise an army in order to conquer *Iran*. Accordingly he drew together 400,000 horse and foot; f and with this prodigious army entered *Sigjistan*. *Nudar* as soon as he was informed of this caused his best troops to file off that way; and gave the command of them to *Soham* the father of *Zal-zer*; but he being old and decrepid was forced to march slowly towards the enemy, and even that fatigued him so much that he died before he had reached the place of rendezvous, an event highly pleasing to *Apherasiab*, who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this great man. *Nudar* not doubting that *Soham* and his troops were already arrived at the place he appointed

[k] Apud Hyde, Relig. vet. Pers. c. viii. p. 156. [l] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra.

them, marched with his army towards *Mazanderan*, where on a sudden, and before a
he expected it, they came within sight of the enemy. The camps being opposite
to each other, a *Turkish* champion, whose name was *Basmon*, challenged any of the
*Persian* warriors to a single combat, which challenge was readily accepted by *Kobad*
the grandson of *Koab*, of whom we have said so much in the life of *Phridun*. The
combat terminated in favour of the *Persian*, who having slain his antagonist spoiled
him of his arms, and carried them as the trophy of his victory to his tent. The
*Turks* were prodigiously incensed at this accident, and resolved with themselves to
revenge it speedily on *Nudar* and his army. Accordingly having possessed them-
selves of all the posts about it, they attacked the *Persians* in their camp, where a most
obstinate battle was fought, till at length there happened such a prodigious shower b
of rain, attended with such an extraordinary darkness, that *Nudar* laid hold of this
opportunity to retire, and to order his sons *Thus* and *Gustam* who were at the head of
separate bodies to march speedily to his relief, which they did accompanied by *Karen*
the brother of *Kobad*, who had found means to withdraw the royal treasures out of *Sig-
jistan*, and to send them to a place of safety. *Apherasiab* observing the measures
taken by *Nudar*, and conceiving that his intent was to spin out the war, he, to
prevent its running into a length, which in the end would have been destructive to his
troops, sent an officer of his whose name was *Karabon* with positive orders to attack
*Karen*, and the body of *Persians* under his command, which accordingly he did,
killed their commander, and effectually dispersed the rest. Not long after *Aphe-* c
*rasiab* attacked *Nudar* in his camp, and after obtaining a signal victory, took
that monarch prisoner in his flight with many *Persian* nobles. As soon as they
came into his presence *Apherasiab* ordered them to be cut in pieces, but his bro-
ther a prince of great humanity and wisdom hindered him, and prevailed on him
to content himself with putting them in prison, to which with much ado he
yielded. The next step after this victory was to possess himself of the court and
treasures of *Nudar*, in order to which *Apherasiab* instantly detached a body of 30,000
men; they entering the province of *Sigjistan* made themselves masters of the capital
and of the royal palace, the *Persians* being every-where so intimidated that they
durst not stir, but submitted tamely to the yoke, which conquest had imposed upon d
them. *Meherab* it seems after the marriage of his daughter to *Zal-zer* had retired
into *Persia*, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this sudden over-
throw of the empire threatened him as well as the rest of its inhabitants. *Meherab*,
being a man of great policy, bethought himself of a means to divert immediate
danger by sending a messenger to *Apherasiab* with very rich presents, and a letter to
this purpose, "That though he lived in *Persia*, he was by nation a *Turk*, and not
"only so but in some measure allied to him in blood, being lineally descended
"from *Zoak*, wherefore he hoped his family and this early testimony of obedience
"would be sufficient to recommend him to his special protection." Having thus
amused the victor, he gave notice to his son-in-law *Zal-zer*, who assembling, as pri- e
vately as he could, several small bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendez-
vous, where he himself joined them, and finding them numerous enough to attempt
somewhat against the common enemy, he began to act offensively, and in a short
time drove the *Turks* out of the province of *Sigjistan*. Of which when *Apherasiab*
received intelligence, it provoked him so much that he ordered the unfortunate *Nudar*
to have his head struck off in prison, which was accordingly put in execution without
the least regard to his dignity. As to the length of his reign authors are divided,
some making it seven, others enlarging it to nine. *Mirkhond*, whom we generally
follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince
co-temporary with *Joshua*, others place him much higher; we shall not dete mi e f
here who are in the right *.

Apherasiab. *Apherasiab* or *Afrasiab*, notwithstanding this rebellion, or rather insurrection,
looking upon himself as a monarch of *Persia*, sent an account to his father *Pashangh*
of the happy success with which his expedition had been crowned. But it was not
long before he had news of another nature to send him; for the *Persians*, universally
detesting his haughty and insolent temper, began to raise seditions in every part of
the kingdom; nay, their aversion ingaged them in steps which carried their intrigues
farther, and made them endeavour to stir up the brother of *Apherasiab*, who had at first

* Mirkhond. Hist. viii. D'Herbelot. Artic. Naudhar.

saved

a saved *Nudar*'s life, to put in his claim to the throne, promising him at first assistance and then obedience. He, burning with the ambition natural to his family, listened readily to the proposal, and advised them to engage *Zal-zer* to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of *Sigjistan* in the spring, assuring them that the war once begun he would appear in their favour. These negotiations could not be carried on so secretly, but that *Afberasiab* gained intelligence of them; and immediately set all his wits to work to prevent their taking effect; with this view he caused his brother to be assassinated, and then applied himself indefatigably to the raising troops, resolving to reduce all his opponents. *Zal-zer* being informed of these proceedings, b and vehemently regretting the loss of the young *Turkish* prince, openly excited the *Persians* to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to understand that more than half their enemy's strength lay in their fears. His discourses by degrees had such an effect, that the inhabitants of *Persia* assembling together in small bodies marched by night through secret and by-ways to his camp, where when they were all arrived, *Zal-zer* found himself at the head of a very formidable army [a]. *Afrasiab*, who had his spies every where, receiving an exact account of *Zal-zer*'s situation, immediately resolved to change his manner of making war, and to act altogether on the defensive. This gave the *Persian* captain a great deal of trouble; but at last he found an opportunity of bringing *Afrasiab* to a battle; it was c very bloody, and so obstinate that it lasted till it was dark, and then each army, retiring to its camp, found that neither side had any reason to boast of victory; the war continued for a long time after this without any decisive action, whereby all industry being destroyed, there followed first a scarcity, then a famine, and on the heels of this a grievous pestilence, which falling at once into both camps, filled *Afberasiab* and *Zal-zer* with thoughts of peace. Negotiations were not long on foot before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was stipulated that *Afrasiab* should withdraw his troops and effects without molestation and retire into *Touran*, while *Iran* and all its dependencies should remain under the protection of *Zal-zer*: this peace concluded and ratified, it would have been easy for that nobleman to have raised d himself to the throne of *Persia*; but he scorning to barter immortal fame for a short-lived royalty, sought out *Zab* or *Zoub* the lawful heir of the *House* of *Keyomaras*, and put the crown upon his head [b].

*Zab*, *Zoub*, or *Bazab*, at the time of his accession to the royal dignity was far advanced in years, but had notwithstanding a tolerable share of health and spirits; he applied himself to the restoring as well as he could the shattered affairs of *Persia*; the more effectually to do this he associated with him in the empire, *Gherschasp* his nephew, who some have called *Kischtasp*, and have made him not the nephew and associate, but the son and successor of *Zab* or *Zoub*; but this seems to be a mistake, and the ground of it pretty obvious, the father of this *Gherschasp* being called e *Kischtasp*. But to return to *Zab* he sacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people easy, and to enable them to recover their losses after the wretched depredations committed by *Afrasiab* and his troops; he did more than all this, he threw open the royal treasury, and as often as any sums were paid in there, he first paid his soldiers, and then distributed the rest among the poor. These were certainly high virtues, but this prince is branded for a vice particularly infamous on a throne, *viz.* that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating, and is recorded to have been the author of various sorts of sauces and broths unknown before in these regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his successor. *Mirkhond* makes him expressly the last of the first race of kings, who from the surname of *Hushangh* were called in general *Pischdadians*, though to us it seems more f probable that they received this appellation, because during the several reigns of these princes the laws and constitution of *Persia* were thoroughly settled [c]. According to other authors *Gherschasp* or *Kischtasp* succeeded in the empire by the voluntary cession of *Zab* or *Zoub*; his mother is said to have been a Jewess of the tribe of *Benjamin*, he proved a prince of great merit, and deserving of a better fate than he met; for he did all in his power to restore the *Persian* diadem to its ancient lustre. *Afrasiab*, little regarding his treaties took advantage of the disorder the king-

Zab.

[a] Mirkhond. Hist. ubi supra. [b] Khondemir, in Khelasset Alakbar. D'Herbelot. Art. Afrasiab, Zal, Zoub, Mirkhond. hist. Sect. 10. [c] Mirkhond. hist. Sect. 11. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Naudhar.

dom

dom was in, to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to possess himself of various a provinces. The new king fought under great disadvantages, but in spite of these he frequently defeated the *Turks*, and recovered various places out of their hands; at last however he fell into the error of many of his predecessors, that is he put all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he lost and with it his life, being killed fighting bravely for the liberty of his country after a reign some say of six, others of thirty years; but whether the former may not include the reigns of *Zab* and of this prince too, or whether the latter ought to be accounted the time that this monarch reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this all are agreed that here the empire of the *Pischdadians* ended, and that *Afrasiab* the descendant of *Tour* became b a third time absolute lord of *Persia*; how he afterwards lost the possession of this empire will be shewn in its proper place[q]. In the mean time it may not be amiss to insert here some remarks on the foregoing period, in order to justify the observation we have so often made, that oriental history, though mixed with fables, is not altogether useless.

In the course of this work our method has been to speak first of the chronology, and afterwards of the history of each country; in the present case it was impracticable, unless we had tormented the reader with needless repetitions, and nauseous tautologies. We have therefore chosen to give the series of the *Persian* history relating to the kings of the first race, as it lies in *Mirkhond* and other authors; and after c laying down these facts as foundations of our arguments, to lead the reader by degrees to what we esteem the true state of the ancient *Persian* empire. In the first place it is remarkable, that the oriental writers make this race of kings *Medians* by descent. The province of *Aderbayagjan*, of which they make *Keyomaras* to have been at first sovereign, is a part of *Media*, taking in also a part of *Armenia*; so that in all probability it was one of the first peopled provinces of the dominion of *Shem*, if we suppose that territories were ascertained and set out immediately after the flood. Within this province stands the little town, that is, considering it in its present condition, *Nackshivan*, which the inhabitants affirm to have been the first town built after the flood; and indeed in the *Armenian* language the very d name implies as much, it being equivalent to *the first place, or, first habitation*[r]. Thus the early erecting of a monarchy hereabouts is rendered every where probable, and consistent with the most ancient accounts sacred and prophane. As the power of *Keyomaras* increased, he extended his territories towards the east, and towards the south; for it is agreed that he made himself master of *Irak-agami*, afterwards *Parthia*, and in process of time joined thereto the province of *Phars* or proper *Persia*, where some historians affirm he founded the city of *Istachr*, afterwards called *Persepolis*, though others deny it, and say it was built later. The successors of this prince conquered *Khirman* and *Sigjistan*, and afterwards many other countries on the east of the present *Persian* empire. It was *Phridun* or *Feridoun* who settled the e dominions of *Persia* in pretty near the same order we find them at this day; it is evident therefore that the kings of the first race were not petty princes or tributaries, but lords of a very extensive empire. As to the capital of their dominions in the time of *Keyomaras*, some think it was at *Balch* in *Chorasan*, others at *Istachr*. Perhaps he might first fix his residence at *Balch*, and afterwards remove it into the heart of his kingdom. *Hushang* resided again at *Balch*, *Gjemschid* settled himself at *Istachr*, and is by most of the *Persian* authors esteemed its founder. In the reigns of succeeding kings, though their royal residence might sometimes be changed, yet *Istachr* remained the capital, and received from time to time great improvements from the *Persian* monarchs. *Kischtasp* the last of them had a peculiar liking to this place, and no doubt took pains to re-edify whatever injuries it might have sustained through the course of a long war. Thus the glory of this city, which was afterwards so famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Persepolis*, began, as we observed in our description of *Persia*, under the first race of kings[s]. How it was afterwards adorned with a royal palace, of which the ruins are still remaining, we shall shew in the history of the princes of the second race; in the mean time let it be remembered, that several princes of the dynasty of *Pischdadians* were great lovers of arts, and great encouragers of ingenuity and learning; if therefore there were in their time, especially in the days of *Manugeber*, who is particularly famous in the

[q] D'Herbelot. Art. Gherschtasb, Kischtasp. [r] Tavernier. Voyag. tom. i. p. 45. Chardin. Voy. tom. i. p. 250. [s] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Estekar.

oriental

a oriental history for delighting in architecture, and every thing dependant thereon; if in his days we say there were any artists capable of carving in stone, they might have imployed their time in cutting some of those wonderful histories in *Bas-relief*, which are yet visible in the living rock, behind the ruins of *Chilminar*, or of the other works of a like kind remaining in other parts of *Persia*. This we say is possible, and not improbable, but we affirm nothing; the piety however of *Manugeber* is a circumstance nothing unfavourable to this conjecture, that the king praying before the fire, and in sight of the sun, represented in the mountain beforementioned, might be intended for him. This leads us to the religion of these ancient kings, which we have already shewn to be very near the true religion, that is the b religion of the patriarchs. As to the worship of fire, it was indisputably a very ancient doctrine; and there seems to be no reason for doubting the truth of what some authors have affirmed, that it took its rise in, if not before the time of *Keyomaras*. Certain it is that the province where he began to reign was the first in which magism prevailed, and was always held sacred by the professors of that religion on that account; this the very name implies, for *Aderbaygjan* is no more than the *place* of *fire*, *Ader* or *Azer* signifying fire, and *Bayagjan* a place, whence it comes to pass that we frequently find this word thus written *Azerbayagjan*. The high mountain of *Albors* was the principal place of worship in these early times, and the people were persuaded that celestial fire was preserved there; on this account when the c treasures of *Nudar* king of *Persia* were removed out of *Sigistan*, as we have before related, they were for security placed here. Nay, what is far more extraordinary, this superstition is not yet worn out of the heads of the *Ghaurs*, if we may believe Sir *John Chardin*; on the contrary they yet speak confidently of celestial or elemental fire, which they say is still to be seen in this mountain [t]. On the whole therefore, the religion of the *Persians* under the first race of kings differed very little from that which still subsists among the *Ghaurs*. Some indeed have been of opinion that there were no *Pyræa* or fire-temples at all before the time of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; others on the authority of some *Arabian* writers assert the contrary, so as it seems probable that the former is the opinion nearest truth. Our reasons for saying d this are these, first the ancientest historians extant say nothing of temples till after the time of the *Exodus* of the children of *Israel*. Secondly, because *Herodotus* says expressly that the ancient *Persians* had no temples, but sacrificed on the tops of high mountains *sub dio*; and thirdly, because of *Pyræa* being at that time in use, is not consistent with the history of *Zerdusht*, as we shall shortly have occasion to shew. From the power and the religion of the first race of *Persian* kings, we come at length to the intricate question, *When they flourished?* or rather how their reigns are to be reconciled to sacred and profane history? Before we pretend to give the solution of this problem, let us consider a little what sacred and profane historians say of the ancient kings of *Media* and *Persia*. The scripture informs us that *Elam* e was a very ancient kingdom, for *Chedorlaomer* came with a great army to reduce the region of *Pentapolis* in *Canaan*, and the circumjacent countries to his obedience in the days of *Abraham*; from thence we hear nothing of this nation, till the kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah* were on their decline. In respect to these ancient times the *Greek* writers are very insufficient guides, if we may believe the most judicious writer of history that nation ever produced, *viz. Thucydides*, who very frankly declares they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man [u], that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. They were indeed a bold and pretending people in history, as well as in other sciences, but they seldom told their stories in a manner capable of gaining them belief. f *Herodotus* pretends not to say any thing of the history of the *Medes*, above one hundred and fifty years before the time of *Cyrus*, where he places *Dijoces*, whom he makes the first king of *Media*, and speaks of his advancement in that dignity, in terms [x] exactly correspondent to those made use of by *Mirkhond* in his history of the election of *Keyomaras*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who really deserves the highest credit, because he took the utmost pains to be well informed, and spent a long series of years in collecting the materials for his history; gives us a list of ten *Median* kings reigning in all 282 years [y], but the critics are not pleased with these, because *Diodorus*

[t] Chardin. Voyag. tom. i. 255. [u] Thucydides, Procem. Hist. [x] Clio, c. 71. [y] Biblioth. lib. ii. c. 3.

took them from *Ctesias*, and *Ctesias* had his materials from the *Median* and *Persian* records; an odd reason for disbelieving all he says. But it seems, *Ctesias*'s account did not consist well with those that the *Greeks* had given before him, and therefore he lost his credit, and his history was rejected as fabulous. By the same rule of argument our oriental history must be condemned too, for it is as inconsistent with the *Greek* history, as the memoirs of *Ctesias*, and for the very same reason; because it is taken as his history was from what the *Medes* and *Persians* say of themselves. Not to keep the reader long in suspense, there is evidently a great gap of time between the erection of the old *Medo-Persic* monarchy, and its being destroyed by the *Assyrian* emperors. The question is, whether we will suppose that these people lived all that time without doing any thing, because none of the *Greek* historians except *Diodorus* from *Ctesias* have vouchsafed or indeed have been able to tell us what they did, or whether we shall admit *Ctesias*'s exploded method, and fill up this chasm with what the *Persians* say of themselves? If this latter course be to be steered, here is room for all the *Pischdadians* at once. But then as to the synchronism of their reigns we desire to be excused from settling it, because at present we see no likelihood of our doing it with any degree of exactness. However when the *Persian* history according to oriental writers shall be deduced as low as the reign of *Yezdegherd*, the last native of that country who swayed its sceptre, we shall reconsider this point, and set the whole chronology of the *Persic* empire in the best light we may. In the mean time we shall conclude these observations with remarking that *Ctesias* and all others who have at any time thought of enquiring as to the *Persian* history from the *Persian* records, have found in the most early times great and potent princes reigning here, marching vast armies into the field, erecting great cities, laying up immense treasures, and ruling with an equal mixture of wisdom and magnificence. Now this is exactly what we say from *Mohammedan* writers, who own they have taken all which they deliver from the old *Persian* writers; if therefore all this be fable, 'tis at least very ancient and uniform fable, or to speak seriously, it has as much the appearance of truth as any history as ancient that we know of. But it is time to leave reasoning and conjectures to return to the thread of our history, and to shew the steps by which *Apherasiab* was expelled, and the *Persian* dominions once more restored to a prince of that country.

## *The history of the* Persian *kings of the second race, or of the dynasty of the* Kainites.

Keykobad. *Keykobad*, or *Caicobad*, whom some writers make the son of *Zab*, the son of *Tahamasp*, the son of *Manugeher*, king of *Persia*, and others call simply the nephew of *Nudar*, was seated on the throne of *Persia* by the famous *Zal-zer*, who was so loyal to the family that raised him, that he twice refused the *Persian* diadem, because he would not injure them. At this time he and his son *Rustan* put themselves at the head of such a body of troops as enabled them to give *Apherasiab* abundance of trouble, and by degrees to put into the possession of *Keykobad* the greatest part of the provinces of *Persia*. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his subjects in general, and extremely grateful to the persons particularly concerned in raising him to the empire. He intrusted the command of all his forces with *Rustan*, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father; by degrees his troops under the command of the famous hero before mentioned gained such advantages that *Apherasiab* retired before them, and was at last driven to such distress that he desired to treat of a peace; but his commissioners, and those of the king of *Persia*, differing about the terms, *Apherasiab* hazarded a second battle, wherein notwithstanding his troops fought with great resolution, he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, *Rustan* desired some of the officers about him to shew him *Apherasiab*, which when they had done, *Rustan* spurred towards him with such an impetuous force that he beat him from his horse, and afterwards dismounting from his own he tied his hands and feet together with a cord, and having laid him before himself upon his own steed rode out of the battle, and threw him in a particular place. *Apherasiab* finding himself left alone, struggled with such force, that he at last got loose; then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man as *Rustan* had tied his, and retired to a troop of his own horse, with whom he made his escape. After victory had declared itself in favour of the

army

a army of *Keykobad*, *Rustan* rode up to salute him. Amongst other compliments of congratulation, he informed him that the war was now at an end, himself having made *Apherasiab* prisoner, whom he also promised immediately to produce. Riding to that end, to the place where he had thrown the *Turkish* monarch, he found with surprize a dead man tied in his place; for this oversight of his he asked pardon of *Keykobad*, and solemnly promised, that if he met *Apherasiab* in battle again, he would not make the same mistake. But that prince finding his affairs desperate in *Persia*, retired into *Turquestan*, and sent from thence an embassador to treat with *Keykobad*, who was easily prevailed on not to carry his arms into *Touran*, when the right of him and his family to *Iran* was acknowledged by *Apherasiab*, and all the b scattered remnants of his army withdrawn [z]. The peace once settled, *Keykobad* applied himself to the restoring the affairs of his kingdom, and in the first place fixed his court at *Spahawn*, which had been built by the famous king *Houshangh*, adorned by *Phridun*, and afterwards given by him to *Kaob* the smith and his family. The reason in all probability which determined *Keykobad* to reside here, was its convenient situation in the heart of his dominions. His court once fixed, the king next bestowed his favours on such as had been instrumental in the expulsion of the *Turks*; to *Rustan* he gave the province of *Zabluſtan*, on the borders of *India*, watered with many pleasant streams, and adorned with the finest prospects that can be wished. This province afforded a surname to *Rustan*, and received c itself a new name from him. That hero being stiled in most of the romances *Zabeli*, because he was governor of *Zabluſtan*; and that province, or at least a great part of it, was thenceforward called *Rustandar*, because it had been the government of *Rustan*. *Mahârab*, surnamed *Kabuli*, because he had been governor of *Kabul*, was another of *Keykobad*'s generals, and highly esteemed by him. *Kavun* one of the descendants of the famous *Kaob* the smith, was also a person highly esteemed by this king of *Persia*; but what particular rewards he received, authors do not mention. It seems he was a sort of knight errant, and acquired from thence the surname of *Rezm-Khûah*, or the searcher of adventures. A fourth captain of *Keykobad*'s was *Keschvâd*, surnamed *Zerin Kulah*, from a golden tiara which he was d allowed to wear, in reward to the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. *Keykobad* divided all the spoil that had been brought into his treasury among his soldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, setting up publick marks at the end of every four thousand paces, which space by the *Persians* is called *Phersengh*, and from thence by the *Greeks Parasang*. As this monarch was renowned for his wisdom and prowess, so he was no less famous on account of his piety; the *Mohammedan* writers insist very much upon this, they assert that he had many prophets who resorted to his court, that he received, honoured and obeyed them, and in time was a true believer, by which we are to understand that he was not a fire-worshipper; e but in this they are certainly mistaken. They make him also cotemporary with *Shmuel*, the judge of *Israel*, and assert that he had some intercourse with him. In the last years of his life he grew blind, and continued so till the day of his death, which happened as some historians say after a reign of one hundred years; according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty years [a].

*Keykaus* or *Caikaus*, the son, or as some say the grandson of *Keykobad*, succeeded him in the throne of *Persia*, on which he was scarce seated before a war broke out in *Mazandran*, a province bordering on the *Caspian* sea, which required his presence; a rebel prince taking occasion from the demise of *Keykobad*, made himself f sovereign there, and fortified the capital in such a manner that he made it the strongest place in the east. *Keykaus* marched immediately against him, and coming with too great an army to be opposed, the rebel shut himself up in the city of *Mazanderan*, and prepared for a siege. *Keykaus* having viewed the place, and having received intelligence that it was extremely well provided with all sorts of ammunitions and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force. But as in such cases 'tis usual for experienced generals to have recourse to stratagems, *Keykaus* devised one which answered his end effectually; he gave out in his camp, and he corrupted people to give it out in the city, that he was extremely distressed for provi- Keykaus.

[z] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xii. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Apherasiab, Caikobad, Rustan. [a] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Rezm Khuah, &c.

sions,

sions, and should be on that account obliged shortly to raise the siege. His emissaries in the place immediately insinuated to the keepers of the stores, that by supplying the king of *Persia* with small quantities of victuals, immense sums might be got; this trade once on foot, *Keykaus* paid so well, that in a short time there was not a loaf left; he then summoned the city peremptorily to surrender, and on a discovery of their circumstances the inhabitants were forced to submit[b]. He had not the like success in another war, undertaken in this province against *Apherasiab*; for the *Persian* army being defeated, king *Keykaus* was taken and thrown into a prison, from whence he was released by the timely care of his general *Rustan*, who entering *Touran* with a numerous army, he wasted all before him with fire and sword, declaring that he would destroy the whole country if they did not set his master at liberty; which so terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on *Apherasiab* to dismiss *Keykaus* on his promise to recal *Rustan*. As soon as the *Persian* monarch had regained his liberty, he made use of the hero we have so often mentioned to curb his enemies on every side; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into *Mezr*, i. e. *Egypt*; *Shamah*, i. e. *Syria*; and *Rum*, i. e. *Asia Minor*. After these wars were over, and all things in a quiet situation, *Keykaus*, to shew the high esteem he had of *Rustan*'s services, gave him his sister in marriage; the name of this princess was *Gehernaz*, i. e. endowed with all virtues, and with her by way of portion he gave him the office of generalissimo of all his armies, and made him vicar-general of his kingdom, with the title of *Pehelevan*, *Gihan*, i. e. supporter of the *Persian* empire. We are not told who it was *Keykaus* himself married, but whoever she was he had by her two sons, named *Siavek* and *Phrailorz*; the eldest of these, *viz. Siavek* was sent to live with, and to be bred up under his uncle *Rustan*. How long things continued in this tranquil state does not appear; but the next war we hear of was against *Zulzogar* king of *Arabia*. What provocation he gave *Keykaus* is uncertain; but the king of *Persia* carried his resentment so far, that he had well nigh reduced the whole kingdom of *Yemen*, over which *Zulzogar* reigned under his dominion; at length it came to the ears of *Keykaus* that this *Arabian* prince had a daughter the most lovely woman in the world, upon which the *Persian* king sent to demand her in marriage; the king of *Yemen*, desirous to be rid at any rate of such an enemy, sent immediately his daughter to the king of *Persia*'s *Haram*. As soon as *Keykaus* beheld *Saudabah*, he was so struck with her beauty, that he conceived himself the happiest man in the world, by having her in his possession. Overcome therefore with the violence of his passion, he abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses, giving great entertainments, and encouraging all sorts of diversions in his camp, without so much as remembering that he was in an enemy's country. *Zulzogar*, who foresaw all this, drew together privately a considerable body of horse, and falling unexpectedly on the *Persian* army absolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his court prisoners. The news of this no sooner reached *Persia*, than *Rustan* put himself at the head of the forces left under his command, and marched with them immediately into *Yemen*. *Zulzogar* knew very well that he had no troops capable of contending with the veterans under the command of *Rustan*, and for this reason he treated the king of *Persia*, while in his power, with the utmost civility and respect, so that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him to send his general orders to forbear hostilities, and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between the father and son-in-law, whereby the former quitted all pretensions to the kingdom of *Yemen*, and promised to invade it no more, while the latter engaged to be the friend and ally of the *Persian* nation, and to assist it to the utmost of his power; in consequence of which *Keykaus* was immediately set at liberty, with all those who had been taken prisoners with him, and returned triumphantly into *Persia* with his new spouse *Saudabah*[c]. Not long after this *Siavek* came to court, and was received with the utmost affection by his father. *Saudabah*, either charmed with the beauty of his person, or affecting so to be, sollicited him to an incestuous amour, which he being a prince of great virtue rejected with abhorence; upon which, waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his parlour, *Saudabah* rushed in with her hair dishevelled, her night-gown torn, and her breast bloody, crying out for justice against *Siavek*, who had made an attempt

[b] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xiii. [c] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caicaus, Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xiii.

upon

a upon her honour; the king immediately caused his son to be imprisoned, and obliged him to stand a trial; some say he underwent the ordeal by fire, however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedness of *Saudabah* clearly appeared. Upon which the king would have put her to death if his son had not interceded for her on his knees. These proceedings having created some divisions and heart-burnings in the court of *Persia*, *Apherasiab* who waited all opportunities of distressing that nation failed not to take this, and to pass the river *Gjiehon* with a great body of troops, in order to besiege *Balch*. *Keykaus*, roused by the impending danger, ordered his son to march into *Sigjistan* with twelve thousand horse, there to join the b forces under the command of *Rustan*, in order to make head against the enemy. *Syarek* readily obeyed, and after joining his uncle *Rustan*, marched with such expedition, that they were soon in the neighbourhood of *Apherasiab*, and his army; but not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very strong camp. *Apherasiab* knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingering war, attacked them therein, which *Rustan* foresaw, and provided so well for his reception, that he was not only repulsed, but his troops suffered so much in the attack, that he began sincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the coming of this army of *Persians* into his dominions. With this view he sent commissioners to the camp of *Syavek* and *Rustan*, in order to c settle the terms of a perpetual alliance; they were very kindly received, and the young prince his uncle, and two *Persians* of great quality, who were of his council, settled with them the heads of a treaty very advantageous to *Persia*, which being ratified by *Apherasiab*, the young prince dispatch an express to carry the peace to his father. It seems the intrigues of *Saudabah* had created this deserving young prince many enemies in his father's court, who took this opportunity of persuading the king that *Syavek* had exceeded his commission, and injured the majesty of the *Persian* empire by the treaty which he had made. *Keykobad* influenced by these suggestions, dispatched his uncle *Thus* to the army with letters full of sharpness, with respect to the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to *Thus*, and to signify to d *Rustan* that the king thought him now old enough to take his rest, and therefore desired him to retire to his government of *Sigjistan*. *Rustan* obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of *Turquestan*, in order to act offensively against *Apherasiab*. When they were arrived in the neighbourhood of the river *Gjiehon*, the prince taking with him *Piran Visseh*, an officer of distinction in the *Turkish* army, who had remained with him as an hostage, went directly to the court of *Apherasiab*, to shew him how contrary to his humour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. *Apherasiab* received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter *Frangbiz* in marriage[6]. The nobility of *Turquestan* were so much charmed with this young prince, and gave him e continually such strong marks of their esteem, that *Garsiavesch*, brother to *Apherasiab*, took umbrage at it, and resolved to have him taken off. *Syavek* who was a prince of great penetration, discovered his intention, and foreseeing that in a strange country it was impossible for him to guard against such attempts, he spoke of it to his wife, who was then great with child, and conjured her in case he should be murdered, to send his son, if she should be brought to bed of one, into *Persia*. A small time after, what he feared came to pass; he was killed by some assassins hired by *Garsiavesch*, who would also have dispatched his wife if *Piran Visseh* had not luckily entered the room and prevented it. *Frangbiz* was afterwards brought to bed of a son, called *Key-chosrau*, who in time succeeded his grandfather. The f people of *Turquestan* were so much grieved for the death of *Syavek*, that to shew their concern, they mourned in *Persian* habits, a custom which has ever since remained amongst them. The news of the prince of *Persia*'s death reaching *Rustan* in his government, he, without expecting orders, entered *Turquestan* with a considerable army, burning and destroying all the country before him. *Garsiavesch* raised a body of troops as soon as he was able, and marched to oppose him; but coming to an engagement, they were soon defeated, and *Garsiavesch* himself had his head struck off by the sword of *Rustan*[7]. The desire this hero had to do all the good he could to the family of his pupil and nephew *Syavek*, put him upon enquiring for his son;

[6] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Rustan. Siavek. Piran. Visseh. Mirkhond. Hist. ubi supra. [7] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caiacus, Siavek, Ghersciavesch.

but his mother kept him so effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes could find him out, which gave *Rustan* inexpressible concern; some years after however *Keykaus* sent *Guiu* the son of *Gudarz*, a young *Persian* nobleman of great capacity, into *Turquestan*, in order to discover his grandson. Some say that *Guiu* having sought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day as he was hunting, and knowing him by the resemblance he bore of his father, addressed himself frankly to him, told him his name, and his commission. *Key-chosrau* listened greedily to the proposal made him of retiring into *Persia*, but desired that he might carry his mother and *Piran Visseh*, the old and faithful friend of his father, with him, that they might be safe from the attempts of their enemies. This being agreed to, all things were concerted so well, that they quitted *Turquestan* and got safe into *Persia*, little to the satisfaction of *Apherasiab*, who was mighty well pleased with having in his hands the heir of the *Persian* diadem. He ordered them immediately to be persued by several roads, but all to no purpose, though they passed the river *Gjichon* in sight of their persuers. On the arrival of *Key-chosrau* at the court of his grandfather, the face of affairs suddenly changed; those who had been avowed enemies of the prince *Syavek* his father were immediately removed, and *Keykobad*, to shew his affection for the young prince, made him generalissimo of his armies, and raised *Guiu*, who had brought him back, to the highest honours. *Thus*, who had been no friend to *Syavek*, began to be apprehensive of the power of *Key-chosrau*, and therefore took all opportunities of influencing *Fraiborz*, the son of *Keykaus*, by suggesting to him that this new-come prince would rob him of the crown of *Persia*, which ought by no means to be placed on the head of one descended by the mother's side from *Tour*, the implacable enemy of their name and nation; these seeds of dissension sown, the *Persian* court was quickly in disorder, all the nobility taking one side or other, to the no small detriment of the affairs of the nation. *Keykaus* in the mean time was unwilling to declare either against his son or his grandson. At last to prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniences that might attend a disputed succession, he resolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of displaying their abilities, and to declare him who had the greatest desert his heir. One *Babaman* who had been intrusted with the city of *Ardebil* or *Ardevil* in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, had made himself prince of that place, and thrown off his allegiance to the king of *Persia*. *Keykaus* sent a body of troops under the command of his son *Fraiborz*, to invest the town on one side, and an equal number under *Key-chosrau* to sit down before it on the other, informing both the princes, when they set out for their respective commands, that whoever reduced the place, he would declare successor to the throne. *Thus* according to his repeated professions of friendship to *Fraiborz*, set out with him for the army, and did all that in his power lay to make him master of *Ardevil*, but to no purpose; *Babaman*, apprized of the siege, had provided all things necessary for a long defence, and was himself so consummate an officer, that he triumphed over all the attempts of the *Persian* army under *Fraiborz*. *Key-chosrau* had better success; the troops commanded by this young prince, behaved better than those under his uncle, insomuch that *Babaman* finding it impossible to hold out, surrendered *Ardevil* into his hands. According to agreement therefore, when he returned to court, *Keykaus* declared him heir apparent of the crown, and thereby put an end to the contention which had so long subsisted. Some small time after this, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of royalty, retired from the world and left his grandson in the possession of the kingdom, after a reign of one hundred and fifty years [f].

ACCORDING to the method we have hitherto pursued, we should here take leave of *Keykaus*'s reign. But as it is our design to inform the reader, as far as we are able, of every thing relating to the history of those kings we speak of, we find ourselves obliged to take notice here of some variations in circumstances, into which the *Persian* historians have fallen, as to the most material facts reported in the history of *Keykaus*. Thus, as to *Saudabah*, some make her to have been the daughter of *Gherschiavesch*, brother to *Apherasiab*; they say likewise that she was the mother of *Syavek*, and that taking some disgust in his father's court, the young prince fled to that of his uncle in *Turquestan*, where marrying the daughter of the king, he made himself so considerable, that his grand-father by the mother's side caused him to

[f] MIRKHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICAUS & CAIKOSRAU.

be

a be destroyed [g]. *Mirkhond*, speaking of the invasion made by *Rustan* on *Apherasiab*'s dominions, in revenge for the death of *Syavek*, mentions one *Keydab*, the son of *Apherasiab*, who commanded the armies of his father, and who was slain in single combat by *Rustan*. If there be any fact in this, then it is probable that this duel is represented in the figures cut on the rocky mountain of *Tacks-Rustan*, which we took notice of in our description of *Persia* [h]. A *Persian* writer hath taken upon him to assert that *Keykaus* ought to be regarded as the *Nimrod* of the *Hebrews*, and he will have it that both these names signify the *long liver*, or the immortal; adding that *Keykaus* was so called, because of his extraordinary long reign, *viz.* of one hundred and fifty years. *Mirkhond*, like a good historian, reports this fact, and observes that some have stigmatized *Keykaus* with building the tower of *Babel*, and b attempting to scale heaven thereby, but he says expressly that this story is fabulous, and ought not to be regarded; the king of *Persia* being a wise and pious prince, who knew well that to ascend to heaven there was no need of towers. But to proceed in our history [i] (G).

*Key-chosrau* or *Kay-khosru* succeeded peaceably to the throne of his grand-father, and shewed himself worthy of that preference which had been given him; for in the first place, he took care to rectify all abuses in courts of justice throughout his whole dominions, displacing all such officers as had made themselves odious to the people, and taking every method he could devise to put the poor into a condition of earning bread, issuing for this purpose great sums out of his treasury, and giv- c ing audience with the greatest ease to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he summoned a grand council of his nobility, wherein having represented the miserable death of his father and the mighty mischiefs which had been done them by the inhabitants of *Turquestan*, he desired them to speak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their interest, as well as for his honour, if an army were immediately raised for the reduction of *Turquestan*. They came unanimously into this proposal, whereupon *Piran-Visseh* returned into his own Key-chosrau.

[g] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. Artic. Gherschiaveh. [h] Mirkhond. hist. ubi supra. Univers. Hist. Vol II. p. 53. [i] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Nembrod.

(G) To prevent the reader's falling into any confusion with respect to the wars recorded in this history, it may be necessary to observe, that the *Persians* had for their neighbours under the monarchs of the first and second race, on the north-east the inhabitants of the extended country of *Touran*. We have already spoken so copiously of the sense and derivation of this name, that there is no necessity for our adding any thing farther on that subject; here it is sufficient that we observe, the boundaries thereof were never well fixed, and that it was always designed by an indefinite term, as well by the *Romans* as by the orientals; the former stiled all the provinces on the other side that river which they call *Oxus*, the ancient *Persians Gjeihon*, and the modern *Amu*, *Transoxana*; and the orientals called the same provinces *Mauaralnahar*, i. e. on the other side the river (6). This country was inhabited by the *Turks*, properly so called, whom some conceive to be the same nation with the *Tartars*, and that those we generally call *Turks* have very little right to that appellation (7). On the east of *Persia* lay the empire of the *Indies*, then governed by princes who were natives of that country. To the south of *Persia* lay the peninsula of *Arabia*, governed by its own kings; and on the west the territories of *Sham* or *Schamah*, for so the *Persians* stiled *Syria*, and the other dominions of the kings of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. Nothing can be darker or more confused than the accounts we have from the *Persian* historians of the state of their neighbours in those times of which we are now speaking. To us, there seems some reason to doubt whether the word *Khakan*, made use of to signify the supreme monarch of grand *Tartary* by *Mirkhond* was really heard of in those early times; it seems more likely that our *Persian* historians bestowed that title, which is now frequent, on the monarch mentioned by the ancient historians to have reigned then in these parts, in order to familiarize the stile of his history to his cotemporaries. As the country of *Touran* bordered as well as *Iran* on the *Caspian* sea, and as the last battle fought by *Apherasiab* happened in the plains of *Khuerezm*, it was natural enough for him to fly into the mountains nearest at hand, in hopes of returning that way into *Touran*; and when he found the enemy possessed of the passes near the mouth of the river *Gjeihon*, he had no other way left than to endeavour to get through the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, and so round the *Caspian* sea, till he entered *Touran* on the north; in which however we need not wonder that he proved unsuccessful, since from those times to ours, no conqueror whatever has had the honour to make that tour with his troops, excepting only the *Tartar* hero *Zinjis Khan*. From the observations in this note it will be very plain to the reader, that *Iran* under the reign of this monarch *Key-kosrau* contained very nearly the same extent of country, and the same provinces which are still comprehended under the empire of *Persia*: and that whatever difference there might be, must have lain on the provinces on the west side of the empire; the bounds of which are not exactly laid down by the *Persian* historians. As to the new kingdom on the *Persian* gulph erected in favour of *Fraiborz*, we shall have occasion to mention it hereafter; in the mean time let us remark, that the situation of this kingdom proves the extent of *Key-kosrau*'s empire towards the south-east to have been pretty near the same with the present *Shah*'s.

(6) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. Art. Touran.* (7) *History of the Tartars, Vol. II. p. 384.*

country,

country, from whence as we have heard, he fled with *Key-chosrau* and his mother. The a king of *Persia* knowing that without unanimity, no war could be carried on with any reasonable hopes of success, took pains to reconcile himself to *Thus*, and to his uncle *Fraiborz*; and to shew that his reconciliation was sincere, he intrusted them with the command of thirty thousand horse, and sent them to open the war by invading the dominion of *Turquestan* [k]. At their setting out he spoke to them thus; "You must know that before my father married the princess *Franghiz* my mother, "he had by the daughter of his friend *Piran-Visseh*, a son called *Ferud*. This "young man I am informed has at present a command in the army of *Apherasiab*; "but where-ever he is, remember that he is my brother, and that where-ever you "find him, you do him no injury, but render him all honours due to so near a b "relation of mine." It happened unluckily that the *Persian* army no sooner entered the country of *Turquestan*, than *Ferud* came to reconnoitre them at the head of a body of horse. His scouts informed him that the *Persians* were by far more numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to shew his valour, instead of retiring, attacked very briskly the army under the command of *Thus*, who as soon as he understood that *Ferud* was at the head of the *Turks*, ordered his forces to retire, and presenting himself before the young prince, informed him of the order he had received from his brother the king of *Persia*. *Ferud*, full of imprudent bravery, would not be persuaded to retire, but causing the *Turkish* horse to make a fresh attack, the *Persians* repulsed them with great slaughter, and *Ferud*, c to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place [l]. *Key-chosrau* received this news with great concern, and apprehending that *Thus* had been in some measure instrumental in his brother's death, he sent orders to his uncle *Fraiborz* to take upon him the command of the army, and to send back *Thus* a prisoner to answer in *Persia* for his conduct. *Fraiborz* executed the king's commands exactly with respect to *Thus*, and then marched farther into *Turquestan*. *Apherasiab* gave the command of the great army he had raised to *Piran-Visseh*, the most experienced of his generals, and who was perfectly acquainted with the *Persian* discipline. This excellent officer did all that could be expected from him, he gave *Fraiborz* and *Gudar* so much trouble, and knew so well how to encamp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the *Persians* were constrained to retreat, not without very considerable loss; *Gudar*, who commanded in the rear, having no less than seventy gentlemen of his own family slain [m]. The news of this defeat obliged the king to take other measures; he therefore removed his uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to *Gudar*, to whose valour and conduct it was owing, that any part thereof escaped. He also sent *Thus*, who had fully justified himself as to the death of *Ferud*, with a reinforcement of troops, in order to enable him to carry on the war. *Apherasiab* perceiving that the *Persians* were resolved to destroy his empire, called to his assistance the *Kha-khan* or king of great *Tartary*, and *Schangal* king of the *Indies*, and by the help of his confederates e pushed the *Persian* troops so closely, that they being far inferior in number were forced to retire into the mountains of *Chorassan*, where they threw up intrenchments, and fortified their camp in the best manner they could. *Key-chosrau*, informed of their distress, sent orders to *Rustan* to march with the utmost diligence to their assistance. That experienced general readily obeyed his master, and the *Persian* army that was besieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no question of carrying the victory. *Rustan*, as an earnest thereof, deceived the vigilance of the *Turkish* officers, and passing their advanced guards in the night entered the *Persian* camp, before the enemy was aware. The next day the most bloody battle was fought, that hitherto had been seen in *Persia*. *Rustan* did wonders, he took pri- f soner the *Kha-khan* and *Kaimus*, one of the principal generals in the service of *Apherasiab*. In the end victory declared itself for the *Persians*, and *Apherasiab*, having lost half his army, was obliged to retire with the rest into his own dominions. Notwithstanding this mighty loss, the king of *Turquestan* meditated new invasions, exhausting his whole country to draw together an army sufficient for his purpose. *Key-chosrau* on the other hand set four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay in the neighbourhood of *Balch*, under the command of *Gudar*. Against him *Apherasiab* sent a detachment of his choicest troops under the command of *Piran-Visseh*,

[k] Mirkhond Hist. sect. xiv. [l] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Caichosrau. [m] Mirkhond. Hist. ubi supra. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caichosru.

the

a the best officer in his dominions. The two armies had not long been in the neighbourhood of each other, before an action ensued, wherein *Piran-Visseh* was killed, and his army beaten. When *Gudar* saw the body of *Piran-Visseh* on the ground, he alighted from his horse, and remembring the courtesies that nobleman had formerly done to *Syavek*, and to *Key-chosrau*, when a young man, he bedewed it with his tears, and took care afterwards, to see it interred with all the honours due to so great and worthy a man. Of which, when the king of *Persia* was informed, he highly commended his general, and spoke with very great regret of the death of his old friend [n]. *Apherasiab*, when informed of this new disaster, sent his son *Schidah* to command the remains of the army, which he caused to be reinforced as b soon as possible. By this time *Key-chosrau* was come in person to his army, and marched at the head thereof, through the plains in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea. *Schidah* thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the *Persians* with great resolution; but his success was not answerable to his valour, for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of *Persia* surveying the field of battle, and the vast number of dead bodies which lay thereon, cried out aloud, *Khuaresmi-bud*, i. e. *I have seen my desire*; whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province wherein they lie, received the appellation of *Khuarezm*, which they still retain. *Key-chosrau* pushed on the war now with the greatest vigour, marching c directly towards the capital of *Turquestan*, whither *Apherasiab* had retired; but this prince not thinking himself safe there, because the people murmured loudly at the evils they felt, he first sent away his *Haram*, and then retired himself. His wives and children fell a short time afterwards into the hands of *Key-chosrau*, who treated them with all imaginable kindness and respect; *Apherasiab* wandered from province to province with a small body of troops, till being shut up in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan* he was at last taken prisoner, and by the orders of *Key-chosrau* put to death [o]. Thus ended this long and bloody war which had well nigh exhausted both empires. After it was finished *Key-chosrau* fixed his court at *Balch*, for the conveniency of governing *Touran* as well as *Iran*; there it was that seeing himself in full possession d of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predecessors had thought of, he computed all the levies which had been made on *Persia* for the carrying on the war against the *Turks*, and out of the mighty treasures which were fallen into his hands, he restored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He sent for his uncle *Fraiborz*, and after having commended him for his fidelity, he erected several provinces on the shore of the *Persian* gulph into a kingdom, and made him sovereign thereof. He assembled the nobility of *Touran*, and having shewn them the folly of hating the inhabitants of *Iran*, as they had hitherto done, he advised them to consider of ways and means for re-establishing the peace of their country, and assured them he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power. He e then marked out the quarters, and settled the yearly pay of his army, took an exact account of the state of all the provinces, reformed several abuses in religion; and when he had done all this, he said he had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit the world, and dedicate the rest of his days to God. With this view he introduced his successor *Loherasp* into a grand assembly of the nobility, he put the *Tagi* on his head, and retired himself to a cell in the desart, having attained to the age of ninety years, sixty of which he had passed upon the throne [p].

WHAT has been above related of the reign of *Key-chosrau* is taken from the best and most credible historians, and connected with all the accuracy in our power; f let us now see what other remarkable facts have been related of this monarch, which could not so well be reduced into the order we have followed. With respect to the decisive battle fought against the king of *Turquestan*, some writers tell us that it was not a general engagement, but that twelve *Turks*, and as many *Persians*, fought in the sight of both armies, which providence decided in favour of the latter; and this combat is very famous in oriental romances, where it is generally stiled *Genk duazde Rokh*, i. e. the combat of the twelve heroes. The terms on which this combat was fought were these; that if the *Turks* were victorious the

[n] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra, & Artic. PIRAN VISSEH. [o] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. CATCHOSRAU. [p] MIRKOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT ubi supra.

*Persians* should own *Apberasiab* for their lord, but in case the *Persians* were successful, then the *Turks* were to retire into their own country, and so quit all pretensions to *Iran*[q]. *Apberasiab* complied with the agreement, and marched directly back into his own country; but, say the same writers, he soon after broke the peace by sending his son with a numerous body of horse to make inroads into *Persia*. In consequence of which followed the battle of *Khuarezm*, in which they make *Apberasiab* and his brother to have been present. They add, that after the loss of the battle, *Apberasiab* with the remains of his army fled into the mountainous countries on the banks of the *Caspian* sea, intending to pass if possible behind it, and so thro' the extended territories of the *Kipjaks* into his own dominions; but his efforts were vain, the forces of *Key-chosrau* surrounding the handful of troops *Apberasiab* had with him in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, so that he was at last taken prisoner, and put to death[r]. *Mirkhond*, and the writers we have followed, do not say much as to the personal bravery of *Key-chosrau*, but there are writers who inform us of a very extraordinary act of chivalry, performed by this monarch. They tell us that in his reign there appeared in the mountains, which separate *Irak Ajemi* from *Phars*, or as we call them, *Parthia*, from proper *Persia*, a monstrous serpent, which struck the people with such terror that they abandoned their habitations, and left all the adjacent country desolate; this formidable dragon they stiled *Gavschid*. The king being informed of this, resolved like a good prince to go immediately and destroy this monster. *Key-chosrau* hunted it for some time before he came up with it, but at last he found it in its den in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, and his guards flying at the sight of the dragon he attacked it alone, and killed it with his own hand. On the spot where this remarkable deed was done, a *Pyræum* or fire-temple was erected, called in succeeding times *Deir Gavschid*, i. e. the habitation of *Gavschid*, renowned to this day amongst the *Persees*, and held by some to be the first fire-temple erected in *Persia*, which however we doubt, if they mean, as certainly they do, that it was erected in the reign of *Key-chosrau*[s]. Though some writers are silent as to the valour of this prince, yet all who treat of his reign expatiate loudly on his wisdom and piety. Some believe him a prophet, most acknowledge that he conversed with the prophets, and was in a peculiar manner favoured by the Almighty for the great regard he always shewed towards religion, and religious persons. During his reign flourished *Lokman* the famous philosopher of the east, called by way of surname *Lokman Al Hakim*, i. e. *Lokman* the wise. It would lead us far out of our way should we enter here too deeply into the history of this extraordinary person; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing that it is generally agreed he was by birth an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian*, the oriental word *Habaschi* including both; his parents mean, and himself sold for a slave, and carried from one place to another, till at last he was brought into the land of *Israel*, where he lived under the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*. The *Arabian* writers tell us, that sleeping in this condition during the heat of the day, the angels entered his room and awaked him, with this salutation, *Lokman* we are the messengers of God, thy creator and ours, who hath sent us to thee to inform thee that he will make thee a monarch and his lieutenant over the whole earth. *Lokman*, after remaining silent for a small space, returned this answer: If by the absolute command of God I am to become what you say, his will must be fulfilled in all things, and I hope if it comes to pass, that he will afford me the necessary assistance of his grace, that I may exactly execute his orders; but if he would give me leave to chuse, I wish rather to continue in the state I am in, and that he would prevent me from offending him, without which grace all the pomp and grandeur of the world would be to me no more than a cumbrous and insupportable load. This, say these authors, appeared so just in the sight of God, that he bestowed on *Lokman* such an excellent understanding, that he composed, say they, ten thousand apologues, moral maxims, and wise sayings, each of them more valuable than the whole world. A phrase, implying no more than that they are highly useful as well as wonderfully sublime. They tell us also, that *Lokman* standing one day in the midst of a great number of people, who all listened greedily to his wise and pleasant discourses, a *Hebrew* of great quality asked him, if he was not the black slave whom he had seen formerly tending the sheep? *Lokman* readily an-

[q] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra. [r] Mirkhond. Hist. ubi supra. [s] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Deir Gasvid.

swered,

swered, I am. And how then, said the nobleman, have you attained so high a degree of virtue? Why, answered *Lokman*, by these three easy steps: I have always spoke the truth, I have constantly kept my word, and I have never meddled in any thing which did not concern me. A *Persian* poet hath recorded another extraordinary instance of *Lokman*'s presence of mind; his master sent him with some other slaves to gather fruit in his garden, the rest eat the best, and when his master missed them, they roundly swore that *Lokman* eat them whether they would or not. The matter, Sir, said *Lokman*, is easily decided; let us all drink heartily of warm water, and then let us join hands and run round; his lord commanded the experiment to be immediately made, upon which they all fell a vomiting, with this difference, that they brought up the fruits which they had eaten, and *Lokman* nothing but the warm water. The comment of the *Persian* poet on this story is so remarkable, that the reader will doubtless be pleased to see it; "When we shall all drink "of this hot water at our trials, in the day of the last judgment, then whatever "has been concealed in the heart, and hidden far from the sight of men, shall be "thrown up in the view of all the world; and the hypocrite, who acquired the "reputation of a saint by his dissembling, shall then be covered with shame and "confusion of face." What we have reported is sufficient to shew that there is a strong resemblance between the history of *Lokman*, as reported by the eastern writers; and that of *Æsop*, as we find it written by the *Greeks*. Both were mean in their original; both slaves through the severity of fortune; both famous for their wisdom; and both delivered their maxims in the same manner, that is by way of apologue. But there is a wide difference between the times in which the oriental authors say *Lokman* lived, and those wherein the *Greeks* place *Æsop*. As to the first it is generally allowed that *Lokman* lived in the reign of *Solomon*, whereas *Æsop* is said to have been cotemporary with *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*, and *Solon* the *Athenian* legislator. From the history of their lives, and from the comparison of their fables, there is all the reason in the world to believe that *Lokman* and *Æsop* were the same person; the difficulty seems to lie here, whether the *Greeks* stole him from the orientals, or whether the orientals took him from the *Greeks*. It seems most natural to believe the former, since in such cases the *Greeks* are known to have been notorious thieves, and to have altered every point of ancient history they were able, to their own advantage. Besides, the apologue was certainly the favourrite mode of teaching in the east, long before that or any other kind of learning was known to the *Greeks*; after all, this is but conjecture, which we offer to the reader's consideration, rather than his belief. The chief reason why *Lokman* is so much considered in the east, is, because *Mohammed* has mentioned him in terms of respect in the *Koran*, and has affirmed that God bestowed on him the gift of extraordinary wisdom[t]. His fables, which are far from being numerous, have been printed in *Arabick* and *Latin* at *Leyden*, so that *Europe* is now no stranger to the wisdom of that famous person[u]. But to return to *Key-chosrau*, he is reported to have been himself a very wise and very learned prince, as well as remarkably pious. He was very fortunate throughout his reign, and yet he was so little exalted by an uninterrupted series of good fortune, that he not only resigned the crown, and retired into the deserts on the skirts of the province of *Aderbayagjan*, but left also this remarkable memento to all his successors, by causing it to be engraved in one of the rooms of his palace[w] (H).

[t] Koran. Sor. Lokman. [u] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lokman, Note H. [w] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xiv. D'Herbelot. Art. Kaichosrau.

(H) It is very fit that we should give an account in this note what our reasons were for inserting the life of *Lokman* in the *Persian* history. Not to trouble the reader with too long a detail, we shall acquaint him with no more than two. First, *Lokman* wrote in the *Persian* language, as is generally agreed, and as the learned editor of his fables in *Holland* positively affirms (8). 2dly, It is from *Persian* writers that we have the best and fullest accounts of *Lokman*'s life and manners; and as they constantly speak of him as cotemporary with *Key-chosrau*, the third king of their second dynasty, it was but just that we should insert his memoirs under that reign. Having thus justify'd our speaking of *Lokman* here, let us be indulged a few thoughts on fable, and on the high reputation which this author has obtained from his writings in that way. It is universally agreed that the *Apologue* was one of the most ancient methods of instructing, and of consequence that it was invented in the east, where indeed all kind of science took birth. That this mode of teaching was far elder than *Lokman*'s days, admitting that he lived where

(8) *Præfat. Erpen. Locm. Fabul.*

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*We ought not to value ourselves too much on our exaltation above the ordinary rank of men, since we are no more secure of our crowns, than they of their estates; that which descended from several monarchs to me, will descend, when I am gone, to several others; who then would be proud of what is uncertain in itself, and cannot at best last long?*

Lohrasp. *Lohrasp*, or *Lohorasb*, was the successor of *Key-chosrau*, and his near relation; that prince having no heirs male. The authors who have recorded the principal events, which happened under the reigns of the several princes of the first and second race, differ in no part of their account so much as where they speak of the actions of this prince. For the reader's ease as well as our own, we will first give as succinctly as we can the story of this monarch's reign, according to *Mirkhond*, and we

where the oriental writers have placed him, we know from the sacred writings. And that this method was long if it be not still cultivated in the east, is a point so notorious that we need not undertake its proof. Bishop *Patrick* has advanced a very ingenious, though it may be no very solid opinion in relation to the rise and decay of fable. He says that it was invented in early times, when mankind were as yet rude, and histories unwritten; that as these came into vogue fable declined, because truth being always preferable to falsehood, men chose rather to appeal to facts which had happened, than to suppose things which might never come to pass (9). But, with the bishop's good leave, the other side of the argument may be taken, and supported with greater force; for points of history are very seldom exactly agreed on in all their circumstances, and consequently can hardly ever be similar one to another; whereas fables, which are indeed representations of facts without names, may be adjusted to the utmost nicety, and consequently are able to strike with far greater vigour than any history applied. We will give an instance which will effectually support what we say. Might not *Nathan* the prophet, when he reproved *David* for taking the wife of *Uriah*, have easily bethought him of some history, which would very nearly have represented the case of that prince; but will any man say that a lecture from history would have penetrated the soul of *David* with so lively a sorrow as *Nathan*'s noble application of his parable *Thou art the man* (10)? Fables shew us truth in an easy natural light, and the mind having thus contented to a doctrine proposed, the understanding afterwards applies; and we learn with the greater ease, because we do not discern the teacher. But to return to *Lokman*, his fame is so great and so universal throughout the east, that to express an high idea of any man's wisdom, they are wont to say, as the *learned Erpenius* expresses it, *Non necesse est docere Locmanum*. There is no need of teaching *Lokman* (11). His fables were doubtless almost without number, but the collection we have of them is not large; Sir *John Chardin* has printed a *French* translation of them, which agrees exactly with the *Arabick* and *Latin* version above referred to. We call them versions, because as we observed before *Lokman* wrote originally in *Persian*; and at this day, Sir *John Chardin* tells us, this nation is so fond of them, that they are the first things they teach their children, and spare no pains to make them enter into and comprehend their meaning. An instance or two may not be unacceptable (12).

*The Boy in the River.*

"A little boy went one day into a river, and not "having learned to swim, had like to have been "drowned; seeing a man at a distance he called out "to him for help: the man, as soon as he saw the "lad's distress, began to expostulate with him on "the folly of going into a river before he had "learned to swim: the boy, instead of answering "him, cried out, *Save me, save me, and then chide "as long as you will*."

*The Smith and his Dog.*

"An honest smith had a dog that slept all the while "his master was at work; but as soon as he left off "and sat down with his companions to dinner, the "dog waked, and solicited him for meat; *Worthless "animal*, saith the smith, *how canst thou sleep amidst "the noise of hammers which shake the very earth, "and yet wake at the wagging of one's jaws which "scarce make any noise at all?*"

*The Goose and the Swallow.*

"The goose and the swallow entered into a league "of friendship, and resolved to live together. They "came unluckily to a place where the fowlers were "watching; the swallow, as soon as she saw them, "flew away, but the poor goose, not being able to "make use of her wings was taken and killed."

The passage in the *Alcoran* referred to in the text, is the whole xxxi st chapter, which therefore bears the title of *Lokman*. *Mohammed* speaks in his own person at the beginning thereof, vehemently declaiming against irreligious persons and idolaters, such especially as despised the *Koran*, and lived in the errors of their fathers; he then makes God speak thus: "We inspired knowledge into *Lokman*, and "taught him to give God thanks; he that returneth "thanks to God for his graces doth good to his "soul, for God hateth the ungrateful, and praise is "in all places due to him. Remember thou, that "*Lokman* said to his son, O! my son, believe not "that God hath equals; it is an exceeding great "sin; we have commanded man to honour his fa-"ther and his mother, his mother bringeth him "forth with sorrow, and weaneth him at two "years old; be not thou forgetful of God's benefits; "honour thy father and thy mother, for thou shalt "one day be judged before God." The rest of the chapter contains a great many excellent admonitions, all of which are put into the mouth of *Lokman*, and consequently shew how high this philosopher stood in the opinion of *Mohammed*. To say the truth, he was a very artful person, and took care never to run counter to popular opinions where it might be avoided. The character of *Lokman* was too well established to be overturned by him, and therefore he very wisely represented him as one who had long ago taught the same doctrines which he now sought to recommend. Hence however it has come to pass, that some commentators on the *Koran* have taught that *Lokman* was a prophet, tho' others understand what *Mohammed* says of that *Sage*'s having only the gift of *Teaching* (13).

(9) *Vid. Preface to his paraphrase on the Proverbs.* (10) 2 *Samuel. c.* xii. (11) *Præfat. Erpen. Lokman. Fab. p.* 7. (12) *Chardin. Voyag. tom.* iii. *p.* 227. (13) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Locman.*

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a shall afterwards set down such variations as seem of greatest importance, affixing the authors names from whom they are taken. *Lohrasp* was the nephew to king *Keykaus*'s brother, and was the next heir-male of the royal line. He was elected king, and not without considerable opposition; his temper was known to be severe and haughty, the grandees therefore were many of them for putting the sceptre into a milder hand; and at the head of this faction was *Zal-zer*, the father of *Rustan*; but their cabals were vain, *Lohrasp* carried it in spite of them all, and was declared king. As soon as he was seated on the throne he determined with himself to raise his reputation, and to extend his empire by making war on both sides thereof; in b consequence of this resolution he fixed his court at *Balch*, and took all possible methods for putting every thing in the best order in the eastern provinces of *Iran*. He sent in the mean time his general *Gudarz* with a puissant army into *Shamah* or *Syria*, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. *Gudarz* effectually answered his master's expectation; he conquered all *Syria* as far as *Damascus*, and also *Palestine*, with the famous city of *Jerusalem*, called by the *Persians* the *Habitation of the saints*. The reigning king of the *Jews* submitted, and promised to pay tribute, for which he put as hostages into the hands of the *Persian* general several persons of quality, whom *Gudarz* quickly afterwards caused to be slain; this provoked the *Jews* to a rebellion, and gave *Gudarz* the opportu- c nity he wanted of sacking *Jerusalem*, where he treated the inhabitants with inexpressible cruelty; and having loaded his soldiers with riches he retired, and carried into *Persia* with him a vast number of captives. King *Lohrasp* had two sons, the eldest called *Gushtasp*, the younger named *Zaris*; the former was of a fierce, haughty disposition, but was at the same time warlike, and of great abilities: this young prince drew in many who were desirous of novelty, to join with him in a rebellion against his father, in which he had at first success, and gained over to him a very considerable party; but *Lohrasp* having drawn together all his friends, and having also done every thing in his power to engage the people to his service, marched so briskly against his son, that *Gushtasp*'s adherents, fearing the fortune of the day in case of a d battle, abandoned him by degrees; which he observing, began immediately to provide for his own safety, by retiring into *Turquestan* in so distressed a condition, that he lived even at that court unknown and unsuspected. Here by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince. It was it seems a custom in that country, that whenever the king had a mind to dispose of a daughter in marriage, publick notice was given, and the people assembled in great numbers in an open court, where being disposed into the best order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whose hands was held in his, and in the other she had a golden apple, enriched with precious stones; when they were advanced into the middle of the place, the king let go his daughter's hand, and she e after walking round, and observing every body diligently, bestowed her apple and herself on the man she liked best. It happened not long after *Gushtasp*'s arrival in *Turquestan*, that the king determined to marry his eldest daughter, and having brought her out into the court after the manner before described, she, after looking a little about her, gave her apple and her person to this *unknown*. The grandees of *Touran* were inexpressibly vexed at seeing themselves despised by the princess for a stranger, whom they supposed of no birth. They therefore engaged the king to make a law, that for the future the princesses of *Touran* should have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had still two daughters as remarkable for their beauty as their birth; these were f demanded in marriage by the two sons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom the king of *Touran* made no scruple of promising them on this condition, that they reduced under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devastations throughout all *Touran*. The young princes, considering the difficulty of this task had recourse to *Gushtasp*, of whose prowess they had seen frequent proofs, and engaged him to be assistant therein. *Gushtasp*, as soon as he had undertaken to serve them, appointed a hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party; he also brought to the chace a small body of resolute friends. When they were assembled he let them into his project, which was to go immediately to a certain castle, where he was informed the two rebel lords had an interview, and to storm it before they could have any intelligence of their expedition; this was immediately agreed to, and instantly carried into execution. *Gushtasp* entered the place

first himself, and having seized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, who conducted them to court, and presented them to the king. The *Turkish* monarch was prodigiously pleased with this feat of arms, and very readily made good his promise to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days after he caused great feasts to be celebrated; and appointed publick tournaments, wherein *Gushtasp* behaved himself in such a manner that he carried the glory of the day from all who were present. The king who had hitherto shewed him but little countenance, spoke to him on this occasion very kindly, and gave him the highest praises. *Gushtasp* took this opportunity of saying, that if he had excelled in combats that were not in earnest, he had likewise been of some use in quelling the b disturbers of the publick peace. This struck the king's mind, who easily comprehended the meaning, and having diligently sought out the truth, made *Gushtasp* henceforward his favourite. It is to be observed that after the conquest of *Touran* by *Key-kofrau*, though the people were left to live under their own laws, and their own princes, yet they were obliged to own the superiority of the monarchs of *Iran*, and to pay them a considerable tribute. *Gushtasp* persuaded his father-in law that this was at once dishonourable and needless, and therefore advised him to throw off the yoke by refusing tribute, and by making preparations for and declaring war against *Lohrasp* in case he should dispute his independency. This *Gushtasp* did to be revenged of his father, and from an apprehension that if he was ever discovered c the nobility of *Touran* in a time of peace would certainly deliver him up. *Lohrasp* was exceedingly surprized at the arrival of the *Turkish* embassador in his court; he treated him however with great civility, and endeavoured to get out of him the true source of these extraordinary proceedings. The embassador at first thought to put him off with trivial answers, but on the king's pressing him, he acknowledged at last that a certain stranger who had married his master's daughter, was the true author of all this mischief. *Lohrasp* no sooner heard this, than he guessed it was his son, and immediately dispatched a messenger to enquire privately whether it was so or not; as soon as he was certain that this new and dangerous enemy of his was his son *Gushtasp*, he took at the same time a most strange and most generous reso- d lution, which was to spare his people at the expence of his crown. He found he was grown old, he saw the ambition of his son was to be satisfied with nothing less than the diadem; and as he knew he was brave and wise, though undutiful to him, he determined to resign to him his dominions; and in order to this he sent his younger son *Zaris* with the *Tagi* or ensign of the royal dignity in *Persia* to his brother in *Turquestan*. *Zaris* took care to give his brother private notice of his arrival. *Gushtasp* went immediately to pay him a visit, and being informed of his father's resolution, accepted the *Tagi* or *Tiari*, and caused himself to be solemnly proclaimed king of *Persia*. His father-in-law was at first prodigiously disturbed, conceiving that there was some treason against him in these proceed- e ings, but when he found things were really as they had been represented, he was overjoyed to the highest degree; and the nobility of *Touran* came in crouds to pay their compliments to the new king of *Persia*. These ceremonies over, *Gushtasp* took leave of his father-in-law, and with his wife *Karatbun* set out for his own dominions, carrying with him a grand retinue, and a considerable number of camels loaded with riches. *Lohrasp* received his son with all the marks of tenderness and joy; *Gushtasp* retained him at court for many years, and did nothing without his advice; at last the good old man withdrew to lead a solitary life, to meditate on the vanities of this world, and to contemplate the wisdom and goodness of God. A short time after he died, having first sent for his son, and giving him in his last moments the most f salutary counsels in respect to his own glory, and the good of his people. This *Lohrasp* was surnamed *Balki*, i. e. the *Balchian*, because he resided most at *Balk* or *Balch*, one of the most ancient cities in his dominions [p].

It must be owned that the foregoing account taken from *Mirkhond* is by no means agreeable to what other *Persian* authors have written on the same subject. In two of the most celebrated histories of this people, we find it recorded that *Lohrasp* was the grandson of *Keykobad*, and that he was opposed by the *Persian* nobility, not for his cruelty or pride, as *Mirkhond* suggests, but because his father and himself had led their lives in privacy, whence it was believed he had not the capacity of reign-

[p] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xv.

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a ing; it is also said that he was the first *Persian* monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the rest of his subjects, according to the rules of equity and justice, and not as they had hitherto done at free quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers and governors of provinces to give audience on a tribunal, raised one story from the ground, and railed round about, reserving to himself only this distinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of state thrown before his footstool. We are likewise told that the name of the general sent by this prince to invade *Syria* and *Palestine* was *Raham*, and that he was surnamed by the *Persians Bakhtalnassar*, from whence the *Hebrews* framed the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Greeks Nabuchadonosar*. We have also on the same authority the history of *Gushtasp*'s flight, marriage, and succession to the throne of *Persia*; but we are likewise told what little agrees with *Mirkhond*'s history, that *Lob-*
b *rasp*, within a short time after he resigned the throne, was besieged in the city of *Balch* by *Arjasp*, nephew of *Apherasiab* the famous *Turkish* monarch, who after the town fell into his hands, caused the old king of *Persia* to be put to death after he had reigned 120 years[q] (1). *Khondimir* the famous *Persian* historian differs not only from *Mirkhond*, but the writers last cited; he says that *Lohrasp* was the son of *Keykaus*'s brother, and that he was elected on account of his extraordinary virtues; according to him it was *Gudarz* who conquered *Palestine*, and was surnamed by the *Persians Bakht-Nassar:* which surname has occasioned such confusion among the *Hebrew*
c and *Greek* writers. As to the flight of *Gushtasp*, this writer says that he retired to the court of a certain *Greek* prince, where he married the king's eldest daughter, called by him *Kenaioum*, and who, as he tells the story, presented him publickly with an orange, which is plainly substituted for the golden apple. Instead of the two rebellious lords he speaks of two terrible monsters, that this *Grecian* prince, whoever he was, insisted should be killed by those who pretended to the young princesses who were still unmarried.

The first of these was a furious serpent, which had its den in a wood so very thick that it was thought almost impossible to penetrate it, in order to combat this destructive animal: the other was a lion prodigiously fierce, which traversed the plain country, and tore to pieces all he met with, whether of human kind, or cattle. Two of the chief princes of *Greece*, who were pretenders to the daughters of
d the king in whose court *Gushtasp* lived, were quite abashed at these proposals, despairing of the conquest of these monsters, and consequently of the princesses. However they informed *Gushtasp* of the answer the king had given them. *Gushtasp* readily offered them his assistance, and accordingly attacked the monsters, killed them both, and gave all the honour of these extraordinary feats of chivalry to the two *Greek* princes, which procured for them the wives they desired. Some time after this, *Gushtasp* growing a little into the king's favour, that prince asked him one day how he passed his time; *Gushtasp* answered, that sometimes he went a hunting, and that lately as he was taking that diversion, he killed two extraordinary crea-
e tures. The king immediately understood what he meant, and having caused the matter to be thoroughly enquired into, found that *Gushtasp* had slain the monsters, upon which he immediately made him his chief minister as well as favourite; and at his persuasion, refused to pay the king of *Persia* that tribute which he was wont to

[q] Lebtarik. Tarir. Montekeb.

(1) We have already spoken of *Mirkhond*, from whom the greatest part of our history is taken; here therefore let us give the reader a short account of the two histories mentioned in the text, and their authors, that he may be able to judge in some measure of the credit due to each. *Tarikh Montekheb*, is the *Turkish* name of a translation of a *Persian* history, stiled in that language *Tarikh Khozideh*, i. e. the chosen chronicle, written originally in *Persian* verse, and afterwards reduced into prose by its author *Hamdallah Ben Abibekr Ben Ahmed Ben Nasser Al Mastoufi Al Cazvini*, i. e. native of the city of *Casbin*. It contains a general history from the creation to *A. H.* 730 (14). The book commonly cited under the title of *Lebtarik*, is properly called *Lobb Al Taevarikh*, i. e. the marrow of histories; it was written in the *Persian* language, by *Jabia Ben Abdallatbif Al Cazvini*; it is divided into four books; the first, containing the life of *Mohammed*, and the twelve Imams; the second, the lives and reigns of the kings who governed before the introduction of *Mohammedism*; the third, the history of the reigning family in *Persia*; the fourth, an universal history of the dynasties prior to *Mohammed*, it comes down to *A. H.* 948. the author dying in 960, or in the year 1552, according to our account (15).

(14) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Tarikh Khozideh.*

(15) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lobb. Al Taevarikh.*

send

send him yearly, and also to declare war against him. *Lohrasp* being informed of this, immediately conceived it was his son who had influenced this king to such bold proceedings, and therefore, instead of providing for the war, he sent his younger son with the tiara or royal diadem of *Persia* to *Gushtasp* as a pledge of his friendship, and a certain sign that he intended him for his successor. On his return to his father's court, continues our author, the venerable old man went out to meet him, kissed his feet according to the *Persian* custom in submitting to a sovereign, and after tenderly embracing him, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; after which he retired from the world to lead a recluse life at *Balch*, where he was killed. The prophets *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, and *Esdras* were his cotemporaries [r]. If we may believe the eloquent author of the *Shah Nemeh*, or *Royal Chronicle*, *Balch* at the time *Lohrasp* resigned the kingdom to his son *Gushtasp*, was esteemed by the *Persians* as the *Holy City*, the fountain of their religion, and the place worthiest of their esteem, as *Mecca* is now by the *Mohammedans*; on this account therefore, *Lohrasp* made it the place of his abode, where laying aside his royal robes he put on the habit of a priest, applying himself wholly to devotion, in imitation of his predecessor *Gjemschid* for the space of thirty years till he was slain, as will be hereafter related, in a cloyster of his own building which he called *Nau-bahar*, i. e. the new spring [s].

*Gushtasp* or *Kischtasp*, the son of *Lohrasp*, succeeded his father with general applause; he was a prince of great strength and activity of body, of great wisdom and extraordinary abilities of mind. He leaving *Balch* to his father, went to reside at the ancient metropolis of the kingdom *Istachr*, i. e. cut out of the rock, which he adorned with many fine structures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years; at the end of that space, there appeared in his dominions, a very extraordinary person, who took upon himself the character of a prophet, and declared that he was sent by God to teach such as would listen to him the right way; this person was the *Zoroastres* of the *Greeks*, and the *Zerdusht* of the *Persians*. But as the history of this famous person is of very great consequence, we have found it necessary, to prevent confusion, to detach it from the reign of *Gushtasp*, and to deliver what hath been collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration, with all the candor and impartiality we are masters of.

## *The Life of* Zoroastres, Zoroaster, *or* Zerdusht; *extracted as well from* Greek *and* Latin, *as* Oriental *historians.*

IF to be famous after death, can afford any joyful sensation to the immortal spirit, that of this man, whether prophet, impostor, or philosopher, must needs receive high satisfaction from the wide extension of his fame, which has been diffused throughout the whole learned world, and subsisted even to latest ages. The *Greeks* who were very inquisitive after the inventers of science, amongst the nations whom they stile *Barbarians*, and from whom, notwithstanding they drew all the learning they had themselves, have written so confusedly, and so obscurely, concerning *Zoroasters*, that it is hard to know how many famous men bore this name, when they lived, or for what they were eminent. *Arnobius* is thought to have reduced them to four, but such is the misfortune of all who have written about *Zoroaster*, that the sense of this very passage is disputed, some affirming that *Arnobius* speaks but of three *Zoroasters*, others, that he mentions only two (K). However, four was certainly not too large

[r] Khondemir. in Khelassat. Al Akbar. Persar. c. xxiii. p. 302.

[s] Phirdausi in Shah Nameh. Hyde Relig. veter.

(K) In the text we have mentioned a passage from *Arnobius*, which has been very differently understood. This *Arnobius* was a rhetorician, and the master of the famous *Lactantius*; being converted to the christian faith, he wrote a large work in a declamatory style against the *Gentiles*, wherein there are many things contained of high use in respect to the history of learning among the ancients; for tho' as a christian, he wrote but indifferently, these books being composed soon after his conversion, and before he was well instructed in the faith; yet as to heathen learning, he was a great proficient therein, and his authority in such a case as this, must have consequently considerable weight. The passage which has been so differently interpreted, runs thus; *Age nunc veniet quis super igneum nonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori. Bactrianus & ille conveniet cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo; Armenius Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilius Cyri* (16). *Patricius*, the famous collector

(16) *Declam. cont. Gentes.*

a a number, since authors undoubtedly mention many more. Of these we shall speak as succinctly as we can; the first is thought to have been a *Chaldean*, *Suidas* calls him an *Assyrian*, and says also that he was struck dead by fire from heaven [t]. It is very probable that this is the same *Zoroaster* spoken of by *Dion Chrysostom*, and said to have appeared in fire [u]. The second was a *Bactrian*, and a king, whom *Justin* and the authors who follow him make cotemporary with *Ninus* the *Assyrian*, by whom he was vanquished in battle, and slain [x]. He is reputed to have been the inventor of magic, and is said by *Arnobius* to have contested with *Ninus*, not only with steel and strength, but by magical force, and the occult sciences of the *Chaldeans* [y]. The third was a *Persian*, as *Laertius* informs us [z], *Clemens Alexandrinus*
b stiles him a *Mede* [a], *Suidas* a *Perso-mede* [b]; but they all speak darkly and ambiguously. The fourth was a *Pamphilian*, commonly called *Er*, or *Erus Armenius*. Concerning this *Zoroaster*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes *Plato*, affirming that he began a book thus: "This wrote I *Zoroaster Armenius*, by descent a *Pamphilian*, dying "in war, and being in *Hades*, I learned of the gods." He is reported by the same author to have risen again after being ten days dead, and to have told strange things which he had seen in that space [c]. The fifth was a native of *Proconnesus*, mentioned by *Pliny* [d]. Some have imagined, not without reason, that he is the same with

[t] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. [u] Orat. Boristh. [x] lib. i. [y] Decl. contra Gent. [z] LAERT. in Proœm. [a] CLEM. ALEX. Strom. lib. i. [b] In vocibus Μάγοι, Ἀστρονομία & Ζωροάστρης. [c] PLATO. Polit. lib. x. [d] Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1. & l. vii. c. 16.

collector of the *Zoroastrian* oracles (17), *Gabriel Naude*, a man of distinguished learning (18), and *Kircher*, who well understood these things (19), believe that *Arnobius* mentions here four *Zoroasters*; the first a *Chaldean*; the second a *Bactrian*; the third a *Pamphilian*; the fourth an *Armenian*. *Salmasius* will needs have the text read thus (20): *Age nunc veniat quæso per igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo & assentiamur auctori, Bactrianus, & ille conveniat, cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo, Armenius, Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilus Cyri.* It is evident by these alterations, that *Salmasius* has got rid of one *Zoroaster*, though one would think he has introduced another; since of the three *Zoroasters*, which he admits to be spoken of in this passage; the first is said to be an *Ethiopian*, or one coming from a country near the torrid *Zone*, for so *Salmasius* expounds *per igneam zonam & ab interiore orbe*; which *Ethiopian*, or *Lydian Zoroaster*, *Hermippus* makes a *Bactrian*; the second *Armenius*, nephew of *Hostanes*, of whose actions *Ctesias* gives us an account in the first book of his history; the third named *Pamphilus*, friend to *Cyrus*. *Ursinus* from the same words, is positive that *Arnobius* mentions but two, exploding the *Bactrian Zoroaster* of *Hermippus*, and shewing from *Ctesias* that *Zoroaster* was not so ancient as *Eudoxus* fancied, but that he lived in the time of *Cyrus* (21). We are afraid our readers are already fatigued enough with these dry researches as to the *Zoroaster* of the *Greeks*; we hope, however, they will have patience enough to hear what we have to offer by way of apology for this profusion of quotations, of which in the other parts of this *Persian* history we have been as sparing as possible. Our reasons are these; first, in order to gain any credit for the history of *Zerdusht*, as written by oriental authors, there was a necessity of destroying the credit which has been so long given to the *Greeks*; and to do this, the best and shortest method was to shew what the *Greeks* had said, and what from their writings, the most able of their disciples had been able to collect, which we presume to say is very little or nothing. 2*dly*, We thought it necessary to shew the reader, that in order to make some sense of the varying stories of the ancients in relation to *Zoroaster*, who by the way is called by a greater variety of *Greek* names, than he is in the oriental languages, though in them, as we have shewn, the orthography of this name, is far from being settled; I say, we thought it convenient to shew that several *Zoroasters* have been supposed in order to the distribution of the several stories about him. After all, the candidates for the honours bestowed on the true *Zoroaster*, may be reduced to two, the *Chaldean* and the *Persian*; and the very ingenious Mr. *Stanley* has with great impartiality, divided these honours between them. But, thirdly, our history of *Zerdusht* will set this matter in its true light, by shewing that there is in reality but one *Zoroaster*. If it be enquired how the *Chaldean* magi came to derive themselves and their doctrines from this *Persian*; and how this is to be reconciled to that chronology, which hitherto has been approved by all the learned, and sets the *Chaldean Zoroaster* far higher: We shall answer, that in the first place we are not accountable for the mistakes of others, the *Greek* writers knew not what to call him, or where to place him; for, as Mr. *Stanley* justly observes, "The same name it is, which some call *Zabratis*, "others *Nazaratas*, others *Zares*, others *Zaran*, "others *Zaradas*; all which are but several cor-"ruptions from the *Chaldee* or *Persian* word, which "the *Greeks* most generally render *Zoroaster* (22)." What certainty can be expected from such writers? But then, secondly, lest this should seem an evasive answer, we alledge, that *Zoroaster* was not the institutor of the magi, nor the author of a new religion, which we shall shortly prove at large; and this, as we conceive, occasioned the great confusion about *Zoroaster*; it was a received opinion that he was the founder of magism; it was easily discoverable that magism was as ancient as the days of *Abraham*, and that it was the religion of *Chaldea*: it was natural enough therefore, for such as looked upon *Zoroaster* to be the institutor of the magian doctrines, to say with assurance, that he lived in these times, but then discovering from the *Persian* records at what time he truely lived, they chose rather than abandon their former opinion, to make two *Zoroasters*; the first a *Chaldean* or *Assyrian* cotemporary with *Ninus*; the second a *Persian*, flourishing in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*.

(17) *Comm. sup. Orac. Zoroast.* (18) *Apolog. pour les Grand Hommes, &c.* (19) *Obel. Pamphil.* (20) *Exercitat. Plin.* (21) *In Zoroast.* (22) *Chaldiac. Philosophy, p. 4.*

*Aristeus* the *Proconnesian*, mentioned by *Suidas* to have had an art of letting his soul go out of his body, and return as often as he pleased [e]. The sixth lived at *Babylon* at the time *Pythagoras* was carried thither by *Cambyses*, as we are told by *Apuleius* [f]. As the *Greeks* made several *Zoroasters*, so they placed them in different ages of the world; *Justin* makes him thirteen hundred years older than *Sardanapalus* [g]. *Eudoxus*, cited by *Pliny*, placed him six thousand years before the death of *Plato* [h]. *Plutarch* makes him flourish five thousand years before the war of *Troy* [i]. Some authors, mentioned by *Suidas*, fix him 500 years before the *Trojan* war [k]. *Apuleius* [l], *Jamblicus* [m], *Porphyry* [n], *Clemens Alexandrinus* [o], and *Agathius* [p], place him where he ought to be placed, about the time of *Cyrus*; and *Pliny* discoursing on this very subject, says, that the most accurate writers were of opinion he lived a little before *Xerxes* [q]. But however they might differ in circumstances, they all agreed in paying him great honours. *Plato* [r], *Aristotle* [s], *Plutarch* [t], and *Porphyry* [u], acknowledge him to have been a person of extraordinary learning. *Pliny* tells us that he laughed the same day he was born, that his brains beat so hard, that they lifted up the hand laid upon them, which was a presage of his future sagacity; he adds what is very extraordinary, that he lived in the deserts 20 years, upon cheese so mixed that it did not grow stale [x]. *Solinus* draws his character in few words; He was, says he, *optimarum artium peritissimus*, in the best arts skilful [y]. *Apuleius* stiles him *omnis divini arcani antistes*, the chief doctor in all divine mysteries; and adds, that he was the preceptor of *Pythagoras* [z]. *Agathius* tells us he lived under *Hystaspes*, and that he was the author of magism among the *Persians*, changing their old religion, and introducing new opinions [a]. *Dion Chrysostome* says more of him than any of these writers, and from better authority, since what he delivered he had from the *Persians* themselves, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew [b]. *Ctesias*, an author universally condemned, was in all probability more in the right about *Zoroaster*, than those who have answered him, since we know from *Arnobius* that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, and spent the first book of six, which he wrote on *Persian* affairs, in delivering his history [c]. The sum and conclusion of all we have hitherto said, is this, that except *Ctesias* and *Dion Chrysostome*, all the ancients, who have written concerning *Zoroaster*, knew little about him more than this; that he was a very learned and wise man, and the principal of the magi, in respect to which *Eusebius* indeed says, that he wrote a book, which from the citations he has given us, seems to have contained the chief doctrines of the *Persian* religion [d].

The oriental writers are somewhat better agreed in relation to this wonderful man, whom they call *Zerdusht*, *Zaradusht*, *Zaratusht*, and *Zard-busht*; for they, generally speaking, acknowledge that he flourished in the reign of *Gushtasp*. The author of *Lebtarikh*, indeed, says, that some old writers confound him with *Dobak* or *Zobak*, one of the *Pischdadian* princes [e]; but all the *Persian* historians, who are to be supposed best acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, speak of him, not as the author, but as the reformer of the magian religion, which they say he performed by the assistance of *Gushtasp* (L). With respect to his family; the com-

[a] Sub voce Ἀριστεας. [f] Florid. ii. [g] ubi supra. [h] Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. [i] De Iside & Osiride. [k] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. [l] Florid. ii. [m] In vit. Pythag. [n] In vita Pythagoræ. [o] Stromat. l. v. [p] Hist. lib. 2. [q] ubi supra. [r] In Alcibiade 1. [s] In libro de Magia citante Laertio in Procem. [t] De Iside & Osiride. [u] In vita Pythagoræ. [x] Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. [y] cap. 1. [z] Florid. ii. [a] Hist. lib. 2. [b] Orat. Boristhen. [c] contr. Gentes. [d] Præpar. Evangel. [e] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerdusht.

(L) Some *Arabian* writers have endeavoured to insinuate, that what they call the religion of the fire-worshippers, is not of great antiquity; but all impartial authors agree in rejecting this notion, and admit that magism began very early, nay, even before the time of *Abraham*: certain it is that the oldest book extant in the world favours this opinion; for thus speaks *Job* in his protestation of his integrity, and his fervent declarations that he had always held the true faith, and done all the good he could. "If I beheld the sun, when it shined, or the moon, "walking in brightness, and my heart hath been "secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my "hand, this also were an iniquity cognizable by the "judge, for I should have denied the God who "is above (z)." Nothing can be clearer than this, nor can any thing more fully prove, that this heresy was as old as the *Persians* make it, who affirm that *Keyomarras*, their first king was the author of their religion, and therefore of old they affected much to call themselves *Keyomarsians*, or *Keyomarthites*. But the point they chiefly laboured in respect to antiquity, was the persuading themselves and others that their religion was the religion of *Abraham*. It would be no difficult matter to shew the probable source of this opinion, which we have also

(z) *Job* xxxi. 26.

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a mon opinion of the *Persian* and *Arabick* writers is, that he either was a *Jew*, or went very early into *Judea*, where he received his education, under one of the prophets, with whom he lived as a servant, and, emulous of his glory, set up for prophet afterwards himself[f]. Who this prophet was, is not well agreed; some say *Elias*, others *Ezra*, and some again one of the disciples of *Jeremiah*. Doctor *Prideaux* thinks *Elias* was too early, and *Ezra* too late, he therefore fixes upon *Daniel*[g]. Dr. *Hyde* inclines to *Ezra*[h]. How true the whole of the story is, is hard to say, since the *Mohammedans* are all great enemies to *Zerdusht*, and if we take a part of their evidence, we ought to take the whole, and then it will stand thus; he quitted b the service of the *Hebrew* prophet, because having deceived and cheated him, the holy man prayed God to strike him with a leprosy, which accordingly followed; if so, then *Zerdusht* must have been the same with *Gehazi*, the servant, not of *Elias*, but *Elisha*, and consequently the credibility of the whole tale will be destroyed. The *Persees* in *India*, pretend that *Zerdusht* was originally a *Chinese*, that his father's name was *Espintaman*, and his mother's *Dodo*: but in this they are mistaken, for as to his genealogy, we are not at all at a loss, since it is thus set down in the book *Sad-der*; *Zaratasht* was the son of *Purthasp*, who was the son of *Piterasp*, the son of *Hitcherasp*, the son of *Thechshunesch*, the son of *Espintaman*[i]; hence *Zerdusht*, being frequently called the son of *Ispeutamen*, the *Persees* in *India* mistook him for c his immediate parent, whereas indeed he was only his remote ancestor. He first took upon him the character of a prophet in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which was always the residence of the fire-priests, as we have already shewn. *Khondemir* gives us this account of his turning prophet: he says that *Zerdusht*, from his great skill in astrology, discovered that another prophet was to arise, not inferior to *Moses*, whose voice all the world was to obey; he from thence took it into his head that he must needs be that prophet: upon this, retiring into a cave, and revolving these things in his mind, a light suddenly appeared, being no other than an illusion of the devil, who conversing with him out of the midst of the fire, *Zerdusht* no longer doubted that he had received the mission of prophecy, but immediately set d about a book, containing a system of diabolical doctrines, which he called *Zend*, and having finished it, he made it his business to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and erecting fire-temples[k]. There is certainly a great deal of truth in what this writer says, but we presume his notion of the devil's appearing in

[f] Abu Mohammed Mustapha in vita Gushtasp, ap. Hyde, R. V. P. p. 313. Megjdi in Zinato l'Magjalis. ap. Hyde, p. 315. [g] Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 331. [h] Relig. V. P. c. xxiv. p. 314. [i] Hyde, R. V. P. p. 312. [k] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerdasht.

also touched elsewhere; but as this work is intended for a body of history, and not a collection of critical enquiries, we chuse to insert here some extracts from a celebrated *Arabian* history of the religions of the east, rather than to amuse our readers with conjectures of our own. "The *Persian* kings "in general, says this writer, adhered to the religion "of *Abraham*, and their subjects were always of "the religion of their prince; there was likewise "a chief or high-priest, reputed the wisest of wise "men, from whose mandate there was no appeal, "and whose sentence was never reversed, the same "reverence being shewn to them, as we heretofore "shewed unto our caliphs." A little after, he says, "The peculiar doctrine of the magi was the duality "of the spiritual nature, which they affirmed to be "good and evil, virtuous and wicked, benevolent "and destructive; these natures they distinguished, "by calling the one light, and the other darkness, "or rather in their own terms *Yezdan* and *Abriman*. "Hence it came to pass that their whole religion, "and all the questions of the magi, turned on these "two points, the explication of light being mixed "with darkness, and of light freeing itself from "darkness." Some pages farther the same author speaks thus: "Though the magi affirm these two "principles, yet the most ancient of them did not "think themselves under a necessity of affirming "that both existed from eternity; on the contrary "they held only light itself existent, and that dark-"ness was produced; but in accounting for this they "were sometimes at a loss: however, they con-"stantly asserted that they received these doctrines "from wise men and prophets, among their ances-"tors; first, from *Keyomaras*; secondly, from *Zer-"van* the Great; thirdly, from another prophet, "whose name was *Zerdusht*. The *Keyomarthites* "insist that *Keyomaras* is the same with *Adam*, "wherein they agree with some *Indian* and *Persian* "chronologers; yet they are contradicted by others "skilful in that art. The *Keyomarthites* also affirm "that their great master established the opinion of "two spiritual beings *Yezdan* and *Abriman*, acknow-"ledging the former to be eternal and self-existent, "and owning the latter to be produced and created, "and that after this manner: *Yezdan*, i. e. God, "said in himself, Unless I am opposed, how shall "it be; *i. e.* how shall my glory arise? which "thought produced darkness, which is opposite to "light, and then began the controversy which has "since subsisted between them (3)." We are informed by the same author, that *Zerdusht* himself owned *Keyomaras* to have instituted that religion he came to reform; so that it may pass for a point tolerably well established, that the religion of the *Persians* is as ancient as their monarchy.

(3) *Sharistani ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Persar. c.* xxii. *p.* 294.

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the fire, and dictating diabolical doctrines to *Zerdusht*, is a stroke of *Mohammedan* zeal, and not much to be depended on. That *Zerdusht* really retired into a cave, and there studied and composed his *Zendavestâ*, is certainly true; and that in this cave he gave himself up to prayer and contemplation, embellishing it with a great number of curious symbols, is acknowledged, and may be proved; but that he was either prompted by the devil, or acted from a spirit of imposture, is what we dare not assert, since his doctrine, if we except his permission of incest, which however is no where found in his writings, and is fixed on him only by his enemies; we say, his doctrines, if we except this, do not seem calculated at all for supporting the empire of *Satan*; and if we may believe the divines, and a greater than all divines, the devil is too wise to do or teach any thing which may destroy his own kingdom. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing what has not been observed before, that the Almighty had a peculiar favour for the *Persians*, and even for *Darius Hystaspes*, the patron of *Zerdusht*, and spoke many things by his prophets, as we shall prove at the bottom of the page, insinuating his care, that they should not be deceived in the first and principal point of a religion, which it is agreed, *Zerdusht* made it his business to fix beyond dispute (M). How long he remained

(M) We have already given our reasons for referring our thoughts on the chronology of the *Persian* history, till we have deduced it as low as the reign of the last monarch of the *Persian* nation. But this hinders not our applying the prophecies recorded in the sacred scriptures, relating to the *Persian* kingdom; and therefore, for the sake of clearing the memory of *Zerdusht*, we shall in this note shew, first, that the Almighty spoke of and to *Cyrus* as of and to a prince, acquainted with him the true God, and never reproaches either him or his people with idolatry. Thus the prophet *Isaiah*, having with wonderful eloquence displayed the power of God, and assured his countrymen that after all their sufferings, which their sins would bring upon them, he would yet turn again and remember them in mercy, and raise up a deliverer for them, which was *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*; "this, saith the prophet, is the God, "that saith to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt be inhabited; "and to the cities of *Judah*, Ye shall be built; and "I will raise up the decayed places thereof. That "saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy "rivers. That saith of *Cyrus*, He is my shepherd, "and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to "*Jerusalem*, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, "Thy foundation shalt be laid. Thus saith the Lord "to his anointed, to *Cyrus*, whose right hand I "have holden, to subdue nations before him; and "I will loose the loins of kings, to open before "him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not "be shut; I will go before thee, and make the "crooked places straight. I will break in pieces "gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of "iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou "mayest know that I the Lord, which call thee by "thy name, am the God of *Israel*. For *Jacob*, "my servant's sake, and *Israel*, mine elect, I have "even called thee by thy name, I have surnamed "thee, though thou hast not known me (4)." This remarkable prophecy, which does so much honour to *Cyrus*, was spoken of him a hundred years before he was born; and surely, if language can prove any thing, the stile of this prophecy will be sufficient to shew that *Cyrus* was no idolater. We are very well aware that there is an expression at the close of what *Isaiah* says of this glorious monarch, which has been construed in this sense; but we can easily and at the same time fully prove that it ought not so to be understood; the expression is this: *I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.* The meaning of which, we say, is this; that God gave him the title of his *shepherd* and his *anointed*, and actually employed him as the minister of his will, before *Cyrus* knew any thing of the matter; but how does this shew that he was an idolater, or that he worshipped not the true God, though he was unacquainted with the *Jewish* dispensation, and knew not that God by the name of *Jehovah*? After the taking of *Babylon*, *Daniel* certainly explained all these prophecies to *Cyrus*, and shewed him that while he believed himself acting only in consequence of the schemes he had formed, he was indeed fulfilling what God had told of him; in all which he was furthered and assisted by the divine power, particularly in his amazing stratagem for taking of *Babylon*, by altering the course of the great river, which, in the prophecy before quoted, *Isaiah* had distinctly foretold, making the Almighty speak thus, *That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up rivers.* As soon as *Cyrus* was acquainted with these prophecies, he readily testified his obedience to *Jehovah*, and his sincere belief that he was the only true God, as appears by his edict for restoring the *Jews*, which begins with these remarkable words; "Thus, saith *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, *Jehovah*, God "of heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of "the earth, and he hath charged me to build him "an house at *Jerusalem*, which is in *Judah*: who "is there among ye of all his people, his God be "with him, and let him go up to *Jerusalem*, which "is in *Judah*, and build the house of *Jehovah*, "God of *Israel*, he is God who is in *Jerusalem* (5)." We suppose there needs no commentary to prove that *Cyrus* was now acquainted with *Jehovah*, and was convinced that *Jehovah*, who revealed himself to the *Hebrews*, was the only true God, or, as *Cyrus* himself stiles him, God of heaven. The very king, of whose reign we are now speaking, *viz. Gushtasp*, knew all this as well as *Cyrus*, for in his decree relating to the temple of *Jerusalem*, we find these words; "That which they have need of, young "bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, "and oil, according to the appointment of the "priests which are at *Jerusalem*; let it be given "them day by day without fail, that they may offer sacrifices grateful unto the God of heaven, and "pray for the life of the king and of his sons (6)." But the close of this decree is yet stronger: "God, "who hath caused his name to dwell there, *i. e.* "at *Jerusalem*, destroy all kings and people that "shall put their hand to alter or to destroy this "house of God at *Jerusalem*. I *Darius* have "made a decree, let it be done with speed (7)." But let us return a little to *Isaiah*, and mark what God

(4) *Isaiah* xliv. 26. xlv. 1—6. (5) *Ezra* i. 2. (6) *Ezra* vi. 9. (7) *Ezra* vi. 12.

a remained in this cave, or how many books he wrote there, is not very certain; we are told indeed that he brought twelve volumes to *Gushtasp*, each of which contained a hundred skins of velom; but this will be the less wondered at, if we consider that the ancient *Persian* character took up a great deal of room, and *Zoroaster* did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but also his own history, and the rudiments of most sciences therein, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, when we come to speak particularly of that book, and of its contents. In the mean time, we need not wonder that he retired so long from the world, or chose a cave for his abode, since works of this nature require silence and composure. The ancient prophets resided much in *deserts*, that is, *in unfrequented places*. *Epictetus* and other b philosophers had their cells, whither they retired to avoid the noise and tumult of the world, and they did all this without reproach; but *Zoroaster*'s cave is made the strong proof of his being an impostor; nay, it is said that his living in a cave was a precedent for other impostors, particularly his scholar *Pythagoras*, who as *Jamblichus* informs us, had his cave as well as *Zoroaster*. Nay, *Mohammed* borrowed this notion too from *Zerdusht*, and wrote his *Koran* in imitation of the *Zendevesta*. After all, there is a good deal of prejudice in this, every institutor of a new religion, at least that we have ever heard of, hath collected his doctrines into a book, or directed them to be collected, and left them to his disciples: *Moses* did this; *Zerdusht* did this; and *Mohammed* did this; does it follow that *Mohammed* had in view c *Zerdusht* rather than *Moses*, or that he retired to a cave in imitation rather of *Zerdusht*, than of the ancient prophets? This is certainly doing him great honour, and even attributing more to him than is his due. We have already shewn that his retirement to a cave was natural and reasonable; at the bottom of the page we shall prove, that as far as we know any thing of it, there is no just ground to suspect that it was not innocent, nay laudable, if the instructing mankind may be esteemed so. This we do not say out of any prejudice in favour of *Zerdusht*, arising from the pains we have taken in compiling his history, but because we are afraid of deceiving our readers, and of complying with popular opinions, at the expence of truth. If we

God says of himself, after the long description given by him of the power and empire of *Cyrus*, "I am "*Jehovah*, and none else; there is no God besides "me, I girded thee, *i. e. Cyrus*, though thou hast "not known me, *i. e.* by my name *Jehovah*, that "they may know from the rising of the sun, and "from the west that there is none besides me: I "am *Jehovah*, and none else; I form the *light*, "and create *darkness*; I make *peace*, and create "*evil*; I, *Jehovah*, do all these (8). It is most evident that this declaration was made in regard to the errors which had crept into the Magian religion in respect to *light* and *darkness*, and the powers presiding over them. That *Zerdusht* rectified these errors, and expressly taught what is declared in the text, that there was one self-existent being, author of *light*, and of *darkness*, of *good*, and of *evil*, is acknowledged by ancient and modern authors, by the friends and enemies of *Zerdusht*, nay by dean *Prideaux* himself, who yet loads him with reproach, and never mentions him but by the opprobrious name of *Impostor* (9). *Impostor* in what? In teaching that there was but one God, and that men ought not to erect images in his honour, or pretend to restrain him within the narrow bounds of temples; that instead of such mean notions of the Deity, they ought to look up to the first and most glorious creature within their ken, *i. e.* the sun, and before him, as the witness of his Maker, and the expressive symbol of his omniscience, testify their gratitude, thankfulness, and reverence, for all the favours conferred on them by the Creator and Ruler of all things, resolving with themselves to make a right use of his blessings, by living temperately, and doing good, and not hurt to their neighbours; till in his own due time God should instruct them farther, by the mission of the *Great Prophet* who was to come, concerning whom *Zerdusht* as well as *Moses* spoke: surely these are no signs of imposture. If it should be asked, How comes it then to pass that the *Persees* have not acknowledged Christ? we may answer, by asking another question; Why have not the *Jews* acknowledged him? These are secrets which God hath reserved to himself, teaching us however, plainly enough, that it is our duty to endeavour the conversion of both, and of all the nations of the earth, not by the sword, though that was an allowable argument of old, and as such put into the hand of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, and *Cyrus*; but by milder methods, expressive of the christian spirit, by reasoning calmly, and by living piously. It may be justly said, that the greatest impediment to this best of all works, is the laziness of christians, their neglecting to study the grounds of their own religion, and the sources of those errors which blind the minds of others, and hinder their seeing the truth of the gospel. Many learned *Jews* have been converted, nay and are daily converted in *Germany*, not by the antichristian proceedings of an inquisition, but by proving to them, that according to the maxims of their own doctors, the Messiah is come, and consequently the obligation to their laws is removed. Might not the same thing be done with respect to these *Persees*? Would they not be sooner invited to christianity, if we should study and explain the writings of *Zerdusht* with impartiality at least, if not with respect: we say, Would they not be sooner invited by this method, to consider the arguments in favour of the gospel, than by calling him whom they esteem a prophet, an impostor, and charging them with idolatry, of which we are morally certain they are not guilty? But our note begins to exceed all bounds, and is already of a length which nothing can excuse, except its subject.

(8) *Isaiah* xlv. 5, 6, 7. (9) *Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 303.*

 err,

err, it shall be through defect in our abilities, and not from any biass of our inclinations; we therefore make no question, but even such as differ from us in sentiment, will be satisfied with our conduct, and approve of our intentions, though they censure our opinions (N).

* Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 312.

(N) There cannot be a more difficult task assigned any man, than to reduce into order, and make sense of what *Greek* authors have delivered in relation to oriental affairs; sometimes they speak truth, and are not believed; at other times they tell the most arrant falsities, with such an air of knowledge, that such as are not acquainted with these matters, readily take for granted all they say. The *Latins* copy, generally speaking, after the *Greeks*, and therefore are as little to be depended upon as their masters, or rather less; sometimes, however, they tell us truths, and truths which destroy in a line or two all the romantick stories that are told us elsewhere. For example, *Porphyry* has quoted an oracle, which, he says, was pronounced at *Delphos*, of a very extraordinary nature; it runs thus:

*Chaldees* and *Jews* are wise in worshipping
A self-begotten God, of all things king.

These *Chaldees* were the *Magi*, which we can easily prove from another learned writer, *viz. Laertius*, who speaks thus (10). It is said that philosophy had its original from the *Barbarians*, since among the *Persians* were *Magi*; among the *Babylonians* or *Assyrians* the *Chaldeans*; among the *Indians* the *Gymnosophists*, and among the *Celtes* the *Druids*. For this *Laertius* quotes *Aristotle*; nay, *Porphyry* himself had the highest esteem for the Magi, since he describes them thus: *Among the* Persians, *those wise persons who were employed about the* Divinity, *and served him, were called* Magi. *Laertius*, on the authority of *Aristotle*, or the author of the treatise of *magic*, speaks of the manner in which they lived; *They refrain*, says he, *from rich attire, and from wearing gold; their garments are mostly white; their beds the ground; their food nothing but herbs, cheese, and bread; their chief employment is praying to God, and exhorting men to live uprightly. Dion Chrysostome*, the most polite writer among the *Greeks*, corrects the errors of his countrymen with respect to these Magi, in these words: "The *Persians* called those Magi, who "were employed in the service of the gods; but "the *Greeks*, being ignorant of the meaning of that "word, apply it to such as are skilled in magic, a "science unknown to the *Persian* sages (11)." These Magi were not only the scholars, but the masters of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; they flourished long before his time, and he doubtless acquired the rudiments of that knowledge which he afterwards so much improved, from them. *Dion Chrysostome* has very happily set down what from good authorities he learned in relation to *Zoroaster*. "It is reported, "*says that admirable writer*, that through love of "wisdom and justice, he, *i. e. Zoroaster*, withdrew "himself from men, and lived alone in a certain "mountain; that afterwards leaving the mountain, "a great fire descending from above, continually "burned about him. Upon this the king, with the "prime nobility of *Persia*, came and prayed with "him to God. That he was unhurt by the fire, de-"livered himself in terms, which discovered more "than human wisdom, exhorting the people to be "chearful, and to offer certain sacrifices, as if God "had come with him to that place; thenceforward "he conversed not with all men, but with such "only as were most addicted to truth, and by reason "of their studies more capable of the knowledge "of the gods, whom the *Persians* stile Magi (12)." Having thus learned from an unbyassed author, what it was that led *Zoroaster* to mountains and deserts, let us next see what we can discover as to his employment in his *Cave*. But before we proceed to quote authorities on this head, let us observe that according to all the accounts we have hitherto had of the Magi, they were very indifferently fitted to act in subserviency to an impostor, such as *Zerdusht* has been reported; for they were spiritual people, who sought not power and wealth, but wisdom and truth; they resemble rather the baptist in his course cloathing, and simple diet, than those who are to be seen in the courts of kings, prostituting religion to private ends, and unworthily taking the name of God in vain, to gratify the pride of mortals. In our account of the *Persian* religion, we have given *Zerdusht*'s rule for the clergy of all ranks, and from thence it evidently appears, he thought not of erecting an empire over the consciences of men for the aggrandizing the priesthood, which among the *Persians* was hereditary, but endeavoured to make his priests superior to other men by the single method whereby one man can excel another, *viz.* through purity of morals, and improvement of the understanding (13). Such a scheme as this needed neither conjuring nor fanaticism to recommend it; and therefore, *prima facie*, it should seem that a man of *Zerdusht*'s character retired to a cave for the sake of privacy and silence, and not to raise devils, or coin lying fictions; these are fit works for illiterate and ambitious men, such as *Mahommed* was, but not for *Zerdusht*. It so happens, however, that we have some proof of this great man's employment in his cell: *Porphyry* tells us, "that *Zoroaster*, first among the *Per-*"*sians* did consecrate a natural cave in the moun-"tains in honour of *Mithra*, the king and father of "all, signifying by this cave the world framed by "*Mithra*, by the other things disposed within it in "fit distances, the elements and quarters of the "world (14)." The very learned *Celsus*, as we find him quoted by *Origen*, gives us also an account of these caves in these words: "The *Persians*, says he, "in their Mithrian rites, represent symbolically the "two-fold motion of the stars, *viz.* of those stiled, "fixed, and of the planets, and the passage of the "soul through them. To demonstrate this, they "set up a ladder, on the ascent of which there were "seven gates with the eighth at the very top; the "first of lead; the second of tin; the third of "brass; the fourth of iron; the fifth of a mixed "mass; the sixth of silver; and the seventh of "gold. They attributed the first to *Saturn*, the "slowness of that planet's motion being intimated "by the lead; the second to *Venus*, on account of "the softness and brightness of tin; the third being "of brass, than which nothing is more solid or "durable, to *Jupiter*; the fourth to *Mercury*, because, "like iron, he is suited to all sorts of labours, from "whence profit may be drawn; the fifth, because "of its mixture, variableness, and irregularity, to "*Mars*; the sixth to the moon; and the seventh to "the sun, because of the likeness in their colour "to silver and gold (15)." Here is a great deal of philosophy, but no witchcraft or enthusiasm in these representations; and if *Zoroaster* be condemned either as a magician or an impostor on account of the furniture of his cave, what will become of our makers of Orreries? We will conclude this very note, with observing, that the most judicious *Dion Chrysostome*, whom we have so often quoted and commended, knew well the folly and falsehood of the *Greeks*,

(10) *In Proœm. Hist. Dogm. & Vit. Philosoph.* (11) *Orat. Boristhen.* (12) *Ubi supra.* (13) *Universal History, Vol. II. p.* 78. (14) *In Antr. Nymphar.* (15) *Celsus ap. Orig. cont. Cels. lib.* vi.

a As our design in this section is to follow the oriental historians, we think it necessary to insert here what is delivered by the *Persian* historians, relating to the appearance of *Zerdusht*, when he first took upon him the character of a prophet, and demanded from *Gushtasp* and his subjects the obedience due to a *Messenger* from God. In regard to this we have a copious relation written by a *Persee*, from authentick memoirs of ancient times, preserved by the judicious Dr. *Hyde*; the substance of which, as it never appeared before in our language, we hope will be well received, though doubtless it stands in need of great allowances, as to the miracles mentioned in it, and other things. However the fabulous history of the *Persians* is at least as well worth knowing as the conjectures of western authors on this
b subject, which are often as improbable, and always as uncertain. Thus then proceeds our author: "In this reign flourished *Zerdusht* the prophet. He coming into "the presence of *Gushtasp*, informed him of his commission in these terms. I am "a prophet, sent to thee by the most wise God, and this book, *viz.* the *Zend-avesta*, "I brought from *Paradise*; also he gave me this cassock, and this girdle, saying, "Put on this cassock, and gird thyself with this girdle, that thy soul may be deli-"vered from *Gehenna*, and that thou mayest find salvation; go also and propagate "the true religion throughout the world. When *Gushtasp* had heard this message "from the prophet, he said, But how shall I know that thou art really a prophet, "and came to me from the most high God? For without a sign, the truth of "what you say cannot be known, neither ought a religion to be received till it be
c "supported by miracles. If therefore thou art truly a prophet, shew us some "sign that I may know, and be assured that thou art a messenger of God. When "*Zerdusht* heard what the king demanded, he in compliance therewith wrought "the following miracle. He planted before the gate of the palace a cypress tree, "which grew in a few days so wonderfully, that it was near ten fathoms in girt, "and full ten in height; and in the top of this tree he erected a summer-house. "When the king had beheld this miracle, he was convinced, and determined in "his mind to embrace the religion of *Zerdusht*. He was however advised to call "for certain wise men, who might dispute with *Zerdusht*. This was accordingly "done, but they could not convince him; on the contrary *Zerdusht* prevailed.
d "These however hating him, devised this method for his destruction. *Zerdusht* "had his lodgings in the palace, and as often as he went out he left his keys with "the porter. This porter they corrupted, and engaged him to be silent, and "not discover any thing they did. They then made use of him to gain entrance "into the lodgings of *Zerdusht*, when he was abroad; and when they had so "done, they threw into his wardrobe, put into his book *Zend*, and into his "cloak-bag all sorts of unclean and impure things, such as the bones of cats and "dogs, and the hair and nails of dead bodies; these they scattered amongst his "things. Which when they had done, they went out, shut the doors carefully, "and returned the keys to the porter. *Zerdusht* in the mean time walked in the
e "simplicity of his heart, praising God, but his enemies considered not this. They "immediately addressed themselves to the king, to this purpose: This wicked man, "*viz. Zerdusht*, is employed every night in diabolical practices, by which, O king, "thy heart will be inevitably insnared, unless thou wilt instantly send some of thy "guards to search his apartments, that thou mayest be certified whether these "things be so or not. The king sent hereupon his guards to the apartments of "*Zerdusht* to search them, and to bring all things they found in them before him. "This accordingly was done, and all sorts of unclean things, such as the bones "of dogs and cats, the hair and nails of dead bodies were found in his chest of "cloaths, his book of *Zend-avesta*, and in his cloak-bag. The king seeing all this,
f "turned to *Zerdusht*, and said, in a high passion, How is this, thou profligate, and "what is it thou hast been doing? *Zerdusht* heard his accusers, and the king pa-

*Greeks*, in what they reported of the religion of the *Persians*, and of their consecrating horses to the sun (16). They were far, says he, from fancying the chariot of the sun, the most sublime spectacle in nature they were acquainted with, the supreme charioteer who put the universe into motion, and still guides it. Of this subject, not *Homer*, not *Hesiod*, but *Zoroaster*, and the magi, his disciples taught by him, have sung in strains worthy of the glorious theme. But all their discourses are to be interpreted in a very different manner, nay directly opposite from the comments of our writers. They acknowledge that the director of the universe is inaccessible and inscrutable; they compare the motions of the sun and moon to horses under direction, but as to horses consecrated to them, the *Greeks* have reported numberless fables.

(16) *Orat. Boristhen.*

"tiently,

"tiently, and without emotion. At last he thus answered for himself; O king, a
"all that thou seest I know nothing of, neither belongeth it to me. Then the
"king called for the porter, and having examined him, the king threw from him
"the book *Zend*, and commanded *Zerdusht* to be shut up in prison. Thus, notwith-
"standing his innocence, *Zerdusht* was thrust into confinement, which he endured
"chearfully, standing all day in one posture, praying to and praising God, with-
"out receiving any sustenance whatever. It happened shortly after that a black
"horse, of which the king was particularly fond, was taken in an odd manner, its
"fore-feet shrinking up to its belly in such a way, that the creature fell down to the
"ground, and could no way be raised up. The *master* of the *horse*, called in the
"*Persian* language *Mih-mard*, when he came, as he was wont, into the stables, and b
"perceived what had befallen the king's favourite steed, he went immediately
"and acquainted *Gushtasp*. The king no sooner heard it than he went in person
"to the stable, and having viewed the horse, called for the wise men who had
"engaged him to imprison *Zerdusht*, and desired them to contrive immediately some
"remedy for this extraordinary malady of the horse, which they were unable to
"do, and confessed as much to the king. When *Gushtasp* found this, he grew very
"uneasy, because he valued his horse extremely. On the fourth day the porter
"went to see *Zerdusht* in prison. Of him *Zerdusht* enquired news, and why he
"came not before to visit him. The porter told him the court was much disturbed
"on account of a misfortune which had befallen the king's black courser. *Zerdusht* c
"bid the porter tell the king that when he should be released out of prison, he
"would quickly restore his horse. The porter ran with this news to the king, who
"as soon as he was informed thereof, sent for *Zerdusht* out of prison, and car-
"ried him with him to the stable. *Zerdusht* seeing the condition the horse was in,
"turned to the king, and said, Sir, this is no easy matter, but, on the contrary,
"a cure very difficult to be performed. One thing however I have to desire,
"that what you wish may be performed; it is this: That you believe with
"your whole heart that the religion I taught you is true, and came from God;
"which if you do sincerely, I shall be able to restore your steed, otherwise it
"must remain in the state it is in. Then the king, struck with the awful stead- d
"ness of *Zerdusht*, believed according as he desired. Upon which the prophet
"advancing to the black horse, stroaked his right fore-foot with his hand, where-
"upon the fore-foot immediately withdrew out of the belly of the horse, and
"hung in its natural position. Then *Zerdusht*, turning to the king, said, It is
"necessary, Sir, that both your sons come hither, embrace the religion I have
"taught, and promise to make war on infidels for the propagation of this religion.
"Then came instantly *Bashuten* and *Isphendiyar*, the sons of *Gushtasp*, and embra-
"ced the religion of *Zerdusht*, as he had desired. Upon this the prophet went again
"to the horse, and with his left hand stroaked the horse's left fore-foot, which im- e
"mediately the creature extended in its natural state. Then turned *Zerdusht* to the
"king, and said, Sir, it is still necessary that *Ketayun* the mother of *Isphendiyar*
"should embrace this religion. Then *Gushtasp* sent one of his attendants with *Zer-*
"*dusht* to the palace, and the prophet being come into the queen's presence, addressed
"her thus: O thou, matron of matrons, whom God hath preferred above all
"women and raised high above your sex, by giving thee *Gushtasp* for thine hus-
"band, and *Isphendiyar* for thy son, like whom there is none upon the earth.
"Behold now the king of kings, and thy son *Isphendiyar* have embraced, and
"with their whole hearts believe the truth of the religion I have taught; it is neces-
"sary, O queen, that you also receive and believe it. Then answered *Ketayun*, f
"Whatsoever my husband and my son believe, that also will I embrace and believe.
"Then *Zerdusht* returning to the black horse, put up his prayers, and stroaking
"with his right hand the right hind foot, it was restored to its natural strength.
"Then *Zerdusht* turning to the king, said, You see your horse has recovered three
"legs; it is necessary for the recovery of the fourth, that you interrogate your
"porter, and get the truth out of him, that the innocent may not be blamed,
"seeing if the porter told the truth, then the horse will fully recover, or other-
"wise remain in the state it did. The king thereupon ordered the porter to be
"brought, and caused him to be severely threatened that he might discover the
"truth, as to the scattering unclean and abominable things in the lodgings of
"*Zerdusht*. The porter, dreading the king's anger, most humbly besought him to
"grant

a " grant him his life, which the king having promised, he then opened the whole
" conspiracy in these words: Four of these wise men, who are so much in your
" favour, that I was afraid of refusing them any thing, gave me a bribe, and
" taking the keys from me, did all that your majesty has heard and seen. When
" the king had heard all that the porter had to say, he was extremely sorry, and
" made a long apology to *Zerdusht* for the injury he had done him, in causing him
" to be so long imprisoned, without any grounds at all, beseeching him to pass
" by and forgive it. Then the four wise men were hanged on a gibbet, and
" *Zerdusht* having lift up his hands in prayer, stroked with his left hand the left
" hind leg of the horse, which immediately fell from his belly, and rested on the
b " ground as it used to do, so that quickly after the beast rose and stood upon all his
" feet. At this the king greatly rejoiced, treating *Zerdusht* with greater honour
" and respect than ever, causing him to be placed on a golden seat himself,
" *i. e.* the king believing the book *Zendavesta*, and living in exact conformity
" to its precepts. It is reported that some time after this king *Gushtasp* applied
" himself to *Zerdusht*, and said, There is one thing that I desire of thee, and I
" desire it so earnestly, that I hope you will not refuse it, since if you grant me
" this request, then shall I be thoroughly satisfied that thou art a prophet sent unto
" me by the most high God. *Zerdusht* desired the king that he would explain
" himself, that he might apply to God for the gratification of the king's will. Then
c " king *Gushtasp* said, My desire is this, that while I am yet alive, my soul may be
" satisfied as to its future state, by beholding the joys of heaven, that it may be
" certain concerning them, and at ease. Moreover, I desire that I may know all
" things that shall pass till the day of judgment, with the same exactness as I know
" things present. 3dly, I desire that in all the wars I wage on account of religion,
" my body may remain as it is, and I become invulnerable. 4thly, I desire that
" my soul may continue to exist to the day of resurrection, and that I die not
" at all. The prophet of God hearing this, answered, I will certainly put up
" my prayers to the creator of all things, neither doubt I at all that the most high
" God will grant what you have desired. But your fourth request must be yielded
d " to four different persons, since it belongs to God alone to enjoy them all at
" once. Do you therefore consider who these persons shall be, and I will put up
" prayers that one of your requests may be granted to each. Then king *Gushtasp*
" desired for himself, that he might be permitted to behold his place in paradise,
" and take a distinct view of all that was therein. He likewise mentioned three
" other persons on whom the remaining blessings should be bestowed; then *Zerdusht*
" being satisfied, retired to his own lodgings, and spent the whole night in pray-
" ers and praises to God, beseeching him, that if it were possible all these things might
" come to pass. The next day when light appeared, and the sun displayed his
" beams on the tops of the mountains, it came into the mind of *Zerdusht* to con-
e " secrate the four following things, *viz.* wine, a rose, a cup, and the kernel of a
" pomgranate. And after he had consecrated these by prayer, having the sacred
" twigs in his hand, he presented the wine to *Gushtasp*, and as soon as the king
" had drank thereof, he fell down as if in a deep sleep, and continued for three
" days and three nights in the same position, his soul within that space ascend-
" ing into heaven, and beholding there the joys of the blessed. At the end of
" three days he awaked, and going to *Zerdusht*, beseeched him to pardon his incre-
" dulity. Then the prophet gave to *Gjamasp* the rose which he had consecrated,
" which he no sooner smelt, than he knew all things that passed, all that had hap-
" pened from the beginning, and which were to happen, and which should happen
f " to the day of resurrection. Then *Zerdusht* gave milk in the cup to *Bishuten*, the
" son of *Gushtasp*, who by drinking thereof was made *immortal*. As to the fourth
" thing, *Isfendiyar* having eaten the kernel of the pomgranate, had his body
" rendered as invulnerable as brass. After this the religion of *Zerdusht* spread,
" and was propagated every-where, all men readily yielding belief thereto, excepting
" *Argjasp*, king of *Touran*, who embraced it not[1].

The great desire all people have to magnify the princes who have ruled, and the prophets who have taught them, hath doubtless encouraged the *Persees* to propagate a multitude of strange things in relation to *Zerdusht*; the foregoing long

[1] E libr. rarissim. cui titul. Shah nama nesr.

quotation is sufficient to shew the nature of their notions, and to excuse us from a making any farther transcripts from their books. Let us return therefore to the story of his propagating his doctrines, and let us endeavour to put our materials together as succinctly as we may.

The two reigning heresies before the birth of *Zerdusht* were *Zabiism* and *Magism*; the latter was far less gross than the former, and consequently there required more care to keep its professors from going over to the opposite religion. For history informs us, and the experience even of our own times, renders it manifest, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily superstition than truth. Hence it came to pass that the *Zabians* gained ground in *Persia*, and multitudes, especially of the common b people, were fallen into wrong notions of the deity, and into gross errors in their manner of worshiping him, living also in continual fear of the evil spirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their species, and the continual disturber of the world. *Zerdusht* took pains to root out all these notions, and to make the people easier than they had been, by inspiring them with reasonable opinions; he taught them that the supreme being was independent and self-existent from all eternity, that *light* and *darkness*, *good* and *evil*, were continually mixed, and in a continual struggle, not through any impotency in the creator, but because such was his will, and because this discordancy was for his glory; that in the end there would be a general resurrection, and a day of retribution, wherein such as had done well, and lived c obedient to the law of God, should go with the angel of light into a realm of light, where they should enjoy peace and pleasure for evermore; and those who had done evil, should suffer with the angel of darkness, everlasting punishment in a land of obscurity, where no ray of light or mercy shall ever visit them; that thenceforward light and darkness shall be incapable of mixture to all eternity. He took great pains to persuade his disciples of all the attributes of the divinity, especially of his wisdom and his justice, in consequence of which he assured them that they had none to fear but themselves, because nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour, but their vices. Of all virtues, he esteemed what the *Greeks* called *philanthropy*, and the apostles *brotherly love*, the greatest: for which d reason he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; sometimes alluring them by promises, at other times; driving them as it were by threatnings. The *credenda* of his religion were not numerous nor perplexed, though according to the mode of the east, he sometimes made use of parabolic relations; as for example; when he taught that on the fourth day after death the soul came to the bridge *Tchinavar*, and was there met by the angels *Mihr-Izad* and *Reshu-Izad*, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the soul attempting to pass; and in case the former prevailed, then it went safely over the bridge; if the latter, it was thrown thence into *Gehenna*, that is into the region of darkness, where the souls of the wicked are punished *. That this is really a parabolic description, and not a litteral account of what is to happen after death, we suppose appears from the very face of the relation; for it cannot be supposed that *Zerdusht*, who was indisputably a very wise and learned man, and who took pains to make all his disciples so, should nevertheless attempt to impose upon them so absurd a thing as this taken in a literal sense, *viz.* that a spirit divested of matter should travel over a bridge lying across hell, and leading to heaven; and that after weighing his actions in a pair of scales, the good angel should either lead him over safe, or the bad one push him down; this is absolutely incredible. But that he should make use of these terms to insinuate that the effects of our good and evil deeds transcend the grave, and either lead us to everlasting rest, or project us into never-ending misery, is easy to be understood, and might as easily have been believed. In the book *Sad-der*, which is a compendium of the doctrines of *Zerdusht*, collected in his own words, this description of the state of the dead is placed in the first chapter; and in the second it is thus applied: Men who believe the religion of *Zerdusht*, will be afraid not only of great but of small sins; for since all are weighed and numbered, and according to the preponderating of this or that scale the soul is to be happy or miserable for ever, whoever thinks of this will be afraid of adding weight to the left-hand scale, and earnestly desire to heap meritorious actions in that on the right hand, because his all rests on this trial. This is very sound divinity, and very intelligible, where the

* Sad-der. Port. 1.

mind

a mind is unprejudiced, otherwise it is easy to ridicule the *soul supporting bridge*, and the *action weighing angels*, and consequently to expose *Zerdusht*, not only as a wicked but as a weak impostor. But to proceed, he carefully instructed those who heard him, and directed them to instruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to amend; he declared, that tho' we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act, wherefore even the worst of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works; this he exemplified by another parable, which is also recorded in the book *Sad-der*, and which runs in these words: " It is reported of *Zerdusht*, the author of our b " religion, that one day, retiring from the presence of God, he beheld the body " of a man plunged in *Gehenna*, his right foot only being free, and sticking with- " out. *Zerdusht* thereupon cryed out, What is this that I see, and wherefore is this " man in this condition? He was answered, This man, whom you see in this condi- " tion, was formerly the prince of thirty-three cities, over which he reigned many " years, without doing any one good action; for besides oppression, injustice, " pride, and violence, nothing ever entered his mind; and though he was the " scourge of multitudes, yet without regarding their misery, he lived at ease in his " palace. One day, however, as he was hunting, he beheld a sheep caught by " the foot in the thicket, and thereby held at such a distance from food, that it must c " have perished; this king, moved at the sight, alighting from his horse, released " the sheep from the thicket, and led it to the pasture; now for this act of ten- " derness and compassion his foot remains out of *Gehenna*, though his whole body " be plunged therein for the multitude of his sins. Endeavour therefore to do all " the good thou canst without fear or apprehension; for God is benign and mer- " ciful, and will reward even the smallest good thou dost [a]". These hints of his doctrines, compared with what has been already delivered, in speaking of the religion of the ancient *Persians*, cannot but be sufficient to shew the general import of *Zerdusht*'s scheme of religion; as to exterior rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places, under the open air, d engaging his followers to erect *Pyræa*, or fire-temples throughout all the dominions of *Persia*, that this symbol of the divinity might not at every turn be liable to be extinguished. He gave them likewise a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought to him from heaven; and therefore refuse to make any alterations therein, though the language in which it is written is long ago grown obsolete, and is very little understood by the priests themselves. The priests, or, as we stile them, the magi, were, according to his institution, of three ranks: The first, consisted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. *Prideaux* very significantly terms them; their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain stated and solemn times, to acquaint the people with the contents of *Zerdusht*'s books, and to para- e phrase on and explain them. In these parochial chapels, there were no fire-altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the superintendency of these ordinary priests, and were to them what bishops are to us: these too had their churches, in which, were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at a time, waited constantly near the altar, to provide it with fewel, and to assist such devout persons as resorted thither, with their advice, and their prayers. Above these was the archimagus, *i. e.* the high priest, or as the *Persians* stiled him, the *Mubad Mubadan*. *Zerdusht* himself assumed this office, and resided in the city of *Balch*, where he governed his f magians, and instructed them in all sorts of learning. As the austerity of his own life, and his extensive knowledge, supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his cotemporaries, he recommended, as we have seen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the archimagus, the same behaviour, and the same application to study unto his successors. These injunctions were for many ages persued by them, and was the reason that they were admitted into the king's councils, sat with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown; insomuch that *Pliny* tells us in his time, *This religion was received by many nations, and bore sway in the East*

[a] Sad-der. Port. 5.

over

*over the king of kings.* It remains now that we give an account of the book of the a laws still extant among the *Persees*, and indubitably written by *Zerdusht*, whether he was a prophet or impostor; for as to the remaining actions of his life, and his immature death, they belong to the reign of *Gushtasp*, and shall be accordingly taken notice of therein.

*Zerdusht*'s book, containing the institutes of his religion, is stiled *Zend* or *Zendavasta*, usually pronounced *Zund* and *Zundavastaw*, which is not a *Persian*, but an exotic word signifying a *Tinderbox*; its author in compliance with the oriental custom of giving all important treatises allegorical names, having pitched on this to express the nature of his book, which was to inspire its readers with divine zeal; he likewise caused it to be stiled the book of *Abraham*, intimating that it contained the b doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary *Persian* character, but in the old *Persic*, called from thence, among the ordinary *Persees*, the *Zund* character. The very learned Dr. *Thomas Hyde* proposed to the world the publishing a correct edition of it with a Latin translation, but meeting with no encouragement to undertake so laborious and expensive a work, the world has been deprived of the sight of this great curiosity [o]. It was originally written in twelve hundred skins, and consists of one and twenty parts, or different treatises, all comprehended under the general title of *Zend* or *Zendavasta*, which is the reason that we have had in *Europe* so many different accounts of this book, and its contents. For the sake of the people who profess this religion, and who have notwithstanding no knowledge at c all either of the *Zund* character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned priest has taken the pains to make a compendium thereof in modern *Persian*, which is the book *Sad-der*, so often quoted by us from the *Latin* version published by Dr. *Hyde*, and annexed to his impartial history of the religion of the antient *Persians*. This learned critic is of opinion that *Zerdusht* did not originally intend to have made this book consist of any more than two parts, *viz.* the *Zend* and *Pazend*, resembling the *Mishna* and *Gemara* in the *Jewish Talmud*; the first containing the liturgy and principal doctrines of his religion; the second a commentary on them, explaining and shewing the rationale of them: but as new adversaries rose up daily, and other occasions required new treatises, *Zerdusht* continued to write d them, and to add them to his *Zendavasta*, which still retained the general title of the volume. Amongst the pieces comprehended under that title, there is one bearing the title of *Zeratusht-nama*, i. e. the history of *Zerdusht*, which is no other than his life, written by himself. This, that it may be more generally known, has been rendered into the common *Persian* by the priests who published the book *Sad-der* [p]. The celebrated Dr. *Prideaux*, speaking of this book, acknowledges that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very pressingly, and with sufficient exactness, excepting only in one particular, which is that of incest; for this, he says, is wholly taken away by *Zerdusht*, who teaches that nothing of this nature is unlawful, but that a man may not only marry his sister or his daughter, but his mother; and he very justly observes, that this is such an abomination, that though all things else were right in that book, this alone were sufficient to pollute it. But in support of all this, the doctor does not quote either the book itself, or its compendium the book *Sad-der*, or any other treatise, written by an avowed *Persee*, but the authorities of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Strabo*, *Philo Judæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* [q]. It is but reasonable that we should suspend our belief till we have a decisive account of this matter, especially if we consider that in other respects these authors are frequently mistaken. It may indeed be urged, that incest was commonly practised by the *Persian* kings (if we give intire credit to the *Greek* historians); but admitting this to be so, it is no direct proof that *Zerdusht* allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the *Persees* at this day, is a demonstration that he did not allow it. As to the rest of the contents of this book, we shall not insist farther on them here, because it would lead us into too long a digression from the thread of our history; but the inquisitive reader will find at the bottom of the page some farther memorandums relating to the works of *Zoroaster* (O).

We

[o] Histor. veter. Persar. p. 25. [p] H. R. v. P. c. xxv, xxvi. [q] Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 320.

(O) In this note we shall speak largely of *Zerdusht*'s writings, that is, as largely as the nature of this work will allow; and that we may do this clearly, we will consider them, first, as they are known to

a WE will conclude our account of this extraordinary person, with observing that he is said by credible authors to have predicted the coming of the Messiah, and this not in dark and obscure terms, such as might have been applied as well to any other person, but in plain and express words, and such as could not be mistaken; nay farther, it is affirmed that the wise men out of the east, recorded by the evangelist [r] to have come to *Bethlehem*, and there worshipped our Saviour on account of his star, which they had seen in their own country, were the disciples of *Zerdusht*. Some of the learned indeed slighting this relation have fixed on *Balaam*'s prophecy [s], in order to account for that event; and hence without doubt it happened that so learned a man as *Hornius*, was of opinion that *Zoroaster* might have been the b same person [t]. Far be it from us to countenance any superstitious stories, and as far be it from us either to conceal or to detract from truth, or what has the appearance of truth; we are writing the life of *Zerdusht* from such authors as have come to our hands, we ought not therefore to omit mentioning a circumstance of such consequence, and supported by various testimonies. If the distrust which critics affect to shew of all things reported by oriental writers, should be sufficient to overturn

[r] MATTH. ii. 1. [s] HYDE, H. R. vet. P. p. 384. [t] Hist. Philosoph. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 80.

to the *Persees*, and oriental nations in general; secondly, as they are known to the *Greeks*.

The *Zendevasta*, as we have said in our text, is divided into one and twenty treatises, each called by the *Persees Nesick*, or broadly pronounced, *Nusk*, i. e. *a part*. Every one of these treatises has its proper title suited to the subject of which it treats. Thus *Panend*, which is the name of the second treatise, signifies the *prop* or *buttress* of the *Zend*, because it comprehends the reasons supporting the doctrines delivered in the first part, called simply the *Zend*; the sixteenth treatise is that called *Zeratushtnama*, or the life of *Zerdusht*, mentioned in the text. Dr. *Hyde*, who like a generous man desired that all the world should partake of the treasures he had in his hands, published the contents of this book, in hopes they might so far move the curiosity of the publick, as to enable him to publish the book itself. It contains forty chapters, and about a hundred and forty pages, wherein the whole mystery of *Zerdusht*'s character as a prophet, and the methods made use of by him for the propagation of his religion are set forth at large (17). The twentieth treatise in the *Zendevasta* is called *Bizishk-nama*, i. e. the *Book of Physicians*, because it treats of the virtues of drugs, and how they may be applied. Thus the writings of *Zerdusht* contain not only the religion, but the learning of the magi, and therefore he recommended it to all his successors, in the office of high priest, to be perfect masters of all useful learning. As the book *Zend* is the bible of the *Persees*, so to express a right or just thing, they say *Zend-aver*, *i. e.* permitted by the *Zend*, and an evil action they call *Na-Zendover*, *i. e.* not permitted by the book *Zend*. *Zend-Laph* signifies a zealous *Persee*, but *Zendchuan*, which literally rendered, is a reader of the *Zend*, signifies not a common reader, but him who reads it in the parish church, so that it is equivalent to what the *Jews* call *Chacham*, and the *Mohammedans*, *Imam*. As to the notion of *Curtius*, of the magi's singing their prayers, it is not, strictly speaking, true, though they have a particular tone of voice proper to the recital of their prayers, in which they agree with the modern *Jews*, and perhaps with many other nations (18). Dr. *Prideaux* is very severe on this method of devotion, and compares it to the manner of popish priests celebrating their mass (19); but in respect to those things which are regulated by custom, perhaps those censures should be spared, since it is hard to find the reason why the custom of one country should render ridiculous the custom of another.

As to what the *Greeks* knew of *Zoroaster*'s writings, it is difficult to say what ought to be believed; *Eusebius* speaks of a collection of physicks written by this great man, and quotes from thence the following descriptions of God's attributes, affirming them to be the express words of *Zoroaster*: "God hath the "head of a hawk, he is the first incorruptible, eter- "nal, unbegotten, indivisible, most like himself, "the charioteer of every good, one that cannot be "bribed, the best of things good, the wisest of things "wise; he is moreover the father of equity and "justice, self-taught, self existent, infinitely perfect, "omniscient, and the sole ruler of nature (20)." *Suidas* ascribes to him four books of nature, one of precious stones, five of the wisdom of the stars (21). *Pliny* says he wrote two millions of verses, on which *Hermippus* wrote commentaries, a treatise on agriculture, and a book of visions (22). But of all the works mentioned by the *Greeks*, his oracles are the most considerable, because of them there are still some remains, could we be sure they were genuine; but *Porphyry* says expressly, that some christian hereticks boasting of the secret works of *Zoroaster*, attempted to deceive the world, and if they believe what they say, are deceived themselves, since these treatises are no better than forgeries (23). The famous prince of *Mirandula* gave the oracles yet extant some reputation by the following account of a manuscript in his own possession; "I was, says he, forcibly taken off "from other things, and engaged to study the *Ara-* "*bian* and *Chaldean* learning by certain books, in "both those languages which came to my hands, "not accidentally, but questionless, by the disposal "of God in favour of my studies; hear the inscrip- "tions, and you will believe it. These *Chaldaic* "books, if I ought to call them books and not "treasures, are the oracles of *Zoroaster Abenefra*, "and *Melchier*, magi, in which those things which "are faulty and defective in the *Greek* are read here "perfect and entire. There is also an exposition "by *Chaldaic* wise men on these oracles concise, "and somewhat obscure indeed, but full of rare "mysteries, and curious learning. There is besides "a book of the *Chaldaic* theology, with a copious "and admirable discourse of the wisdom of the "*Persians*, *Grecians*, and *Chaldeans* (24)." *Ficinus*, to

(17) *Hist. veter. Pers. c.* xxiv. *p.* 329, 330. (18) *Ibid. p.* 342. (19) *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol.* I. *p.* 309. (20) *Eusebius Præpar. Evangel.* (21) *In voce* Ζωροαστρης. (22) *Hist. Nat. lib.* xxvi. *c.* 1. (23) *In vita Plotini.* (24) *Epist. ad Ficinum.*

the credit of these predictions in the judgment of an impartial reader, it is not our fault; we are to relate, but in cases of this nature every man must determine for himself (P). On the whole we may be permitted to say, that on a view of what different authors have delivered concerning *Zerdusht* and his writings, he stands fairly entitled to the character we have given him of an extraordinary person, especially when we reflect that his ministry was of no long continuance, according to the most a

to whom he directed this letter, found these books after his decease, but so worn and illegible, that nothing could be made of them. Some of these oracles which escaped the injuries of time, were first published at *Paris* by *Lewis Tillet* in 1563. with the commentaries of *Gemistus Plethe*; the same were afterwards translated, and with the comment of *Psellus* published at *Paris* 1607. But *Franciscus Patricius*, having greatly enlarged them by excerpts from *Proclus*, *Hermias*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius*, and *Arnobius*, sent them into the world with an accurate translation of his own. From him our ingenious countryman Mr. *Stanley* took them and published them with the commentaries of *Plethe* and *Psellus*, at the end of his *Chaldaic* philosophy in 1661 (25).

(P) The wisdom of the east, was not only a scripture phrase, but used also by the best profane authors, who knew very well, that notwithstanding the boasting of the *Greeks*, *science* came originally from that corner of the world. It is a common, but no very probable opinion, that they were kings who visited our Saviour in his cradle; tho' they might indeed come from a king, that is from the king of *Persia*, to enquire for the Messiah. That they might come, as some have insisted, from *Arabia*, is true, because *Arabia* lay in their way; but that the magi came from another country than *Persia*, in which they always flourished, is what cannot easily be believed; but that these magi or wise men went into *Judea* in pursuance of *Zerdusht*'s prophecy, is a point to be proved, not by us indeed, who have not seen the *Zendevasta*, but even without seeing it we shall be able to justify what we have said in the text, and defend ourselves from the imputation of superstition, if we can but produce probable authorities. *Sharistani*, whom we have more than once quoted in his history of the religions of the east, says expressly, that *Zerdusht* prophesied in his *Zendevasta*, that in latter times there should arise a man called *Osbanderbogha*, i. e. *Homo Mundi*; which differs little from the title Christ often gives himself of the *Son of Man*, of whom *Zerdusht* prophesied, that he should teach the world true religion and justice, that for a time his kingdom should be oppressed by the devil; but in the end, this righteous person shall triumph, and shall establish peace and happiness upon earth (26). To this let us add a very extraordinary passage from the travels of M. *Tavernier*. "They "give, says he, three children to their prophet, "and though they have not hitherto appeared in the "world, their names are however settled. As he "passed the river, say they, *ab ipso cecidit tres* "*seminis genitalis guttas*, which are preserved to "the end of the world. That God shall send a "virgin for whom he has a favour into the same "water, who *per receptionem primæ guttæ*, shall be "impregnated, and bring forth a son, who shall be "called *Oushider*, he shall appear in the world with "great authority, and shall oblige it to receive the "law of his father, and shall discourse with much "eloquence, and confirm what he says with mira-"cles. The second, who shall be called *Oushiderma*, "shall be conceived in the same manner, he shall "second his brother in his designs, and shall assist "him in preaching, he shall stop the course of the "sun ten days, to force by that sign the belief of the "people whom he teaches. The third shall be "conceived by the same mother in the same way; "his name shall be *Sennaiet-hotius*, he shall come "into the world with greater authority than either "of his brothers, that he may reduce all nations "to the true religion; after which shall be the "general resurrection, when the souls in heaven, and "in hell, shall return and take possession of their "bodies; the mountains and all the metals shall then "melt, and sinking into the gulph of hell, shall "fill it up, so that the mansions of the devils shall "be ruined. After this great change the earth shall "be plain and pleasant, and men shall live happily "therein, praising God, and his prophet (27)." Dr. *Hyde* observes very judiciously, that these three sons represent the three states of the Messiah. His nativity, when his coming was published to the world by various means; his ministry, while he continued upon earth, preaching and doing miracles; and his second advent, when he shall judge the world in righteousness, and his saints shall rejoice and sing (28). But the strongest evidence of this matter is the testimony of the famous *Abul-Pharajius*, who writes thus: "*Zerodasht* or *Zerdusht*, the preceptor of the "magian sect, began to teach in *Aderbayejan*, or "as some say, in *Assyria*. He taught the *Persians*, "that our Lord Christ would manifest himself, "commanding them to carry him gifts, telling "them that in the latter times a virgin should con-"ceive without the help of man, and that when "she should bring forth, a star should appear shining "in the day-time, in the middle of which the "figure of a virgin should be seen. You therefore, "O! my children, having notice of his birth be-"fore all other nations, when ye see that star, fol-"low it, which will direct you to the place where "he is born, adore him, offer him your gifts, for "he is that word which established the heavens (29)." This passage is quoted by Dr. *Hyde*, but there is another in the same author which he has not mentioned, which we therefore shall from that excellent author exhibit to our readers: "The same "year *Cæsar* the emperor sent *Cyrenius* into *Judea* "in order to tax it. *Joseph*, the husband of *Mary*, "going up upon this occasion from *Nazareth* to "*Jerusalem*, that he might give in his name, when "he came to *Bethlehem*, in the way *Mary* did bring "forth a son. The magi brought their gifts from "the east, and offered to Christ gold, myrrh, and "frankincense. Being questioned on this head by "*Herod*, in their passage they answered thus: A "person of great fame among us, in a book which "he left us, hath thus admonished us: There shall "hereafter be born in *Palestine* a male child descend-"ing from heaven, whom the greatest part of the "world shall obey; now the sign of his appearance "shall be this: Ye shall see a strange star which shall "direct you till it stops, which when ye shall behold, "take ye gold, myrrh, and frankincense, and offer "them to him, and adore him; then return ye, "least great evil should overtake ye. Now, there-"fore this star appearing, we come to do as we "were commanded (30)." A noble testimony surely!

(25) *Vide Preface to the Chaldaick Oracles.* (26) *Sharistani ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Persar. c.* xxxi. *p.* 383. (27) *Tavern. Voyage, tom.* i. *lib.* iv. *p.* 485. (28) *Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. c.* xxxi. *p.* 383. (29) *Abul-Pharajius in Histor. Dynast. p.* 83. (30) *Ibid. p.* 110.

authentick

a authentick accounts not above five years, that is from the time of his presenting himself to *Gushtasp*, to his being slain at the sack of *Balch*; but it is now time for us to return to the history of *Gushtasp*, and of the remarkable events which happened during his reign (Q).

THE old animosities between the inhabitants of *Touran* and *Iran* broke out into a fresh war, while *Gushtasp* sat on the throne of his ancestors; it is not easy to say, whether this monarch, or *Argjasp*, who then reigned in *Touran*, was the aggressor. *Mirkhond* inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a war of religion, undertaken to reduce *Argjasp* and his subjects to the faith of *Zerdusht*, that prince being according to Dr. *Prideaux* a zealous *Zabian*[v]; which if he was, we know not how to b account for it, since it should seem that the old religion of *Persia* flourished there in the days of *Phridun*; and as we have seen *Zerdusht* was not the institutor of a new, but the reformer of the old religion; however it was, *Mirkhond* informs us, that *Gushtasp* having assembled the whole forces of his empire, marched with them into *Touran*, and meeting *Argjasp* in battle he vanquished him, slew his son in the field, and before the *Turkish* monarch could assemble a new army, possessed himself of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his soldiers. After which, returning triumphantly into *Persia*, he on some jealousies or suspicion, imprisoned his son *Isphendiyar* in a strong castle, seated on the top of a high mountain, called *Ghird Kouch*, i. e. the round mount; but he had soon reason to repent the ill usage of so deserving a c prince; for *Argjasp*, irritated by the usage he had met with, raised all the forces of *Touran*, and making a sudden inroad into the province of *Chorasan*, he sacked the city of *Balch*, where he killed *Lohrasp*, the father of *Gushtasp* in his cloyster, slaughtered *Zerdusht* with all his priests attending there on the chief *Fire-Temple*, which he likewise overturned, committing all the outrages, that a mind stung with the remembrance of what the *Persian* king had done in his own country could suggest[w]. Elate with this conquest, he advanced so briskly into the dominions of *Iran*, that *Gushtasp* did not think fit to meet him in battle, but chose rather to consider how an army might be drawn together able to fight that of *Argjasp* on his return. His counsellors advised him to set his son *Isphendiyar* at liberty, and to intrust him with d the management of the war. Necessity compelled him to take their advice, and he accordingly sent his brother *Gjamasp* to *Isphendiyar*, not only to release him, but also to assure him that his father would resign to him the throne, in case he proved victorious. As soon as *Isphendiyar* arrived in the army, the *Persians* took new courage, and numbers resorted to his standard, though they had declined following his father. The young prince failed not to make use of these advantages, and coming suddenly on *Argjasp*, he defeated entirely all his numerous army, obliging him to retire out of *Persia*, to make all the haste he could into his own dominions. After this glorious victory, *Gushtasp* received his son with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem; however he declined putting him in possession of the crown, and e in order to amuse him, he observed that it would be unbecoming so brave a prince

[v] Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 321. [w] MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xxi. LEBTARIK.

(Q) The death of *Zerdusht* was violent indeed, but we cannot call it unhappy, since his religion did not perish with him, which certainly it would have done, if he had been as bungling an impostor as some would make him. A *Persian* historian tells us, that *Argjasp* overturned the *Fire-Temples* erected by *Zerdusht* in *Balch*, and slew seventy priests, putting out the sacred fire, with the blood of the magi (31); whether this must be understood literally or figuratively, it would be difficult to tell, if another historian had not related it more at large. "Notice, "says this writer, being given to the king of *Touran* "of certain merchants, that there were no soldiers "left in *Balch*, all of them having repaired to the "army of *Gushtasp*, and that his father *Lohrasp* was "left alone in that city, with such as attended on "the *Pyraea*, and eighty priests; *Argjasp* on this "information drew together an army of fifteen "thousand men, sending his son *Kehram* before him, "and following with all expedition himself. It is "said that when *Argjasp* entered *Iran*, *Lohrasp* re-"ceiving advice thereof, came out of his retreat, "and putting himself at the head of a small troop, "with whom he killed many of the enemy, but in "the end *Lohrasp*, with the eighty priests before "mentioned, were slain, and the holy fire extin-"guished with their blood; with these priests also, "fell *Zerdusht* the prophet, who then resided at "*Balch* (32)." Hence it came to pass, that *Suidas* affirms of the *Assyrian Zoroaster*, that he desired to die by fire from heaven, and advised his countrymen to preserve his ashes, assuring them that while they were kept, their kingdom should never fail (33). All which the *Alexandrian* chronicle refers to the *Persian Zoroaster*, or our *Zerdusht* (34). Of these fables we have said enough, perhaps too much, already.

(31) *Magdi. ap. Hyde Hist. Rel. vet. Perf. p.* 319. (32) *In Shahnama-nasr. ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Perf. p.* 325. (33) *ubi supra.* (34) *Chron. Alexand. p.* 89.

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to put his father's crown upon his head, while his sisters, who were taken prisoners at a
the sack of *Baleh*, remained still in captivity. *Ispbendiyar*, piqued at this pretence of his father, which shewed that he did not think the prince had thoroughly humbled his enemies, made that noble youth immediately determine to undertake a new expedition, that his father might have no excuse left for the non-performance of his promise. With this view he selected out of his army 12,000 foot, and as many horse, with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of *Touran*, accompanied by his brother *Bashuten*, who was elder than himself. Having received intelligence that *Argjasp* was retired to one of the strongest places of his dominions, to which there were three different roads, the one plain and easy, fit for the caravans, but so round about, that it required no less than six months time to reach the place; the second pretty b
difficult, but so direct, that by it a man might reach the court of *Touran* in a month; the third which was hardly passable, lay through woods and morasses, and afterwards over high mountains covered with snow. *Ispbendiyar* having directed his brother to advance as expeditiously as he could through the second of these roads, he with some resolute friends threw himself into the third. They were all habited like merchants, and carried with them jewels and other curiosities of great value. The instructions he gave his brother were these, that when he drew near the residence of *Argjasp*, he should post his army with all the silence imaginable in the neighbourhood of certain meadows which lay near the city, and that as soon as he should perceive a great number of fires lighted in that meadow, he should order his horse c
to advance, and execute the orders which should then be given them. *Ispbendiyar* and his retinue making the best of their way, reached in seven days the court of *Touran*. The prince being introduced to *Argjasp* as a merchant, who fled from the severity of *Ispbendiyar*, and was desirous of selling his goods in the dominions of *Touran*; the king received him and his companions with all imaginable courtesy, and accepted very kindly the magnificent present which the prince thought fit to make him. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of success answerable to *Ispbendiyar*'s wishes, for in a short time he wrought himself into the highest degree of confidence with the king and his principal courtiers. When therefore he was apprized that his brother with his forces was arrived at the place appointed, he d
invited the king and court to a grand collation, in the meadows adjoining to the town. Thither they came in the evening, and great fires being lighted for dressing the provisions, these served as signals to *Bashuten*, who at the head of his horse suddenly charged the *Turks*, and made themselves masters of the city. *Ispbendiyar*, and those who were about him, dispatched without delay the most considerable of the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand *Argjasp*, king of *Touran*. Then putting his sisters, whom he had released out of captivity, into the hands of his and their brother *Bashuten*, he advised him to retire, with part of his forces, into *Persia*, while he with the rest, marched against several *Indian* princes, in order to force them and their subjects to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of *Zerdusht*, e
in which expedition *Ispbendiyar* had prodigious success, and returned afterwards into *Persia*, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at *Istachr*, he expected that his father would without delay perform the promise he had so solemnly made, and so often repeated, of resigning to him his dominions; but the politick *Gushtasp* intended nothing less. He received his son as before with all the tokens of amity and tenderness; but instead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him with a studied discourse on his own great abilities, and the laudable obedience he had hitherto paid to all his commands. After this the crafty old prince complained that there was still one enemy left to be subdued, even in the heart of his dominions, *viz. Rustan*, who having fortified himself in the provinces committed to his charge, f
absolutely refused to obey the king's commands, or receive the religion of *Zerdusht*. *Gushtasp* insinuated that it was necessary for *Ispbendiyar* to reduce this nobleman before he assumed the diadem, since otherwise he would receive from his father but half a kingdom. Piqued at this behaviour, the generous *Ispbendiyar* set out for *Sigjistan*, carrying with him his son *Bahaman*; on their arrival there *Rustan* met him, and conferred with him at first with great civility and respect; but when the prince insisted on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and professing immediately the faith of *Zerdusht*, *Rustan* grew angry, and from hard words, they quickly came to blows. As they were both men of great strength and agility of body, as well as of high spirit, and unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubtful;

a ful; at last it inclined to *Isphendiyar*, but *Rustan* collecting all his force into one blow, gave the prince so deep a wound, that he died upon the spot, having only time to recommend his son to *Rustan*, and to desire his brother *Bashuten* to take care of his body. Both his requests were exactly complied with; *Bashuten* carried back his body into *Persia*, where it received the highest funeral honours, and *Rustan* carefully sent home his son. *Gushtasp* was inconsolable for the death of so deserving a prince. His grief however was forced to give way to the necessity of the state, for the new king of *Touran* no sooner heard what had happened in *Persia*, than raising a great army he invaded that kingdom, and wasted it without mercy with fire and sword. *Gushtasp* having collected as great an army as the time would permit, marched b with all possible diligence to oppose him; and after having encountered and entirely routed his forces, constrained him to retire into his own dominions. The publick peace being now restored, *Gushtasp*, to shew the respect he had for his son's memory, resigned the crown to *Babaman*, the son of *Isphendiyar*, and according to the example set him by his father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleasure-house he had erected, not far from *Schiras*, a palace of such superb architecture, that in after-times, as *Mirchond* tells us, it was attributed to *Solomon*, the son of *David*, to express its exellence [z]. In all probability it stood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which lying behind the famous palace of *Persepolis*, is held to be the sepulchre of the ancient *Persian* kings. We have seen from various instances, c that it was a common thing among the *Persian* monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and spirits decay, and to spend the last years of their life in contemplation. If we admit that *Gushtasp* was the *Hystaspes* of the *Greeks*, then we may apply what *Ammianus Marcellinus* says of the latter to this retreat. "*Hystaspes*, "says this historian, was a most wise person, who boldly penetrating into the inner "parts of upper *India*, came to a woody desart, whose calm silence was possessed "by those high wits the *Brachmans*; from these he learned the true system of the "heavenly bodies, and their motions, and the pure rites of true religion, with which "knowledge he returned into *Persia*, and taught it to the magi, amongst whom "it has by tradition been preserved even to this time [y]." But perhaps, admitting d *Gushtasp* and *Hystaspes* to be one and the same person, we ought to refer this expedition to his junior years, when he fled from his father into *Touran*, from whence his journey into *India* was not difficult. There are some *Persian* writers however, who give a very different account of this matter, of which the reader will have a clearer apprehension, if he recollects what from an ancient *Persian* historian we cited, as to *Zerdusht*'s promising king *Gushtasp* to fulfil his extraordinary requests. These historians say, that not *Gushtasp*, but his son *Bashuten*, addicted himself to divine meditations; and that this *Bashuten*, in conformity to the prophet's promise, was transported to the mountain *Dunbavand* or *Damavand*, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the most quiet and happy manner, the approach of all living crea- e tures to their sacred retreat being prevented by thick steams of sal-armoniac, issuing from all sides of the mountain [a]. Our famous traveller, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, ascended this mountain, and passed directly over it without meeting any such steams; he acknowledges however that there are vast quantities of sulphur thereon, and that in the night some luminous vapours are seen thereabouts, which he thinks proceed from the sulphur [b]; but the learned Dr. *Hyde* is for the old opinion, and is for attributing them rather to sal-armoniac, but the doctor confesses not only that the history of *Bashuten* is fabulous, but that some stories of the same sort related of *Gushtasp* are likewise unworthy of belief [b]. We may with tolerable certainty affirm, that the reign of *Gushtasp* was the reign of learning in *Persia*. In his time flourished a f celebrated astrologer, whose name was *Gjamasp*, surnamed, according to the oriental custom, *Al Hakim*, i. e. the *wise* or the *sage*. That such a person there was, and that he flourished about this time, is pretty clear, but who he was is very far from being certain; some have made him the son of *Daniel* the prophet [c]; others the counsellor of king *Gushtasp*; but the greater number, and those too of the most credible writers say, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only so, but his confident and chief minister [d]. The science for which he was particularly famous was astrology, and from his skill therein he is said to have predicted the coming of

[z] Mirkhond. hist. xvi. [y] Ammian. Marcel. hist. lib. xxiii. [a] Hyde. hist. rel. vet. Pers. c. xxiii. p. 306. [a] Herbert's Travels, p. 112. [b] Hyde, R. vet. P. ubi supra. [c] Chabib Suphi ap. Hyde, R. vet. P. p. 385. [d] Mirkhond. ubi supra. Leb. Tarikh.

the Messiah. Some treatises under his name are yet current in the east, of which the reader will meet with some account at the bottom of the page (R).

*Bahaman*,

(R) Dr. *Hyde*, speaking of the philosopher mentioned in our text, cites a passage from a very ancient author, having before told us, that this author asserted there had been among the *Persians* ten doctors of such consummate wisdom, as the whole world could not boast the like; then he gives the author's words, to the sense following: "Of these "the sixth was *Gjamasp*, an astrologer, who was "counsellor to *Hystaspes*. He is the author of a "book, entitled, *Judicia Gjamaspis*, in which is "contained his judgment on the planetary conjunc-"tions. And therein he gave notice that *Jesus* "should appear, that *Mohammed* should be *born*, "that the *Magian* religion should be abolished, *&c.* "nor did any astrologer ever come up to him (35). Of this book there is an *Arabian* version, the title of which runs thus: *The book of the philosopher* Gjamasp, *containing judgments on the grand conjunctions of the planets, and on the events produced by them.* This version was made by *Lali*, the title he gave it in *Arabick* was *Al Kiranat*, and he published it A. D. 1280. In the preface of his version it is said, that after the times of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, reigned *Gushtasp* the son of *Lohrasp*, a very powerful prince, who possessed not only *Iran*, but *Touran* and *Habaschia*, i. e. *Æthiopia*; that in his reign flourished in the city of *Balch* on the borders of *Chorassan*, a most excellent philosopher, whose name was *Gjamasp*, author of this book, wherein is contained an account of all the great conjunctions of the planets which had happened before the time of this astrologer, and which were to happen in succeeding ages; and wherein the appearances of new religions, and the rise of new monarchies, were exactly set down. This author, throughout his whole piece, stiles *Zerdusht* or *Zoroaster* our *Prophet*, (36). That astrology, by which we mean foretelling future events, or pretending to foretel them by contemplating the heavenly bodies, was a *Science*, if we may be allowed so to call it, very early in vogue among the *Persians*, might be easily proved, if this were a proper place. To say the truth, the very terms in use among astrologers are irrefragable proofs of it, for they are most of them either *Arabic* or *Persic*; and for this reason, *Chaldea* the mistress of our western astrology was in ancient times always in the possession either of the one or the other of these nations. The notion of predicting the rise and progress of religions from the grand conjunctions of the planets, has been likewise propagated in our western parts; *Cardan* was a bold asserter of this doctrine, and if he did not intend it himself, we are pretty certain that his scholar *Vanini* actually thought of subverting the belief of the gospel dispensation, by pretending that all religions owed their force and predominancy to the influence of the stars (37). The modern *Persians* are still great votaries to this sort of knowledge, but they distinguish between astronomy and astrology, they stile the former *Elm-nejum*, i. e. the science of the stars, and the latter *Este-Krag*, i. e. the revelation of the stars; they have however but one word to express astronomer and astrologer, *viz. Manegjim*, which is exactly equivalent to the *Greek* word *Astrologos*. Of all the provinces of *Persia*, *Chorassan* is the most famous for producing great men in that art, and in *Chorassan* there is a little town called *Genabed*, and in that town a certain family, which for 6 or 700 years past has produced the most famous astrologers in *Persia*; and the king's astrologer is always either a native of *Genabed*, or one brought up there. Sir *John Chardin* affirms, that the appointments in his time for these sages amounted to six millions of *French* livres *per Ann.* which shews how highly these sort of people are yet esteemed in that country. As to the notions they have of the transcendent skill of the ancient professors of that art, the author just now mentioned gives us a singular instance in the history of *Alkendi*, a Jew, who was professor of judicial astrology at *Bagdad* in the caliphat of *Almamoun*. Against this *Jewish* astrologer, all the *Mohammedans* had a very great spleen; one more hardy than the rest, resolved to attack his reputation, and to endeavour to dispossess him of the caliph's esteem; to this end he repaired to *Bagdad*, and finding *Alkendi* in the caliph's presence, he asked him why he took upon himself to know more in astrology than other people? *Because I know*, replied Alkendi, *what you know not, and you know not what I know.* This provoked the *Mohammedan* doctor so much, that he would needs make a trial of his boasted knowledge in the sight of the caliph. In order to this each drew a circle about himself, and sate down therein, with his books and instruments. The *Mohammedan* doctor at last took a piece of paper and a pen, and after seeming to write a good deal, folded it up, and gave it the caliph, desiring *Alkendi* to give a proof of his skill, by telling what was written in his paper; to which the other, after a little time, answer'd, You have wrote but two words in your paper, one is the name of a plant, the other of an animal. The caliph opening the paper, found this to be true. And this adventure spread the fame of *Alkendi* throughout all the east. It happened there was then resident in the college of *Balch*, a young student of bright parts, who had been scholar to the *Mohammedan* sage, over whom *Alkendi* had triumphed. He was so much piqued at the dishonour done his master, that as soon as he heard this story he brought himself a poignard, and took a journey of twelve hundred *English* miles from *Balch* to *Bagdad* on purpose to murder *Alkendi*. When he arrived at this last mentioned city, he enquired the time when *Alkendi* taught in the public schools, which when he had learned, he went thither with his poignard under his gown, as if he had been a student come to hear him. *Alkendi* was in the midst of his lecture when he entered the room, but he immediately made a full stop; and turning his eyes to this stranger, addressed him thus: I know who you are, and to what purpose you come. Your name is *Albumazar* (the true orthography is *Abu Ma, Shar*) and you will become one of the greatest astrologers of your time; but then you must lay aside the bloody design which brought you hither, and you must throw into the midst of the school that poignard which you carried on purpose to kill me. *Albumazar*, struck at this speech, first threw down his poignard, and then himself at the feet of *Alkendi*; thenceforward he applied himself strictly to the study of astrology, and became, as that sage had predicted, wonderfully famous, being known to the learned world, by the name of *Albumazar* of *Balch* (38). The reader may perhaps think this a long and unnecessary digression; but we had our reasons for inserting it. We were speaking of *Gjamasp*'s predicting the coming of Christ. A very learned countryman of our own has reported the same thing from *Albumazar*, his words are these: "In the sphere of *Persia*, saith "*Aben Ezra*, there ariseth upon the face of the sign "*Virgo*, a beautiful maiden, she holding two ears of "corn

(35) *E Lib. Mucj. p.* 227. *ap. Hyde Rel. vet. P. cap.* xxxi. p. 385. (36) *D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Giamasb.* (37) *In Amphitheatr. & Dialog.* (38) *Chardin. Voyag. tom.* iii. *p.* 203.

a *Babaman*, the son of *Isphendiyar*, succeeded his grandfather *Gushtasp* in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is necessary that we should settle his name. *Mirkhond* calls him as we do *Babaman*, and says that he had two surnames, the one *Dirazdest*, i. e. *long hand*, because his right hand was longer than his left, and the other *Ardshir* on this account; when his mother was big with this son, there came a great astrologer to the court of *Gushtasp* his grandfather, and addressing himself to *Isphendiyar*, presented him a small basket, which he told him was for the use of the son that should be born to him; upon opening it, there was found a vessel full of milk, and a little flour, the person who brought it alledging by way of excuse, that his circumstances did not allow him to bring b any thing better. *Isphendiyar* and his spouse were so much satisfied with the present, that they took from thence the name of their son, *Ard* signifying *Flour*, and *Shir* *Milk*, in their ancient language: hence it came to pass, that this prince was better known by his surname than by his proper name, being generally called in the oriental histories *Ardshir Dirazdest*, and by the *Greeks Artaxerxes Longimanus*. He is represented by *Mirkhond* as one of the wisest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre; he was so sollicitous for the impartial distribution of justice to all his subjects, that he sent some favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact informations of their behaviour; and when the time of their governments was expired, he sent for them into his pre- c sence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or else punished what they had done amiss, according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his accession to the throne he summoned the states of his kingdom, whom he addressed in terms full of tenderness and love; he told them that he had assumed the regal dignity not to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them; he therefore intreated them if they knew any wrong steps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the publick, that they would freely censure and reprove them; nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire he exhorted them to depose him, for he said that kings ought to be publick blessings, and that such as were not so ought not to wear the title. The states, after highly commending the king's d zeal, and receiving from him whatever they desired, separated, and going into their respective provinces, carried with them the highest sentiments of duty and respect for so deserving a prince. *Ardshir* or *Babaman* took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and publick edifices, which during the wars in *Iran* had either been beaten down, or through the injuries of time had fallen to decay. This being done, and his empire every where in a flourishing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of *Sigjistan* and *Kabul* to his estates; and to this end he raised a considerable army, and marched into the territories of *Rustan*, whither he was no sooner come than he was informed that this great warrior was dead, but that his son *Feramorz* had taken pos- e session of his government, and was marching to oppose him with a great army. The king of *Persia* being desirous that the war should have a speedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the success he could desire, the enemy being entirely defeated, and *Feramorz* killed upon the spot. He took likewise *Zal-zer* the father of *Rustan*, prisoner, and returned triumphantly into *Persia*, after obliging the inhabitants of those provinces to acknowledge him for their lawful lord. *Mirkhond* gives us a very extraordinary account of the death of *Rustan*, which happened a little before this war commenced, he had according to this historian a brother whose name was *Chajal*, whom he sent to collect his revenues in *Kabul*, where it so happened, that *Chajal* fell desperately in love with the governor's daughter, who was a woman f of most accomplished beauty, and of the rarest qualifications. The governor observing how much the young man was smitten, he gave him all the interruption possible in

Bahaman.

" corn in her hand, and a child in her arm, she " feedeth him, and giveth him suck, &c. This " maiden, saith *Albumazar*, we call *Adrenedesa*, the " pure virgin. She bringeth up a child in a place " which is called *Abris* (the *Hebrew* land) and the " child's name is called *Eisi* (*Jesus*). This was e- " nough to make *Albertus Magnus* believe that our " Saviour Christ was born in *Virgo*, and therefore " cardinal *Alliac* erecting our Lord's nativity by " his description, casteth this sign into the horo- " scope. But that was not the meaning of *Albu-* " *mazar*. His meaning was (saith friar *Bacon*) " *Quod beata Virgo nata fuit, quando sol fuit in* " *Virgine, & ita habetur signatum in Calendario, &* " *quod nutriet filium suum in terra* Hebræorum. " *That the said virgin was born, the sun being in* " *that sign, as also we have it set down in the calen-* " *dar, and that she was to bring up her son in the* " Hebrew *land* (39)." The reader is to observe, that *Albumazar* wrote expressly from the ancient *Persic* astrologers, it may be from the very works of *Gjamasp*, which induced this note.

(39) *Mr. John Gregory's notes on various passages of scripture, p.* 152.

his

his armour until he promised to do for him whatever he desired, provided he might have his daughter. *Chajal* having promised this, the governor proposed to him the putting his brother into his hands, that he might secure to himself the absolute possession of his own territories, by putting him to death; to which *Chajal*, for the sake of his mistress, assented. On his return home, discoursing with his brother, he informed him that the governor of *Kabul*, whom he trusted so much, was indeed a very tyrant, and grievously oppressed the people under his jurisdiction. *Rustan*, highly inflamed at this, threatened to put that governor to death, and to extirpate his family, to which end he assembled his forces; but his brother laying hold of the predominant quailty of vanity, which was always prevalent in *Rustan*'s temper, persuaded him that his presence alone was sufficient to fright the governor of *Kabul* into submission, whereupon he set out, attended only by a friend, and this treacherous brother. As soon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Kabul*, the governor with a very few of his attendants came and made his submission, and having most humbly besought *Rustan*'s pardon, which *Rustan* having given him, the governor intreated him to rest that night at his house, which was but a small distance from them. When they came near its gates, *Chajal* rode on his brother's right, and the governor on his left, when on a sudden the ground gave way, and *Rustan* and his horse fell into a deep pit, which had been prepared for him, and so artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. *Rustan* being apprized of their treachery, intreated one of the governor's attendants to give him a bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beasts. The man touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands; whereupon *Rustan* drawing the bow with all his strength, let fly two arrows with such dexterity that he struck the treacherous governor, and his perfidious brother, each to his heart, dying a little after himself of the wounds he received on his fall. Such, if we yield an implicit belief to the *Persian* historians, was the end of this mighty warrior, the glory and support of his country, and of its kings; but we shall shew in the note below that this story of the life and adventures of *Rustan*, must not be understood exactly as they have related it (S). After the reduction of the provinces formerly

(S) The title of this section is the history of Persia, *according to the* oriental writers. It is therefore our duty to report whatever we find in authentic historians; but it does not follow that we must either believe ourselves or obtrude on our readers all things contained in them for matters of fact. We are as sensible as the most inveterate critics can be, that there is much of fable perhaps in the best *Persian* historians, and it is not impossible that we may sometimes mistake their meaning. For example, we know that *Afferasiab*, king of *Touran*, must have lived several hundred years, if what we have set down in our history be true, or else for a long series of years the princes of that country were stiled *Afferasiab*, as the kings of *Egypt* were called *Pharaohs*, and the kings of the *Philistines* were intitled *Abimelech*. But then the same difficulty recurs as to *Rustan*. His father *Zalzer* lived to be carried away prisoner by *Bahaman*, of whose reign we are now speaking; he must then have been near seven hundred years old, and *Rustan*, who was lately dead, must have been greatly upwards of six hundred: these are incredible things, and therefore we must suppose that notwithstanding the *Persian* historians speak all as of one man, there was a succession of heroes in that family, who were hereditary governors of the province of *Sigjistan*, and called from their famous ancestor *Rustans*. Something of this sort we meet with in scripture, where not only two kings of *Gerar* are called *Abimelech*, but both the captains of their hosts are stiled *Phicols* (40). What renders our conjecture still the more probable is, that the provinces governed by this family took their name, which is more likely to have happened after a succession of governors, than in the time of one man. We mention this merely to prevent a suspicion that we swallow without consideration all that oriental writers have delivered. When we shall have closed our history of the *Persian* kings, natives of that country, we shall as we have promised give a large account of the chronology of these times, and make it as intelligible as we can. In the mean time, let us add a few circumstances which we have not had occasion to insert in the text, as to the family of which we were just now speaking. The author of the *Gulistan* tells us, that *Zal-zer* gave his son *Rustan* this caution, *Never despise an enemy, however impotent he may seem at present; for a stream which will scarce bear a straw at its source, grows in its course strong enough to carry away a camel and its burden* (41). We have frequently taken notice of the mighty encomiums bestowed by the oriental romance writers on our hero *Rustan*. Of all his exploits, none however furnishes them with so much room to expatiate on as his two days combat with *Isphendiyar*. These stories were so pleasant in themselves, so agreeably embellished by those who took them for their theme, that they gave no small interruption to *Mohammed* in his settling his new religion. It seems there was one *Nesser* who had been in *Persia* about his concerns as a merchant, and there picked up the relation of *Rustan*'s combats with *Isphendiyar*; he vehemently opposed *Mohammed*, and laughed at his pretended mission; and the better to carry his point, he diverted the people with these stories, which had such an effect, that when *Mohammed* brought them a new chapter of the *Koran*, they would frequently cry out, *This is an odd story; there is no great matter in this; it is not half so pleasant as the stories of* Nesser: which provoked the pretended prophet very much, and put him upon cursing this *Nesser* violently as an enemy to God, and the true religion.

(40) *Genes.* xxi. 22. xxvi. 26.

(41) *D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Zal.*

a merly held by the hero we have just now mentioned, *Babaman* or *Ardshir* extended his empire on all sides; some historians say that *Kiresh*, i. e. *Cyrus*, was his governor in *Babylon*; but this is a palpable mistake grounded on a real fact, *viz.* the great kindness which this prince expressed for the *Jews*; some have reported that his mother was of that nation; however it was, we may be assured that he had a very great regard for the chosen people, and did them great kindnesses. This prince had a son, whose name was *Sassan*, a man much addicted to learning, and especially to astrology, whence it came to pass, that either through his own modesty he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded therefrom by his father on account of his studious life, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of b a sovereign: however it was, historians are agreed that he did not succeed, nor did pretend to the succession on the demise of his father, but led contentedly a private life, though his descendants afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be shewn in the next period of our *Persian* history from oriental historians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he so far extended his dominions, that some will have his surname of *Dirazdest* derived from thence; *Babaman*, or *Ardshir*, died and left his empire to his wife *Homai*, whom some writers also affirm to have been his daughter, and who at the time of his decease was big with child. The favourite saying of this prince was, *That the gate of a king ought never to be shut* [a].

*Homai* or *Khamani*, about five months after her accession to the throne, brought c forth a son of wonderful beauty. According to the custom of those times, the astrologers were consulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it seems, were unanimously of opinion, that his fate would by no means correspond with his face, but on the contrary he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himself, for which reason they advised that he should be immediately destroyed. The tenderness of a mother would not permit *Homai* to follow their counsels, and yet her love for her country extended so far, that she determined at any rate to prevent his bringing on it those mischiefs the astrologers had threatened. With this view she caused a little wooden ark or chest to be made, and having put the child in it, covered him with precious stones, and then suffered the vessel to sail down the *Gihon* d or *Oxus*. The floating cradle came at last within the view of a poor man washing linen, who was by trade a dyer. He, struck with the novelty of beholding a chest on the water, took pains to draw it on shore, and was mightily surprized on finding therein a child with things of such value, not doubting but it was the descendant of some great family. He carried it with the precious stones which were in the cradle with it to his wife, who concurring with him in opinion, that it was the son of some person of distinction, bred it up with as much tenderness and care as if it had been her own; the dyer giving him the name of *Darab*, from the vehicle in which, and the element wherein he was found, *Dar* signifying a wooden vessel, and *Ab* water. When this child was grown up to such an age as required its learning e some trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the boy shewed a visible reluctancy thereto, and appeared to have a strong genius for war. The good old man who had brought him up, far from checking his inclinations, strained his abilities to the utmost to furnish the young *Darab* with an equipage necessary to his serving in the army, then raised for the reduction of *Roumestan*, into which the young hero readily went. This war was of no very long continuance, but *Darab*

[a] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xvii. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Bahaman.

religion (42). It is to these stories of *Nessar's*, and to the behaviour of the people thereupon, that *Mohammed* alludes in the following passage of his *Coran*: "There is with God great reward for the "righteous. O ye that believe, if ye fear God, he "shall remove your enemies far from you, and "pardon your sins, his goodness is infinite. The "wicked have conspired against thee to punish and "slay thee, or drive thee from *Mecca*; but God "hath rendered their conspiracy ineffectual, he "knoweth all the designs of conspirators. When "his miracles were related to them, and his com-"mandments taught them, they said we have heard "them; we had said the like things, had we so in-"clined; it is but a song and a fable of old men: "Remember thou how they said, My God, if what "*Mahomet* declareth be true, cause a shower of "flint stones to fall upon us, and rigorously chastise "us; he shall not chastise them when thou art "with them, neither when they beg pardon of "him: who is he that is able to hinder God to "punish them? They are not in his grace when "they hinder true believers to enter the temple of "*Mecca*, he protecteth only such as have his fear "before their eyes, but most of them understand it "not. Their prayers are very light, they go hand "in hand in the temple, but shall one day feel the "punishment of God, because of their iniquity (43)."

(42) *Ibid. Art. Alcoran.* (43) *Coran. cap. Alfan. i. e. Of the booty.*

performed therein such extraordinary feats of arms, that they rung through the a
whole army; wherein, though the flower of the *Persian* nobility had served, yet none had attained to so high a reputation as this unknown youth. At their return therefore from the war, the commander in chief reported such favourable things of him to the queen his mistress, that she would needs see him. *Darab* upon this was introduced into the royal presence, where after some discourse about the war, and the great things he had done therein, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He answered as to the first, that his name was *Darab*, but that as to his parents he was able to say nothing; that the persons he lived with, and whom he acknowledged for his father and mother were a dyer, and his wife; that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated b
in a little chest, and that from thence they had given him the name of *Darab*. The queen having considered and inquired into this story, owned him for her son, and declared him her successor with the general approbation of her people [f]. This princess, all the oriental writers who speak of her agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things she studied the adorning of the glorious capital of her dominions *Istachr*; to this end she erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the same which the *Persians* call *Chilminar*, and in the palace of *Persepolis*. We will not take upon us to affirm that these authors are in the right, but we may safely say, that in all human probability, this palace was built about c
this time; and the reason which the eastern writers assign for queen *Homai*'s chusing to erect it here is neither absurd nor incredible; they alledge that *Gushtasp* having erected several *Pyræa* or *Fire-temples*, and cut for himself and for his successors superb tombs in the rock, which lies behind this palace, *Homai* was tempted to build a royal house in their neighbourhood, that all these marks of *Persian* magnificence might appear together and set off each other; to her also are attributed several other monuments of a royal mind, and a deep desire of fame, such as a multitude of pyramids smaller, but not unlike those in *Egypt*, scattered throughout all *Persia*, and every-where overturned by the soldiers of *Alexander* the Great. This princess is likewise said to have built a city called *Semrim* or *Semirah*, whence a famous *Persian* author hath d
been led to think that the *Homai* of the *Persians* was the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*; but in this perhaps there is more of criticism than solidity [g]. The author of another *Persian* chronicle is so far from thinking her either the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*, or so famous a queen of *Persia* as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his history of the *Persian* monarchs of the dynasty of the *Caianides* [h]. *Mirkhond* however assures us, that she reigned thirty-two years, and then resigned the crown to her son *Darab* [i] (T).

[f] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xviii. D'Herbelot. Artic. Homai. [g] Tarik. Montekebh. [h] Tarik-cozideh. Mirkhond, ubi supra.

(T) The oriental histories mention various queens who flourished and did great things in their respective countries, and yet are little known to us in the west. If we consider what the *Persian* historians say of her building the glorious palace at *Istachr*, we shall find it not so improbable as at first sight it may seem. We have shewn before from authorities of all kinds, that in the reign of *Gushtasp* arts and sciences flourished exceedingly in *Persia*; his grandson and successor *Bahaman* must have carried them still higher, for he was very successful in all his wars, and after he had finished them, applied himself to the adorning his country with stately buildings, as *Mirkhond* expressly informs us. That his widow therefore, who was also a potent and successful princess, should endeavour to establish her fame by erecting so magnificent a pile, has nothing in it unlikely or incredible; she might adorn this new-raised palace of hers with the spoils brought by her immediate predecessors out of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and as to the grand procession which yet appears on the walls of that palace, if one might be indulged to conjecture, why may it not be supposed to represent the homage paid to *Bahaman* or *Ardshir* by the states of *Persia*, when he assembled them in the first year of his reign, and submitted his conduct, and even his qualifications for the royal dignity to their censure. That he did this, *Mirkhond* affirms, and that they were profuse in their expressions of gratitude and loyalty on that occasion. What more noble transaction could this princess chuse, than this recognition of her husband's right to his crown, from virtue as well as descent, by a generous and wise people. But let this procession be what it will, it may as well be placed here as any where else; and till the learned by dint of their enquiries and criticisms can furnish us with a better account, we may as well accept of this from the *Persian* historians. As to the modern *Persians*, they, as we have here before observed, speak very tenderly on this head; and if we bar their tales of king *Solomon* and the fairies, have nothing to offer against queen *Homai*'s being the founder of that stupendous fabrick, the ruins of which are now called *Chilminar*, i. e. *forty pillars*; though, if we may trust Dr. *Hyde*, its old *Persic* name was *Hazar-sutun*, i. e. a thousand columns (44).

(44) *H. R. Vet. P. cap.* xxiii. *p.* 304.

*Darab*,

a *Darab*, as we have already heard, was educated by a poor dyer, or fuller, who took of him all the care that could be expected from a man in his low condition. It is reported by a *Persian* writer, that the young *Darab* being one day at the water-side with his supposed father, addressed himself thus to the dyer: "I should be "very glad if you would tell me the truth as to my birth, for I begin to imagine "from the aversion I have to this business, and from my contempt of all manual "labour, that I am not really your son, as you have hitherto made me believe." "Who ever, said the dyer, beheld a ruby, and supposed it dropt from a common "stone, might conceive that a youth of your shining parts, was what till this time "you have passed for, the son of a fuller." "Whatever my parts may be, "returned *Darab*, I should be much pleased to hear, without either allegories or b "metaphors, who I am to suppose myself, and whether that spirit of ambition "which I feel in my breast ought to be checked or cherished. Upon this the "honest old man related to him all he knew, which as soon as *Darab* heard, he "demanded the jewels, and having received them went directly to the army, and "applying himself to the commander in chief, told him all that his reputed father "had related." The general was at that very time about to give battle to the *Greeks*, he therefore gave no answer to *Darab*, but advised him to keep his own counsel, and to serve the queen valiantly in the approaching engagement. Which instructions of his he exactly pursued, and behaved with such prudence and vivacity in the battle, that the general gave easy credit to what he had told him, and c on his return from the war, presented him to the queen, and gave it as his opinion that he was her son. Which of these stories is true, or which comes nearest the truth, we pretend not to determine. All historians agree that he ascended the throne as the son of *Bahaman* or *Ardshir*, and that he gave the highest proofs of his royal descent by his wise and gentle administration. His valour had been sufficiently distinguished before he ascended the throne, he suffered it not to rust after he assumed the royal dignity; for at the same time he loved justice, and took care to have it exactly administred throughout all his wide dominions, he was likewise a munificent patron of arts and sciences, easy of address, eloquent in speech, and one of the most humane princes that ever swayed a sceptre. On some account or other he d found it necessary to turn his arms on *Pilikous*, that is *Philip*, king of *Macedon*; at first by his captains, and at last in person, with such success, that *Philip*, being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept such terms as *Darab* thought fit to impose: and they were these; that the king of *Macedon* should pay yearly the sum of forty-thousand pieces of gold by way of tribute, and should give his daughter, one of the handsomest princesses in *Greece*, to *Darab* for a wife; which was accordingly done. The very first night that *Darab* passed with his new spouse, he found her breath so offensive, that he resolved to send her back to her father, notwithstanding that, as some writers say, she was with child. After the *Macedonian* war was over, *Darab* applied himself wholly to the arts of peace, and to the settling such things as were e still in disorder, and inventing new methods for giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects. Amongst other wise and glorious acts of this good prince, the settling posts throughout all *Persia* is particularly recorded, which he executed with such skill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers setting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleasant and beautiful city in proper *Persia*, on which he bestowed his name, calling it *Darabgerd*, i. e. *Mount-Darab*, in the middle of which rose a hill in the shape of a tent or pavilion, and without its walls lay a circle of hills, producing salt of various colours, transported from thence into all the provinces of *Persia*; he likewise erected another city called *Khourch*, and after a reign of four years according to *Mirkhond* [k], of fourteen, says f another writer [l], and of twelve, says a third [m], he died universally lamented, and left the crown to his son (V).

*Darab*

[k] Hist. sect. xix. [l] Tarikh Montekedh. [m] Leftarikh.

(V) It is certainly no bad caution to an historian that in his writings he should forget his country, or rather that he should lay aside that partiality which a man naturally has for his country; the *Persian* historians, as we have said in our text, represent *Darab* moralizing in his last moments, and reading a lecture on the vicissitudes of this world with his expiring breath, closing all with passionate intreaties, that *Alexander* would use his subjects kindly, and take his daughter *Roushcaugh* to wife. Who can avoid admiring a prince, so truly a prince, even in the sight of death? The *Greek* writers on the other hand

*Darab* II.

*Darab* the second, or the younger, surnamed *Darab Kuchek*, came very young a to the crown, and what was much worse, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince; he was of an ill disposition, haughty, brutal, false and cruel, properties which rendered him in a short time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The *Persians*, unused to such treatment, entered into private negotiations with *Ascander*, the son of *Filikous*, that is *Alexander the Great*, the son of *Philip*, whom many of the *Persian* writers believe to have been the son of *Darab* the first by the daugher of *Filikous*, whom he sent back because of her stinking breath, and persuaded him to enter *Persia* with an army, promising him to join with him as soon as he arrived with a force sufficient to protect them, and to put b him in possession of an empire, of which they held *Darab* to be unworthy. As a pretence for making war, they advised *Ascander* to refuse payment of the tribute which his father had agreed to send annually into *Persia*; and with these negotiations the king of *Macedon* readily fell in. *Darab* finding that *Ascander* did not send his tribute as usual, sent an embassador to demand it; to whom *Ascander* answered that those who paid tribute in his country were dead. But others say, that the pieces of gold in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name which signified at once a piece of corn, and an egg, *Ascander* answered *Darab*'s embassador in derision, when he demanded a mighty sum of gold for the tribute in arrear, that the bird which had laid those eggs was flown into another world; alluding to his c father's death, who had burthened his subjects with this tribute. This answer terribly provoked *Darab*, who, to shew at once his resentment and contempt of so weak an enemy, sent a second embassador with a harsh message, accompanied with a present, more expressive of his master's sentiments, than any speech or letter could have been; this present was a little casquet, containing a *dibble*, or *planting stick*, a bag full of small stones, and another full of small coin; the first to intimate that he was young and inconsiderate, and that he had better employ himself in his gardens, than in matters of state; the second shewing the power and strength of the *Persian* nation; and the third their riches; the whole implying that it was a rash, imprudent thing, for such a petty prince as he to oppose so great and power- d ful a monarch. However this embassador with his present found *Ascander* on the point of going into the field, and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his master any answer. The troops of the king of *Macedon* were not very numerous, but they were all chosen men, such as were valiant in their persons, and at the same time enured to hardships. On his entering *Asia* he met with little opposition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived against *Darab*, and partly from the generosity of *Ascander*'s behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but subjects. When he arrived in *Armenia*, he received a letter from *Darab*, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, advised him not to hazard a battle, but rather to consent to a peace while it was yet in his power,

hand make *Darius* moralize too, but then it is in favour of their hero; he was so struck with the virtues of the *Macedonian*, that he yielded to him his sceptre rather with admiration than disgust. Let us hear what *Plutarch* puts into the mouth of *Darius* on this subject, and we shall be constrained to own that the desire of making all facts contribute as far as possible to the glory of one's country, is not peculiar to *Persian* writers. *Plutarch*, having long expatiated on the virtues of *Alexander*, tells us that *Darius* was a long time of opinion that he owed his successes to fortune; but when he understood the truth, he said, "Well, I do not yet perceive the condition of the *Persians* so deplorable, since the world can never tax us now with imbecillity or effeminacy, whose fate it was to be vanquished by such a person. Therefore my prayers shall be to the gods for his prosperity, and that he may still be victorious in war, to the end that in well doing I may surpass *Alexander*. For my emulation and ambition leads me in point of honour to shew myself more cordial and friendly than he. If then the father have otherwise determined of me and mine, O *Jupiter*, preserver of the *Persians*, and you his equal deities, to whom the care of kings belong, hear your suppliant, and suffer none but *Alexander* to sit upon the throne of *Cyrus* (45)." One may safely say there is as just ground to suspect this passage of forgery as any of the romantic stories in the *Persian* authors. *Darius* worshipped no God but the true God; he was utterly unacquainted with the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; and it does not appear that even after *Alexander* conquered *Persia*, he established the superstitions of the *Greeks* there. That *Darius* might recommend his kingdom or his daughter to *Alexander*, or that he might intreat him to use his subjects well, is credible; but that *Darius* fell in love with the virtues of an enemy who came unprovoked to lay waste his empire, is a stroke of *Greek* eloquence which may please us well enough in an oration, but can hardly be digested for history. We must therefore bear with the *Persians* as well as the *Greeks*, seek truth in the writings of one as well as the other, receive her kindly as oft as we find her, and not charge one people more than another with concealing or disguising her to serve a turn.

(45) *Plutarch. de Fortuna Alexand.*

adding

a adding some menaces at the close. *Ascander* returned him for answer, that empires were bestowed by God alone, who changed them as he thought proper. After this he continued his march till he entered the province of *Aderbayaejan*, where he defeated one of *Darab*'s captains, who endeavoured to oppose his passage, and having done this, he advanced into *Ghilan*: This province, according to *Mirkhond*, was in old times a flourishing kingdom, called by its inhabitants *Endsafet*, i. e. the *White Indies*, in allusion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the *Indies* properly so called; its situation also being remarkably happy by reason of the *Caspian* sea on one side, and their easy correspondence with *Tartary*, *Persia* and *Armenia*, lying round them. This country *Ascander* quickly subdued; from thence he b marched into the heart of *Persia*, where, in the province properly called by that name, *Darab* met him with a prodigious army; after an obstinate and bloody battle, *Ascander* carried the victory, and *Darab* was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his wives, and his daughters in the power of the victor. In their flight the *Persians* met with a river, wherein many entering heedlessly, were drowned; at last a ford was discovered, through which *Darab*, attended by the principal persons in his army, passed; but the soldiers who followed him crouding one another, the weakest were thrown down, and perished miserably in the water. As soon as the king was come to a place of safety, he sent once more embassadors to *Ascander*, to treat of peace, offering in case he would send back his wives and daughters, and retire with his c troops back to *Greece*, he would renounce all right of tribute, and make some other concessions. At the same time that he entered into this treaty, he dispatched embassadors also to the kings of *India* and *Macherek*, intreating them to yield him assistance, that they might be able to drive the *Greek* out of his dominions; which they furnished with such readiness, that in a short time he had an army on foot more numerous and potent than that which he had lost. As for *Ascander*, he treated the offers made him by *Darab* with derision, making all the haste he could to engage the *Persian* forces a second time, notwithstanding he was well informed of the great reinforcements they had received. It was not long before he brought him to a battle, in which the *Greek* gained another compleat victory, *Darab* flying with a few of his d captains to a strong fortress, where, before he could well recollect himself, some of his own subjects most treacherously put him to death; that is, they gave him several mortal wounds with their poignards, and then fled to the camp of *Ascander*, leaving their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. *Ascander* no sooner received the news, than he went with the utmost expedition to *Darab*'s fortress, and found him in his last agonies; which sight so touched the *Greek*, that melting into tears, and holding up his hands to heaven, he protested he had neither knowledge of, nor pleasure in so execrable a deed. The dying king expressed great satisfaction thereat, assured him that he thoroughly believed all he said, besought him to chastise the traitors, by whose hands he died, and intreated him to espouse his daughter *Rouschengh*, and e not to put the several provinces of the empire under the direction of strangers, with all which *Ascander* promised to comply. Then *Darab*, after making many pitiful complaints of the misery of human life, and the inconstancy of fortune, all of which are repeated by *Mirkhond*, yielded up the ghost after a reign of fourteen years. Thus far we have followed for the most part the author last mentioned. An author mentioned at the bottom of the page informs us, that in compliance with *Darab*'s last request, *Ascander* or *Alexander* appointed for the governors of *Persia* natives of that country; but that afterwards he had it in his head to have changed this disposition and to have appointed *Greeks* in their room; but that *Aristotle*, whom this writer calls his vizier, advised him to leave things as they stood, and not to remove f any of the *Persian* lords, to whom he had given the direction of provinces [a]. It is very certain that this circumstance is not, strictly speaking, agreeable to truth: *Aristotle* neither accompanied *Alexander* in his expedition, nor took upon him to dictate to him in matters of state, except in general terms; otherwise it is not at all improbable, that he would have given him the advice mentioned by this author, since it would evidently have contributed to the keeping the people quiet and easy; and would also have been very conformable to the temper of *Alexander*, who, when in a right frame of mind, always professed a generous regard for mankind in general, and a desire of behaving as an universal parent towards those over whom as a uni-

[a] Iabia al Casvini in Lebtarikh.

versal monarch he sought the power of ruling; at least, this is the idea *Plutarch* [o] would give us of him, and of *Aristotle*, who, though a philosopher, was a great politician, and had perhaps better conceptions of this conqueror's intentions, than most of the writers who have taken upon them, not only to record, but to criticize his actions (W). The reader might very well expect that we should here put an end to this section, especially since he has already seen the history of *Persia*, according to the *Greek* writers, concluded at the death of *Darius*. But so it is, that in order to persue the theme laid down in the title of this section, we are bound to carry on our history to the death of *Alexander*; for as we have shewn before, the oriental writers, in order no doubt to save the credit of the *Asiatics*, have pretended that the empire of *Iran*, with its dependencies, which were then very great, came into the hands of *Alexander*, not so much by conquest, as by right; in this light therefore *Alexander* was the last monarch of the *Dynasty* of the *Kainites*, and his reign consequently ought as much to be taken notice of here, as the reigns of any of his predecessors [p].

*Alexander*, son of *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, is by the *Persian* writers stiled *Iscander Ben Filoukous*, which signifies the same thing, only they pretend that it was a kind of surname bestowed on him for the following reason; they will have it that he was the son of *Darab* the first, by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he sent home, because of her stinking breath; but that *Philip* bringing him up as his own son, and leaving to him the kingdom, he called himself out of gratitude *Alexander* the son of *Philip*, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of *Persia* as heir to *Darab* his father (X). The

[o] De fortuna Alexand. [p] Mirkhond. sect. xx, xxi. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Dara, Escander.

(W) That *Alexander* should promise a dying monarch whatever he demanded, seems perfectly agreeable to his character as drawn by eastern and western authors; he was fierce in battle, but full of pity towards the vanquished. That *Aristotle* gave him general precepts as to government we may easily believe; and if the authority of *Plutarch* hath due weight, we shall conceive the expedition of *Alexander* against the *Persians* to have been no other than an attempt made by an active philosopher to civilize all mankind. It would be however a difficult matter to swallow this; we shall therefore instead of pressing it farther, produce the passage from the *Greek* author last mentioned, to which we alluded in the text, and which will sufficiently shew that the *Persian* writers are not absolutely in the wrong when they ascribe some points of *Alexander*'s conduct to the influence *Aristotle* had over him, tho' they are grosly mistaken in making him his vizier. "If philosophers, says *Plutarch*, assume to themselves their highest applause for cultivating the most fierce and rugged conditions of man, certainly *Alexander* is to be acknowledged the chiefest of philosophers, who changed the wild and brutish customs of so many various nations, reducing them to order and government. 'Tis true indeed that so much admired commonwealth of *Zeno*, first author of the Stoick sect, aims singly at this, that neither in cities, nor in private houses, we should live under laws distinct one from another, but that we should look upon all men in general to be our fellow countrymen and citizens, observing one manner of living, one kind of order like a flock feeding together with equal right in one common pasture. This *Zeno* wrote, fancying to himself as in a dream a certain scheme of civil order, and the image of a philosophical commonweal. But *Alexander* made good his words by his deeds: For as *Aristotle* sagely advised him, he did not rule the *Grecians* like a moderate prince, and insult over the barbarians like an absolute tyrant; neither, like one that took particular care of the first as his friends and domestics, but scorning the latter as mere brutes and vegetables, did he fill his empire with fugitive incendiaries and perfidious tumults. But believing himself sent from heaven as the common moderator and arbiter of all nations, and subduing those by force whom he could not associate to himself by fair offers, he laboured thus, that he might bring all regions far and near under the same dominion. And then as in a festival bowl, mixing conversations, manners, customs, wedlocks all together, he ordained, that every one should take the whole habitable world for his country, of which his camp and army should be the chief metropolis and garrison; that his friends and kindred should be the good and virtuous, and that the vicious only should be accounted foreigners. Nor would he that the *Greeks* should be distinguished from the *Barbarians* by their long garments, by their targets, by their scimitars or turbats; but that the *Grecians* should be known by their virtue and courage, and the *Barbarians* by their vices and their cowardice. However, that their habit, their diet, their marriages, and custom of converse, should be every where the same, engaged and blended together by the ties of blood, and pledges of offspring (46)." How glorious a reputation would *Alexander* have obtained, if his actions had been uniform, and apparently founded on such notions as are attributed to him by the philosopher? His burning of *Persepolis* is a little inconsistent with the idea given us by *Plutarch*; but it is very probable that great man meant no more than to shew us what *Alexander* would have done if he had always acted up to the heroic maxims laid down by his tutor *Aristotle*. On the whole, it may be justly said, that it was the passions of *Alexander* only which spoke him a man; in his cooler moments, and when he acted without their impulse, he seemed something more than man; such are the effects of an excellent education, and of such importance it is, that those who are to govern multitudes should be superior in knowledge to the multitude they govern.

(X) The history of *Alexander the Great* has not only been intermixed with fables by the *Persian* writers; the eastern authors in general, even those most esteemed, abound with very extraordinary circumstances relating to that conqueror. *Joannes Malala*, a very celebrated writer, to whom we are indebted for a very curious history of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, hath given us some strokes in his account of

(46) *Plutarch, ubi supra.*

b The oriental writers in general bestow another surname upon him, *viz.* that of *Dhoulcarnein*, or rather *Dulcarnein*, which signifies literally with two horns, in allusion to the two ends of the world, the east and the west, both of which the eastern writers

of *Alexander*, which do not very well agree with what the *Greek* writers have delivered, though he follows them in the main: for example, he makes *Roxana* the daughter of *Darius*, in which he joins with the *Persian* historians, who, as we have seen, alledge, that the emperor of *Persia*, in his last moments, intreated *Alexander* to marry his daughter *Rouschengh*; whereas *Arrian* makes *Roxana* the daughter not of *Darius*, but of *Oxyartes*; but this is a small matter: we have in the same author a story of some length, which is quite in the oriental taste: "It was the custom, says he, of *Alexander* "*the Great*, in the expeditions he made after the "conquest of *Persia*, to go in disguise with such "embassadors as he sent to the courts of neighbour-"ing princes, that in this situation he might make "such observations as might facilitate his designs. "Of this it seems *Candace*, queen of the inner or "higher *Æthiopia*, had notice, whereupon she made "strict enquiry as to the form and presence of this "conqueror; the result of this was, that she was "told he was low in stature, had large broad "teeth, some of which stood out; that of his eyes, "one was of a light grey, the other quite black, "which marks she carefully remembered. When "therefore *Alexander* appeared with his embassa-"dors in her presence, she instantly singled him "out, addressing herself to him in these words; "*You*, O Alexander, *have been too wise for all the* "*world, and yet one woman has been too wise for you*; "to which he replied, *I therefore grant you and* "*your subjects my protection, as a reward for your* "*extraordinary capacity; I also accept you for a wife*; "to which *Candace* readily yielded. After this "marriage *Alexander* went into *Æthiopia*, and se-"veral other countries (47)." If we were critically to enquire into the origin of such stories, we should perhaps find it no difficult thing to shake off all romantic circumstances, and leave only the naked truth: but the compass of these notes neither admit of such disquisitions, nor indeed does the nature of this work allow them. Our present business is to shew what oriental writers have said of affairs mentioned in the text; and this therefore leads us to recite what is recorded by *Abul-Pharajius*. This celebrated historian calls *Nebuchadnezzar* by the name of *Bochtanser* as the *Persian* writers do, and in his short account of the *Persian* kings, preserves exactly the names recorded by *Mirkhond*; I mean the latter race of kings, the descendants of *Gushtasp*, who succeeded after the *Greek* power ceased to have dominion in *Persia*; he calls the last king of *Persia Darab*, the son of *Darab*; of *Alexander* he speaks thus: "*Alexander*, "the son of *Philip*, reigned six years after the death "of *Darius*, having also reigned six years before "his death. He subdued many nations, so that his "dominions extended even to *India*, and the fron-"tiers of *China*. He was called *Dhul-Karnain*, "i. e. two horned, because he seemed to have pas-"sed from one horn of the sun to the other, *i. e.* "from east to west. Five-and-thirty kings he slew, "and twelve cities he founded; two of these in "the province of *Chorasan*, viz. *Hera* and *Marwa*; "one in the region *Alsogd*, viz. *Samarchand*, and "in *Egypt Alexandria*; when he returned out of "*India*, he went to *Babylon*, where he died of "poison, and his body being put into a chest of "gold, it was borne on the shoulders of kings and "nobles to the *Egyptian Alexandria*, where it was "interred. It was *Alexander* who began the wall "*Yajuji*, which was composed of stone and iron, "the iron being let into the stone to fasten it by "the help of fire, each of the stones being twelve "cubits in length, and eight broad. This wall "when it was finished came down to the place "called *Bab l'Abwab*, in the vallies of the region "of *Xaphjak*, from whence it was carried over and "through the mountains, as far as the sea of the "*Greeks*; nor were there wanting many of the *Per-*"*sian* kings, who to defend their dominions from "the incursions of the *Turks*, sought to find the "foundations of this wall. At last they were found "by *Yazdejerd*, the son of *Bahram Jur*, who "began to carry on the work, but did not live to "see it finished; several succeeding kings prosecuted "the same design, but none of them with effect, "till God rendered it easy to *Chosroes Nusherwan*, "who built it strongly, uniting it to the mountains, "and at last brought it down to the sea, placing "iron gates at the end, so that a hundred men "were then able to defend what would otherwise "require an army of an hundred thousand (48)." Of this wall, as it nearly concerns the history of *Persia*, it is necessary that we should give some further account. The famous *Abu l'Ghazi Bahader Khan* of *Khowarazm*, in his genealogical history of the *Tatars*, has given us the following account of it: "Those of *Kitay* have built a great wall to "cover their country, in which there are two iron-"gates for the passage of the merchants, and other "travellers. This wall is called *Sat* in *Arabick*, "which signifies *Fortress*; in the ancient *Turkish* "language it is called *Turk-urga*; and in the lan-"guage of *Kitay*, *Ungu*. *Alexander the Great* caused "a like wall to be raised to cover the frontiers of "his dominions; but it was composed of all sorts "of metals. His design by this wall was to hinder the "nation of *Jadsuiz-Madzuth*, i. e. of *Gog* and *Magog*, "from carrying their ravages into the lands under "his dominion, where they had done great mis-"chief in times past. 'Tis a general tradition with "the *Tatars*, that those people have the muzzle of a "dog; and that this wall being made up of all sorts of "metals, they did all in their power to make a pas-"sage through it by dint of licking, but they could "not succeed. That nevertheless before the day of "judgment, they shall come and lick their way "through the wall, and that then they shall do a "great deal of mischief in the world. *Naushir* "*Wanadill*, sultan of *Samachy*, caused in like man-"ner a wall of earth to be built round about his "kingdom (49)." On this passage the ingenious editor of that curious work has added the following remarks: "The remains of this wall which the "*Persians* pretend their king *Nuw-shirwan* caused "to be drawn from the *Caspian* to the *Black-Sea*, "are at this day to be seen upon the confines of "the province of *Shirman* and *Georgia*: it begins at "the higher town of *Derbend*, and extends thence "north-westward across the mountains of *Georgia* "towards the *Black-Sea*. These remains are every "where three feet thick, but its height is very "unequal; for in some parts it is still six and seven "feet high, in others only one or two, and in some "places it is quite beaten down. It appears at first "sight to be built of stone, but when one comes "to examine it near, it proves to be only a kind of "petrified earth, sand, and shells, which has formed "so solid a body, that there is no free-stone better "than it: and it is on this account that our author "thinks it might be called a wall of earth. The late

(47) *Chronographia*, p. 249. (48) *Historia Dynastar.* p. 97. (49) *General. Hist. of Tatars*, *Vol. I.* p. 42.

writers affirm to have been conquered by two *Alexanders*, to whom therefore they have given the surname. The first *Alexander*, if any credit could be given to the authors who have written about him, ought to be preferred far before the latter, since he stretched his conquests to the very extremity of the globe, if we may be allowed the expression, and built a brazen wall in the north, in order to hinder the descendants of *Gog* and *Magog* from pouring down like a torrent upon their southern neighbours. It is pretty difficult to discover at what time this mighty hero lived, and as difficult to know when he died. Some writers place him in the days of *Abraham*, and say that he lived sixteen hundred years; but then they give him for his chief counsellor the prophet *Khedher*, who it is said found out the fountain of life, and having drank thereof, rendered himself immortal; which prophet, according to others, was cotemporary with *Keykobad*, of whom we have spoken so much already. As to the latter part of this story it is easily cleared up; since it is certain that they confound *Khedher*, the counsellor of this mighty monarch, with a latter prophet of the same name, or rather surname, who is no other than the prophet *Elias*, whose translation to heaven in a fiery chariot, is by them changed into a discovery of the fountain of life, and gaining immortality by drinking its waters [a]. But enough of this elder *Dulcarnein*, unless we could say more of him with certainty, or even with probability. Our *Alexander* received the same surname from his being monarch both of the east and west. The eastern writers, and especially the *Persian* historians, pay him great honours, and tell a multitude of things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the *Greek* or *Latin* histories; for example, they tell us, that this monarch being asked why he paid greater honours to his tutor than his father, he answered that it was but just, because his father made him descend from heaven or earth, whereas the instructions of his master, had made him to rise from earth to heaven [b]. One day he said to a counsellor of his, who had been long about his person, I am not satisfied with your service, for this reason, I know that I am a man, and that as a man I am liable to errors and mistakes, for which you have never reproved me; if this happened for want of perceiving them, then you must be ignorant and unworthy of your office: but if you did know them, and yet were silent, it was treason [c]. It is likewise reported of him, that to make an experiment of a courtier's temper, he removed him from a higher to a lower office, and afterwards took occasion to ask him how the latter agreed with him, and how he brought himself to discharge its functions. Very well, answered the courtier, since it is not any office or dignity that does honour to a man, but the man that does honour to it; since every post requires sense and honesty to execute it well, and he who possesses these, cannot fail to discharge his duty with reputation. *Alexander* having heard this, commended him highly, restored him to his former employment, and gave him a great reward [d]. Somebody wondering, in the presence of *Alexander*, at his acquiring, so young, so large an empire, and adding it was still stranger, he preserved it; he thereupon turned about, and said, By two maxims, I have done all this, I have taken care to treat my enemies so well, that they have found it their interest to become my friends; while, on the other hand, my care of my friends has been such, as to raise out of gratitude a double affection for my service. *Khondemir*, the famous historian, speaking of *Alexander the great*, informs us, that a person in a very bad apparel presented him one day a petition, admirably well penned, the king having read it with great pleasure, and admiring greatly both the thoughts and the style, looked next on the person of the man, and then answered him thus: Friend, if you had taken care to appear before me in a habit

[a] Mirkhond. ubi supra. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Dhoulcarnein. Khedher. [b] Vit. Rabialakiar. [c] Hafez. in Bahariستan. [d] Mojannabi. ap. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Escander.

"late emperor of *Russia*, in his *Persian* expedition, "had the curiosity to go see the remains of this "wall, so far as the situation of the country and "his affairs would permit him; and he could not "but admire the solidity of that composition which "he found every where so exceeding hard, that "there was no breaking off any pieces of it without employing a good deal of strength. He found "also some leagues within the mountain a skirt of "it which seemed to be entire, and was about fifteen foot high. In all probability, this wall had "stood entire to this day if it had nothing to fear "but time; but the hands of men which built it "have also destroyed it; and most of the towns, "boroughs and villages of the country thereabouts "are built with the ruins of this wall (50)".

(50) *Ibid. Vol. II. p. 728.*

a as neat and decent as that in which you have cloathed your thoughts, I should have been much better pleased with you than I am; to which the man readily answered, Your servant has received from nature that capacity of speaking and writing which you are pleased to commend; but it is to you, great monarch, who are so much famed for your bounty and generosity, that he must be indebted for such a garment as may render him worthy of your regard. *Alexander* was so well pleased with the modesty and justice of this answer, that he ordered a magnificent habit to be brought, and with a considerable sum of money gave it to this wise man in necessity, whose learning till then had left him in rags. In the *Nighiaristan*, i. e. a book so called, the word signifying literally a gallery or place to walk in, we are told that a certain b flagrant rebel being brought bound hand and foot into the presence of *Alexander*, that monarch generously restored him to his freedom; which surprising those about him, one of his favourites had the boldness to say, Sir, if I were in your place, I would not have extended mercy to such a man; and I, replied *Alexander*, who am not in yours, have pardoned him. Then after a short silence, he added, I the more readily pardon my enemies, because there is no comparison between the pleasure one tastes in an act of clemency, and in an act of vengeance. *Khondimer*, speaking of the Death of *Alexander*, assures us, that finding his last moments approach, he wrote to his mother two verses to console her to the purport following; *Your son, after having counted some moments of life, is delivered to death, he is gone like a* c *flash of lightening, and has only left behind him matter of discourse* [a]. It may be supposed that the intent of these verses was to put his mother in mind that as human life so human glory was a mere nothing, and that therefore she ought not to grieve at his being snatched so soon from an empire so lately acquired, since, if he had lived longer, it would have been of no great consequence to himself, and would have furnished only more matter of speculation to those who amuse themselves with repeating the actions, and sometimes censuring the conduct of others. On what authority these stories are grounded is difficult to say; they are chiefly recorded by moral and political writers, who aim rather at instructing men by paraphrasing on remarkable actions, and wise sayings, than at delivering a dry detail of facts, which d without such reflections instruct very little. A *Persian* author of great genius hath related a remarkable story of the hero we are now speaking of, which is in all probability founded on what the *Greeks* tell us of his sparing *Thebes*, because it gave birth to *Pindar*. The *Persian* story runs thus: "*Alexander* having given "orders after the reduction of a very strong place, that it would be given up to the "mercy of the soldiers, some of his courtiers informed the king that there was in "this place a philosopher of great note, who deserved his majesty's notice; the "king ordered that he should be immediately sent for. When he appeared, it so "happened that he made but a very indifferent figure; upon which *Alexander* "turning to those who had sent for him, said, with a smile of contempt, What e "strange figure have you brought me here? Which so piqued the philosopher, that "he repeated immediately the following lines, which he made upon the spot:

O! prince of manners void, though great in fame,
Why should'st thou slight my person, though uncouth?
Dost thou not know, that man's exterior form
Is but the scabbard of the enliv'ning mind?
Why should'st thou judge then of the weapon's edge,
When yet you've nothing seen except the case?

He added to this poetical reproof the following words in prose: "One may say "of a man unendued with virtue, that his body is no better than a prison, since the f "soul must find itself so penned up therein, that any other confinement would seem "liberty in comparison thereof. The vicious man is tortured continually, there is "no occasion for a hangman and guards to punish or distress him, the very skin which "covers his body is at the same time the insurmountable wall of a perpetual prison." The same philosopher added, "There is nothing more unreasonable than to envy "others those gifts which God and nature have bestowed upon them. The bosom "of the envious man is continually full of anger and spleen against his creator, he "thinks every thing amiss which is given to others, and at the same time covets "whatever is not design'd for him. As it is thus the custom of the envious to oppose

[a] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Escander.

"constantly the conduct of him who governs the world with infinite wisdom, so a
"the mouth that thus murmurs against providence deserves no other answer than to
"be filled with earth. One of this disposition exclaims at every thing he sees in
"the hands of his neighbour; *For what reason should this man have more than I?*"
"At these words he stopped, but *Alexander*, admiring the boldness as well as prudence
"of the man, bad him go on, assuring him that he took all that he said in good
"part. The philosopher on this proceeded in his harangue: "Wise men, continued
"he, are liberal of their wealth, and give part of it to their friends while they
"are alive, while the covetous are such fools as to fatigue themselves in laying
"up riches for their enemies. The railleries thrown out by the great against such
"as are in low condition, tarnish the lustre of their high qualities, and take off b
"that deference which otherwise would be paid them. Whoever wearies himself
"with striking those who dare not strike again, will be easily beaten when he
"meets one who dares oppose him; and he who puts to the sword without pity,
"will one day feel without pity the edge of a sword. *Alexander* at this stopped
"him, revoked his resolution, pardoned the citizens whom he had destined to
"destruction, and rewarded the philosopher for his timely advice".". It may very possibly happen that some rigid critick may object to the inserting this dubious relation in our history; but we hope, though it should be exploded as a fact, it will yet be received as a proper instance of the *Persian* mode of writing history, and at the same time we remark this, let us be indulged another observation, that the c writings of *Xenophon*, who was very well accquainted with the ancient *Persian* learning, correspond nearly with the manner of those authors we have lately cited; for he reasons on all the facts which he delivers, insomuch that his moral and political reflections have in the opinion of many removed him, as well as the *Persian* writers, from the class of historians into that of romance writers. But as his excellent treatise of the education of *Cyrus* has within these few years found many warm and learned defenders, so, it may be, the time is near when we shall see apologies written in favour of oriental historians, who, like *Herodotus*, may have their credit perhaps restored, when the subjects they treat of come to be examined to the bottom (Y). The

* Farez in Baharistan.

(Y) It is a common mistake which reigns in *Europe*, that the eastern nations, and particularly the *Persians*, are in the gross very illiterate, and absolutely passive under a heavy tyranny, which they either believe to be established *jure divino*, and therefore not to be contradicted, or else stupidly drag the yoke without daring to enquire by whom or how it is imposed. One would imagine that the frequent revolutions which have happened in the east, and in *Persia* particularly, would have overturned this notion, because there could be no such thing as a rebellion or a revolution among abject slaves; there must be some reasoning to persuade people to take arms on the one side, and some arguments offered to prevent an immediate and total defection on the other; of consequence therefore there must in such countries be politicians, nay, and there must have been always politicians, since rebellions and revolutions are no new things. But the truth is, the people of good sense in *Persia* have in all ages had as rational ideas of government as we can pretend to, though it must be allowed they have unanimously preferred monarchy to all the other forms, or rather have professed a dislike of any form of rule but it. It is likewise true, that they have a professed fondness for that patriarchal right of kings which has been turned into such high ridicule by some of our great politicians: but after all, though they allow their kings to be absolute, yet they do not think they have any right at all to be wicked; they acknowledge that we owe them the same duty we do our parents; but then they will have their kings act like parents too, on pain of forfeiting that respect; they own that the prince is to be looked upon as God's vicegerent, this was the old and catholick opinion among the *Persians*; but at the same time they were far from paying him divine honours, or the king, from hiding himself, as the *Greek* writers would persuade us, from the sight of the people, that they might conceive extraordinary ideas of one who dwelt in such state. The truth of all this will appear from an ancient custom in use among the kings, of whom we have been speaking, on the first day of *April*, called from thence, that is from this custom, *Cherrem-rux*, i. e. the day of mirth, on which, as a very ancient writer informs us, the king descended from his throne dressed in a white garment; afterwards riding abroad on a white horse, accompanied by his nobility, he and they gave open and indiscriminate audience to all who approached them, laying aside all distinctions, and acting as if they were equals; husbandmen and clowns sat down at the same table with the king, without ceremony told him their minds, and without fear made such requests as they thought fit. The king on the other hand addressed them in these terms; I am one of you, and notwithstanding the elevation of my station, I know that all I have arises from your labour, and that kings could not be without you, any more than you could be without kings; let us then agree like brothers, since nothing but union can preserve us (51). The foregoing history hath shewn us that the *Persian* kings in ancient times were really as wise as humane, and as condescending as any that have reigned in the north or west; it would be invidious to say more so. If we look

(51) *Hyde H. R. vet. P. c. xix. p. 253.*

a The *Persians* are not only much charmed with the character of the great *Alexander*, they are also wonderfully pleased with that of his vizier as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor *Aristotle*; this wise man they call sometimes by the name of *Aristhathialis*, but commonly by way of abbreviation *Aristou*; they report that he was wonderfully sagacious even in his childhood, that he addicted himself very early to the school of *Plato*, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he set up for himself, and became author of the sect of *Maschaioun*, i. e. the *Peripateticks*; they affirm likewise that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all *Greece*. They are very positive that he was prime minister to *Alexander*, the son of *Philip*, and in consequence of this notion, they report a multitude of fine sayings b and moral maxims under his name. *Ben Cassan* informs us that *Aristotle* composed above a hundred different treatises on various subjects, and amongst the rest mentions one which is neither found among his works as we have them at present, nor is at all taken notice of by any of the *Greek* writers. Its title runs thus; A discourse on the conduct which a great general ought to observe after the gaining or losing of a battle, which *Ben Cassan* says he dedicated to *Alexander the Great*. As to his philosophy we cannot find that it was thoroughly studied by the ancient *Persians*, though in after-times it came to be in high credit with the *Arabians*[x]. But to return to *Alexander*; *Mirkhond*, who has wrote very copiously of his conquests, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the east of *Persia* under his dominion, and c that he advanced as far as the *Indies*, that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly of *Heri*, or *Herat*, and *Samarkand*; he reports likewise that this prince, being mightily taken with the *Persian* learning, caused three celebrated treatises written in that language to be translated into *Greek*, the first relating to physick,

[x] D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Aristhalis.

look for the reasons which occasioned this, we may find them even in a *Greek* Writer: "At fourteen "years old, says this excellent writer, those who "were called the royal preceptors among the "*Persians* take charge of the children of the crown; "they are in number four, the most renowned per-"sons in the kingdom for wisdom, justice, tempe-"rance, and valour; the first of these teaches the "magick of *Zoroaster*, the son of *Oromazes* (he "should have said the worshipper, for *Oromazes* "was the name of God) and teach also the royal "institutions, &c." As to the modern *Persians*, on whose credit we are now forced to take the history of these early times, they too are wise enough to abhor slavery, and to speak and write as freely about government as we. For example, the famous poet *Sabdy* wrote an express treatise on this subject, called an advice to kings; among other wise and prudent admonitions, he delivers these: "It is the wisdom of kings to be kind to the poor, "and not to oppress the rich; the felicity of a "state depends on the good sense and right dis-"position of the sovereign. The security of his "country depends on his administering justice "impartially, prosperity follows security, and will "be where that is. If a country is once known "to be secure, merchants will resort thither; the "gain from thence will be large, and all temporal "blessings will abound. If the country become "rich, the king cannot well be poor, and besides "at the last day he shall be recompensed amply by "God for so well discharging his duty, whereas "he who acts in a contrary manner will in every "respect meet with a contrary fate. Be always "kind to merchants, and publick ministers, that "strangers being well received may carry a good "report of you into their own country; soon will "that kingdom fall wherein the souls of strangers "are afflicted; be wise therefore, use the traveller "well, that wherefoever he goes he may speak "well of you.—A prince ought always to have "before his eyes this maxim, dominion really be-"longs to God, and he has no certainty how long "it shall be delegated to him; he ought likewise "to remember that the country he rules was given "by God to the people who inhabit it, to the end "he may not be misled by the false ideas of things "that have no solidity, and place his trust on "joys that may not perhaps last five days. It is "reported of the caliph *Aron Reschid*, that he one "day said to the famous *Beloul* his brother, *Give "me some good advice*; he answered, *There is no-"thing to be carried out of this world into the other "but good and bad works; it is in your power to "carry which load you please*.—This *Beloul* was a "very knowing man, who, that he might have the "more leisure to attend his studies, would never "marry. The caliph his brother asked him ano-"ther time for his advice, how he might govern "his people for their advantage and his own; the "sage answered, Let your decisions become laws "through their apparent equity, and never make "reason yield to your will; prevent as far as you "can requests, give little to such as ask, but think "of giving in time to such as merit, and do not "ask. The king is the head; the people are the "body of the state; if the king is either ignorant "or wicked, the head will devour the body with "its teeth.—The government of an empire is an "affair which requires a genius attentive and col-"lected, and a heart which turns itself continually "towards the Most High God, to invoke his aid, "that its owner may turn his feet, his hand, his "tongue, and his pen aright; and the king who "acts thus, God will undoubtedly endue with "grace, to conserve his empire and his piety (52)." It is evident from these citations, that the *Persians* have at present, and have always had very rational sentiments as to the reciprocal duties of governors and subjects; and it is likewise plain that the diffuse manner of writing peculiar to the east is not without its advantages, since the intent of history is not tiring the memory, but directing the judgment, which is perfectly answered by the oriental mode of delivering the wise sayings as well as great actions of famous kings.

(52) *sp. Chardin Voyages, tom.* iii. *p.* 253.

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the second to astrology, and the third to natural philosophy (Z); he divided, says a
the same historian, his ample dominions into ninety governments; and after a short and glorious life, ended his days at *Babylon* in the thirty-sixth year of his life, and seventeenth of his reign [7], leaving his conquests to be divided among his captains, who are distinguished by the *Arabians* and *Persians* with the title of *Molouk al Shaouaif*, i. e. the kings of *nations* or *families*. The *Persians* likewise take notice of *Alexander*'s brother *Aridæus*, whom they stile *Ardous*, and generally speaking make him the son instead of the brother of that monarch; they agree however with the *Greeks* in representing him as a prince little qualified for empire; but they soften this account by pretending that he despised grandeur for the sake of wisdom, having learned from *Aristotle* to think those goods only valuable, which neither b
fortune nor force can take away.

[7] MIRKHOND. hist. sect. xxi.

(Z) At first sight it may seem, that *Mirkhond* might have inserted this story of *Alexander*'s causing books to be translated out of the *Persic* language into *Greek*, merely to do honour to his country; but it would be unreasonable to suppose this, when we have good grounds to believe that the fact was really as he reports it. These grounds are, first, that *Alexander* was a very learned and inquisitive prince; and secondly, that it was his custom to transmit whatever he thought might be useful to the common-wealth of learning into *Greece*; as for instance, the astronomical observations which were found in *Babylon*. But as *Mirkhond* has set down the subjects of the books which he alledges were translated by that conqueror's command, the matter seems to be put out of dispute, since all the sciences he mentions were indisputably better understood in *Persia* than in *Greece*. First, as to physic, if we consider the prescriptions of *Hippocrates*, and other ancient physicians, we shall find that the drugs then in use were most of them brought from the east, and not a few from *Persia*; and if they had their drugs from these places, why should we question their learning from the inhabitants of these places how to use them? But farther still; among the works of *Zerdusht*, there is a treatise which bears the title of *Bizishk-nama*, i. e. the book of physicians, which is said to treat intirely of the virtues of herbs, and how they ought to be applied; nay, he is reported to have been so very skilful in these matters, that *Sharistani* in his treatise of the religions of the east, which we have so often quoted, attributes expressly all the miracles *Zerdusht* is said to have done to his skill in simples only (53). Now take it either way, if he was inspired, he knew all things; if not, he knew so much of simples as to pass himself for a prophet; consequently there might be treatises on physic among the *Persians* well worth *Alexander*'s directing to be put into *Greek*. Secondly, as to astronomy and other mathematical sciences, we have proved in our note N. that they were well known to this people, when they were very little known to the *Greeks*, and that from the testimony of the *Greeks* themselves. It is true that the modern *Persians* stand indebted for most of their knowledge in these sciences to the writings of the *Greeks*, which are translated into *Arabick* and *Persian*; but the reason of this is plain, because the ancient books relating to these abstruse sciences were not so carefully preserved as those which regard history and morality; these being valuable in the sight of *many*; those precious only in the eyes of *few*. As to moral philosophy, which was the subject of the third book mentioned by *Mirkhond*, it was the darling study of the ancient *Persians*, if we may venture to credit any thing which oriental writers have delivered. Morality is the subject of the book, intitled *Gjouidan Corad* ascribed to *Hushang*, a king far older than *Zerdusht*. Morality was the subject of most of *Zerdusht*'s writings, as we gather from such fragments of them as we have seen, and especially from the book *Sad-der*, which though written *ad captum vulgi* in verse, and in a ballad stile, contains as many moral sentences as are to be found in *Diogenes Laertius*'s lives of the philosophers. To these arguments in favour of the learning of the ancient *Persians* we may add the amazing love of science visible in the modern *Persians*; for we can hardly account for it any other way than by their mixing with the ancient inhabitants of this country, and borrowing from their stores, since they far exceed the *Turks*, and indeed all the eastern nations, except the *Chinese*, in their affection for learning; as a proof of which we shall alledge the reigning maxim in their schools, not unworthy perhaps of being echoed in our universities: *Doubting is the beginning of science: he who doubts nothing, examines nothing: he who examines nothing, discovers nothing: he who discovers nothing, is blind, and must remain blind.* An extraordinary affection for mysterious theology seems to have been the reigning passion of the ancient *Persees*, and of the *Persians* at this day. Among the latter there is a sect stiled *Suphi* or *Sophi*, who profess themselves admirers of the *Pythagoric* philosophy. *Pythagoras*, as we have shewn, is generally, and not without good grounds, supposed to have been the scholar of *Zoroaster*, and is thought to have learned from him those refined notions with which these men are charmed. To describe the notions of the *Suphi* in few words, we must say that according to their own account they are quietists or enthusiasts; in the opinion of the vulgar, atheists. They fast often and to excess, they pretend to ecstacies and conversations with God. They profess themselves friends alike to all men, and believe that the good in all religions are saved. They have a remarkable aversion for church-men, which is owing perhaps to the outrageous antipathy the clergy shew towards them. Sir *John Chardin* gives us a whimsical instance of this; he says he was present when a preacher at *Spahaun* told the people in his sermon that the *Suphi's* were atheists, that they deserved to be burnt, and that he who killed one of this sect did an action more pleasing in the sight of God, than if he saved the lives of ten other men. As soon as he came out of the pulpit, five or six *Suphi's* who were among his audience cudgelled him heartily; and when our author interposed and begged them to give ear to the poor man's cries, one of them answered briskly, *What! Ought a fellow who preaches up murder to complain of a beating?* (54).

(53) *Sharistani ap. Hyde*, R. vet. P. c. xxii. p. 300. (54) *Chardin Voyage*, tom. iii. p. 211.

a We have now conducted the history of the *Persian* empire from its origin to its dissolution after the death of *Alexander the great*; in our next period we shall see it revive again under a prince descended from their ancient kings, and of the magian religion. We have referred our researches into the chronology of the writers from whom we have taken this history, till we come to the utter extinction of the monarchy of the native *Persians* in *Yezdegherd*; but before we close this section it will be proper to obviate some objections to the bulk of the foregoing history, which may arise from the very tenour thereof. For first it may be said that there is so much of confessed fable in almost every reign of these *Persian* monarchs, and the years gene-
b rally speaking assigned for the reign of each are so incredible, that a prudent man will be tempted to reject the whole rather than take up with a tale full of apparent absurdities. To this we answer, that if it once becomes an established rule to reject every history which carries in it a mixture of fable, all the ancient historians must be condemned in the lump. *Berosus*, if we may judge from the fragments which still remain of his work, inserted many fabulous narrations in his *Babylonish* antiquities. *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* historian, can expect no mercy if once this law be owned. *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Xenophon*, and innumerable others [a] will share the same fate with *Mirkhond*, and the rest of the *Persian* writers. But after all, there is so tolerable an account to be given of that mixture of fable which is intervoven with the *Persian*
c history, that if a critick's stomach be not very nice, he may, after a little consideration, be brought to digest it. We opened this section with observing that the ancient *Medes* and *Persians* were very curious and exact in setting down all matters of consequence in their chronicles, and in preserving those chronicles through a long succession of time; the truth of this fact we prove from indubitable authorities sacred and profane. As to the stile of these records we may form some judgment of it from the edicts remaining in the sacred scriptures, and from the passage cited in relation to a conspiracy against *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther*; and from all these it is plain, that though it was noble and sententious, it was far from being hyperbolic or romantic [a]. But these records are no more; what we have now is taken from *Moham-*
d *medan* writers, who have certainly altered the old *Persian* history, and digested it according to their own taste; nay, what is still worse, many of these writers, neglecting the more ancient and plain accounts of the old *Persian* empire, have taken up with the romances written long after, to tickle the ears of the people, and perhaps to serve other purposes which at this distance of time we are unacquainted with. Can we wonder after this at the fables recited in the foregoing history? Can we suppose that strangers, born with a contempt for the *Persees*, the descendants of the old inhabitants of this country, will do their ancestors strict justice? Can we believe that those who in consequence of the religion themselves profess, are inveterate enemies to that religion which was held by the kings of whom they write, will ever speak
e of it with impartiality and truth? or can we doubt that these writers have made many other alterations, when we find them asserting of such kings as they report to have lived wisely and piously, that they were not *Magians*, but *true believers*, i. e. of their own religion; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that the *Persian* monarchs from *Keyomaras* to *Yezdegherd* were all of one religion, allowing for such alterations in that religion as are incident to all religions in so long a tract of time? But the egregious length of the reigns of the kings of *Persia* remains yet untouched. To this charge there is indeed no reply, we admit it to be just, but at the same
f time we can safely say the same charge may be brought against every ancient history extant among the orientals. To give but one instance from the history of the *Tartars* written by *Abu l'Ghazi Bahader Khan* of *Khowarazm*, from records the most ancient, and authentic, if the royal author is to be believed, and yet he places but seventeen *Khans* between *Bertizena Khan*, and *Kabul Khan*, though according to his history, there intervened 2550 years between those princes; and in another part of his history he allows a thousand years for the reigns of six princes [b]. These are mistakes as great as any that are to be met with in the historians we have cited, and it would be no difficult thing to draw together many examples of the like nature, if this were a proper place. But this single one is sufficient for our purpose; we do not pretend to say that the numbers set down in our catalogues of kings are right, or capable of being

[a] Stillingfleet, Origines Sacræ, lib. i. c. v. [a] vi. 2. [b] Preface to the genealogical history of the Tartars, p. viii.

defended; we only alledge, that they are not more propofterous than the numbers a which are met with in other oriental hiftorians, who are notwithftanding allowed to have fome truth in their works. This confeffion we hope will procure us fome favour, and pave the way to thofe amendments which we fhall offer in due time. But, fecondly, It may be objected, that our *Perfian* hiftory from the oriental writers, being in moft refpects directly oppofite to the hiftory in the foregoing fection, which is extracted from the *Greek* writers, one of the two muft be rejected, fince oppofites can never be alike true. To this we may fay, that we would be glad to compound the difference; and to allow that the *Perfian* hiftory from the *Greeks* is frequently to be preferred to this, and that this is in other places frequently to be preferred to that. Something in fupport of this demand has been already faid on account of b *Xerxes*'s expedition, the life of *Zoroafter*, and the death of *Darius*: Befides, as we have before obferved, the *Greeks* differ among themfelves, nay, there is not one author amongft them who in fpeaking of the *Perfian* affairs may not be proved to have been miftaken in feveral points, even from his own works. As for inftance, *Herodotus*, who in one part of his hiftory makes them worfhippers of the elements, and in another polluters, in a third chaftifers of them; add to this, that the *Greeks* like all other writers, were notoriouffy partial to their country and countrymen as indeed were the *Perfians*; fo that on the whole what we afk will not appear very unreafonable, efpecially when we refer it to the judgment of the reader to compare, to weigh, and to decide as he pleafes. But, thirdly, It may be objected, that thefe accounts being c oppofite to what is recorded by the *Greek* writers, and having no authority to fupport them but their reputed antiquity, they ought for this reafon to be rejected, fince true hiftory is always fupported by concurrent teftimonies of natives and foreigners, the latter of which is wanting here; the ftrength however of this objection, which is the laft, and perhaps the moft plaufible of all that can be offered againft the foregoing feries of facts, will be effectually weakened from the following confiderations, which we had no opportunity of inferting in the body of the work. Firft, amongft thofe writers which are beft known to the learned, there are none which come near the times contained under the beginning of this period. Among the *Greek* hiftorians the hiftory of the *Medes* and *Perfians* afcends, as we have fhewn, very little higher d than *Cyurs*, if we except what *Diodorus Siculus* has tranfcribed from *Ctefias* (A), which has

(A) We have fo often mentioned *Ctefias* and his works in the courfe of this fection, that there feems to be a neceffity of our giving a fhort account of this author and his works, to render thofe remarks we have had occafion to make, perfectly plain and clear. *Ctefias* lived thirty or forty years after *Herodotus*; he was by profeffion a phyfician, and feems to have been very eminent therein; he was taken prifoner by *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whom he cured of a wound which he received in the battle which he fought againft his brother *Cyrus*. He refided fixteen or feventeen years in the *Perfian* court, and through the favour he was in there, had leave to perufe the royal chronicles, and thofe authentic hiftories of which we have fo often fpoken. From thefe he compiled in XXIII books the hiftory of the ancient empires of *Affyria*, *Media*, and *Perfia*; which hiftory of his he brought into *Greece*, where it was received with the greateft applaufe. *Diodorus Siculus*, to whom we are as much indebted as to any ancient author whatever, has tranfcribed into his bibliothec, the fubftance of *Ctefias*'s firft fix books, after having given us the following character of their author: "*Ctefias* the *Cnidian* was later than "*Herodotus*, for he flourifhed at the time of *Cyrus*'s "expedition againft his brother *Artaxerxes*, in "which being taken prifoner, he was, for his fkill "in phyfic, received into *Artaxerxes*'s favour, in "whofe court he lived in much honour and efteem "feventeen years. During that fpace he digefted "into a regular hiftory whatever he found worthy "of notice in the *Perfian* chronicles, wherein, by "a fundamental law of the empire, all remarkable "actions were exactly regiftered; and this hiftory "he brought with him into *Greece* (55)." *Diodorus* in the very place from whence we have quoted this paffage, prefers *Ctefias* to *Herodotus*, as he does in moft other places of his book where he cites either of them. *Xenophon* fpeaking of the death of the younger *Cyrus*, quotes this writer with applaufe (56). *Plato* agrees with him as to the power of the ancient *Affyrian* empire (57). *Ariftotle* alfo commends him (58), and in a word almoft all the ancient authors who have written in *Greek* prefer him to *Herodotus*. The very learned patriarch of *Conftantinople*, *Photius*, has preferved in his bibliothec an abridgment of this author's *Perfian hiftory*, before which he premifes that this writer differed not a little from *Herodotus*, and even from *Xenophon*, who was univerfally held to have written more knowingly on the affairs of the eaft, and particularly of thofe of *Perfia*, than any of the *Greeks*; but fo it is, that *Xenophon*, as well as *Ctefias*, has been fufpected of mingling fiction with true hiftory, becaufe he has not reprefented the *Perfians* as an ignorant barbarous people, plunged in fenfuality and floth, according to the ufual cuftom of his countrymen. Befides his *Perfian* hiftory, *Ctefias* wrote alfo an *Indian* hiftory, wherein it is generally agreed there are a great many ftrokes of fable; this *Indian hiftory* of his has exceedingly hurt the credit of his other writings, and feems to be the true fource of thofe fevere cenfures which many and efpecially modern authors have paffed on this famous hiftorian. *Photius* at the end of his abftract gives us this character of the writer we are fpeaking of; "The ftile of *Ctefias*, fays he, though it is extremely plain and "fimple, is far from being unpleafant; he ufes the "*Ionic*

(55) *Biblioth. lib.* ii. *p.* 109. (56) *In Exped. Cyri, p.* 266. (57) *In leg.* (58) *Hift. Anim. l.b.* viii. *c.* 28.

a has been generally exploded by the critics [e]. With respect therefore to writers of great antiquity, if our history be unsupported by them, it is likewise uncontradicted. The first race of *Persian* kings are to be placed in a void, where if we do not fix them, we know not who to fix besides, unless we take up with the feigned catalogue of *Assyrian* monarchs contrived by *Annius* of *Viterbo*; and as to writers of a latter date our *Persian* history is not destitute of friends amongst them, such as are unbiassed, and against whose credit there is nothing to be said. The royal author of the history of the *Tartars*, speaking of the original of his nation, which he derives, as most of the oriental writers do, from *Turk* the eldest son of *Japhet*; he proceeds thus: "*Turk* "was a man of superior genius, having been the first who invented many of the b "conveniencies of life; he made himself tents, and pitched upon a fixed residence "in a place called at present *Isachkoll:* he had four sons; 1. *Taunak*; 2. *Zakale*; "3. *Bensazar*; 4. *Amlak*. At his death he appointed his son *Taunak* for his succes- "sor, who became a very rich and ingenious prince, author of many fine inven- "tions. It happened one day, that *Taunak* having gone a hunting, and killed "much game, ordered a piece to be roasted; but when he was just going to eat "some of it, he by chance let a bit drop upon the ground, and having taken it up, "and put it to his mouth, he found it delicious, by reason a grain of salt had stuck "to it; which having given him to understand that this land was impregnated with "salt, he set himself to improve this discovery, and became the first inventor of "the use of salt, no one before him having known what salt was, or that it could c "season victuals. Cotemporary with him reigned a prince in the country of *Iran*, "called *Cajumars* or *Keyomaras*. *Taunak* lived 240 years, and at his death left his "throne to his son *Ielza Chan* who lived many years, and before his death appointed "his son *Dibbakin Chan* to succeed him. *Dibbakin Chan* lived also a long time, and "disposed of the succession before his death to his son *Kajak Chan*, who reigned a "great length of years, and had for his successor after his death his son *Allanza* "*Chan*. From the days of *Japhin* and his descendants to the time of *Allanza Chan*, "the true religion was preserved, and during the reign of this prince his subjects "lived in a profound peace, having great abundance of all sorts of riches [d]." From d this passage it is evident, that the records of *Tartary* mention this *Keyomaras* just where the *Persian* historians place him; and it is likewise plain, that the belief of

[e] Universal History, Vol. II. p. 9. [d] P. 1. ch. ii. p. 6.

"*Ionic* dialect, not every where as *Herodotus* does, "but in some words only, for the sake of varying "his language: what is objected to him of his fre- "quently running into fabulous stories, is not with- "out grounds, especially in what he has written, "concerning *India*. The delightfulness of this "history, arises chiefly from his disposition of facts, "which are so placed, as continually to surprize "the reader, and keep his attention engaged; even "his most fabulous accounts being adorned with a "very pleasant and easy eloquence (59)." Besides these large extracts, there are various fragments of this author to be met with in the works of *Athenæus* (60), *Apollonius* (61), *Plutarch* (62), *Ælian* (63), *Stephanus Byzantius* (64), &c. It would constrain us to draw this note into a great length, should we pretend to shew wherein this author differs with the *Greek* writers, or wherein he agrees with the oriental authors, treating of the *Persian* history: for the satisfaction however of the inquisitive peruser, we shall subjoin a short account of those reigns which interfere with the foregoing sections of the *Median* and *Persian* empires.

*Cyrus* is by him said to have married *Amytis*, and to have had two sons *Cambyses* and *Tanyoxarces*; he allows him to have reigned thirty years, and says, that he died of a wound received in battle.

*Cambyses*, according to him, married *Roxana*, and after a reign of eighteen years died of a wound which he casually gave himself in the thigh.

The *Magian*, stiled by the *Greek* writers *Smerdis*, is by him called *Sphendadates*; he computes his reign to have lasted only seven months, and to have been slain by seven conspirators.

*Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, reigned thirty-one years, died of a sickness which lasted thirty days; and left his empire to his son *Xerxes*.

*Xerxes* had to wife *Amytis*; his children were *Darius*, *Hystaspes*, *Artaxerxes*, *Achæmenides*, *Artarius*, *Amytis*, and *Rhodogune*; this king was slain by *Artapanus* and *Spamitres*.

*Artaxerxes*, his wife's name was *Damaspia*; he reigned forty-two years, left but one legitimate son, viz. *Xerxes*, but seventeen by concubines, of whom *Sogyndianus* and *Ochus* afterwards succeeded him.

*Xerxes* the second, he held the regal dignity forty-five days, and was destroyed by a conspiracy.

*Sogyndianus*, after a reign of six months and twenty-five days, was smothered in ashes.

*Ochus*, called *Darius*, married *Parisatis*, he reigned thirty-five years, and had the following children, viz. *Arsaces*, *Cyrus*, *Artoxes*, *Oxendras*, and thirteen others; he died of a languishing disease at *Babylon*.

*Arsaces*, this is the same prince whom the *Greek* writers stile *Artaxerxes Mnemon*; he overcame his brother *Cyrus*, his wife's name was *Stateira*; and in his time *Ctesias* resided in *Persia*, and compiled his history (65).

(59) *Phot. Biblioth. Art.* lxxii. *p.* 106. (60) *Deipnosophist.* x. (61) *Histor. Mirab.* xx. (62) *In Vita Artaxer.* (63) *De Animal. Natura, lib.* vii. *c.* 1. (64) *Voce* Δυρδαιοι. (65) *Photii Biblioth. p.* 135, 136.

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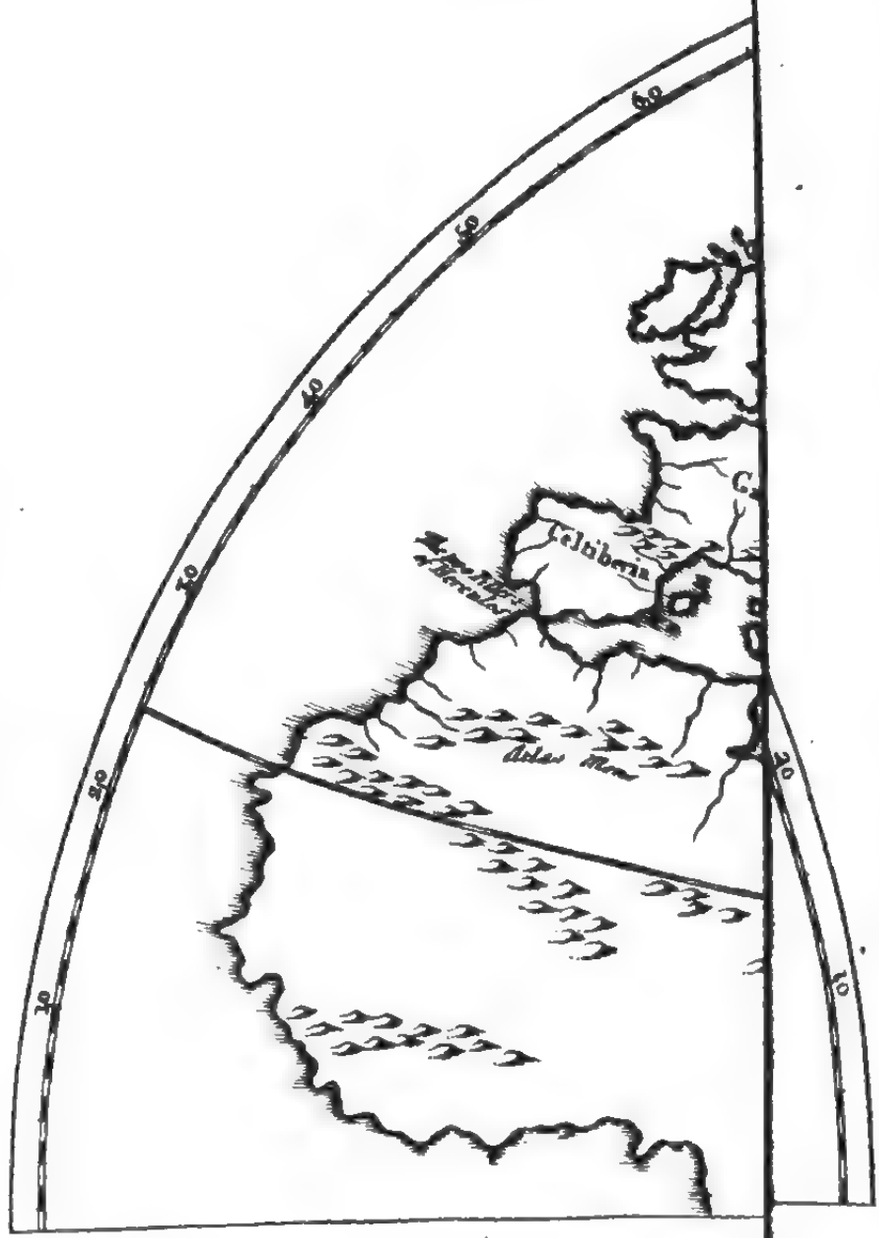
the true religion is reported by the same records to have remained untainted a
in these countries, which is exactly what our *Persian* writers say; the same author agrees with them in many other things, such as making *Sam*, i. e. *Shem* and his descendants, the original inhabitants of *Iran* or *Persia*, and in acknowledging *Hushanbg*, the grandson of *Keyomaras* his successor: he relates likewise the wars carried on by the descendants of *Turk* against the monarchs of *Iran*, and proportions the reigns of those *Khans* to the reigns of the kings of *Persia* mentioned in the foregoing history. In Dr. *Hyde*'s learned book of the religion of the ancient *Persians*, there are many *Arabic* and other historians quoted in support of such passages of the ancient *Persian* history as he has occasion to touch on in that work. It is true, that learned and judicious writer is far from conceiving that all these oriental historians have b
delivered ought to be taken on trust; on the contrary he points out many of their errors, as he does also those of the *Greek* writers, whence he argues, as we do after him, that intire credit ought to be given to neither, but that the likeliest method for attaining truth is to read and compare both *. Secondly, the whole series of ancient history teaches, that in the most remote ages of the world these countries were very populous, and under the dominion of potent monarchs; this is exactly conformable to what our writers of the *Persian* history, and other oriental authors affirm; so that we must either renounce that opinion which has hitherto been generally entertained of these eastern countries, being first and most fully peopled, or we must admit that these accounts are probable, if it were in respect only to this point. Thirdly, there c
remain of the ancient *Persians* those poor distressed creatures who are now stiled *Persees*, as so many living witnesses of the truth of this history. We can no way avoid affording our belief to this proposition, that the religion they profess is the very same which their ancestors held in the reign of *Yezdegherd*; and if so, we must trace this religion from their accounts, those of their conquerors, and such as are to be met with among their neighbour nations. Now the *Persees*, as well those in *India* as those which still remain in their own country, affirm steadily, that it was settled by *Keyomaras*, reformed by *Zerdusht*, and so continued till the dissolution of the empire of the native *Persians*. The modern *Persians*, and the *Arabic* historians, acknowledge these facts to be so; they are likewise admitted by such of the oriental christian writers as have come to our knowledge: we may therefore conclude, that d
there is not so much in this third objection as at first sight there may seem, but that, considering the nature of the thing, this history has as strong evidence in its favour as any other history of equal antiquity, excepting that of the *Hebrews*; a proposition which we long ago undertook to prove, and which we have hitherto prosecuted with no small pains. The reader will no doubt take notice of some deviations in this section from our ordinary method, and of frequent recapitulations of facts which have drawn this section to an extraordinary length; but at the same time we hope it will be observed, that this is a subject that hath hitherto been untouched, a scene of confusion, wherefrom little was expected; if therefore it has cost an unusual trouble to give it some form, it ought to be excused, since transactions e
of this nature agree with the old mode of reducing *Chaos*, wherein there was first *motion*, and then *light*. The first is here, the latter may come in time; hitherto oriental histories have been confined to the learned languages, and, like books of alchimy, been despised as trifles by some, and esteemed as treasures by others. Of their value we pretend not to decide, it was our business to bring them here, to place them in the view of our *English* reader in the best method we could; and having done this, we are to leave them to the judgment of the public.

* Hyde, H. R.. P. et in Pref.

CHAP.

p. 241.

A MAP of the *MIGRATIONS* and *SETTLEMENTS* of the Former in EUROPE



# CHAP. XII.

## *The History of the* Scythians *and* Gomerians, *their Migrations into* Europe, *under the several names inserted in the Margin*.*

* viz. *the former of* Scythians, Celto-Scythes, Sarmatians, Massagetes, *&c. the latter of* Gomerians, Cymmerians, Celtes, Galatians, Gauls, Titans, Sacks, *and* Celtiberians.

### SECT. I.

### *An Inquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the* Scythians *and* Gomerians, *considered as two distinct Nations, by way of Introduction to their History.*

Celtes *and* Scythians *descended from* Japhet.

a THESE two nations are so splendid in ancient history, that it would be next to impossible to assign their different territories, or give their history with any tolerable clearness, without previously tracing them to their distinct originals, taking a cursory retrospect of their migrations and settlements, and considering each of them under those various names, by which they are mentioned by ancient historians. We have already seen at the beginning of this history, that they were both descended from *Gomer* †, the eldest son of *Japhet*. This last we have also proved to have been the eldest son of *Noah* *, and to have received this peculiar blessing from his father, that *God would enlarge his borders* [a], upon which account *Moses* observes immediately after, that the *isles of the Gentiles*, by which is b understood *Europe, was divided by, or among his posterity* [b]. This perhaps is what induced *Berosus* and those who have followed him, to make such desperate haste to settle *Gomer*'s children in *Italy*, *Asturia*, *Biscay*, and other parts of *Europe*, even so early as 142 years after the flood. Hence others, no less sanguine, have ventured to bring *Gomer* into *Gaul*, *Tubal* into *Spain*, *Ashkenaz* into *Germany*, and *Magog* into *Sweden*, or *Denmark* [c]. These precipitate migrations stand sufficiently confuted by their palpable impossibility [d] (A), were there nothing else to disprove them. But nothing appears more certain, than that those patriarchs never came out of *Asia*. On the contrary, we find their descendants making a considerable figure in that cradle of the world, and settling themselves as near as they conve- c niently could to one another, till scantiness of room, want of pasturage, some accidental discords, or some other reasons, obliged them to branch out further on all sides towards *Europe*, and northern *Asia*, whilst the descendants of *Shem* and *Ham* enlarged their territories in their several allotments, in the southern parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, as we have already seen in their several histories.

To make the same appear the more clearly with respect to the sons of *Gomer*, let us now take a short retrospect of their first settlements in *Asia*, their migrations thence into *Europe*, their successive stations before they came into those parts in which they settled themselves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from which some of them returned again into *Asia* in process of time, where they gave

† See before, Vol. I. p. 166. & seq. * Ibid. p. 117. d. e. [a] GENES. ix. 27. [b] Ibid. x. 5. See before, Vol. I. p. 116. e. [c] PEZRON. Antiq. Celt. chap. 3. [d] Vid. int. al. RAWL. hist. p. i. c. 8. Sect. 3. BOCHART. Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & seq. PEZRON. ubi sup.

(A) Nothing indeed were more absurd, than to suppose that they separated themselves from the rest, before the general dispersion at *Babel*; and if immediately after, how little time soever be allowed for the building of that stupendous fabrick, the remainder will be vastly too short for a migration of near 3000 miles, thro' woods, forests, and deserts; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage; for so far *Sir Walter Rawleigh* has proved it to be by land, in the place above quoted. It were still more monstrous to suppose that they could come into *Europe* by sea, with such a numerous retinue, so long before any thing of navigation, even by coasting, was known.

names to countries, cities, mountains and rivers, which have caused such a confusion a
in ancient historians, for want of rightly distinguishing between those two distant migrations. This circumstance makes it very necessary, to examine, in the first place, whether the *Scythians* and the *Gomerians*, properly so called, were originally the same, or two distinct nations. Without such a previous inquiry, we shall find their names, countries, and exploits so confused, that it would be next to impossible to settle their geography, or understand their history with any satisfactory clearness.

WE have formerly hinted at the different opinions of the learned concerning this point *, which seems chiefly to be owing to these two causes. 1. That none of the sacred historians mention these two nations by any other names than that of b
their progenitor [c]; and 2. That prophane authors have been so confounded by their variety of names, migrations and exploits in several parts of *Asia*, as well as *Europe*, and particularly by the affinity of those names which they gave in both places, to towns, rivers, mountains, and the like, in their driving one another out of their territories, which they often did by turns; that it is not easy to know whether they spoke of the same nation, under different names, or of two distinct ones. Sure it is, that if they meant the latter, they have most egregiously confounded them, by ascribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other, which makes it extremely difficult to discover when they speak of the *Scythians*, and when of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. At least it is evident that *Herodotus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Justin* [f], to name no more, have called the *Scythians*, who c
remigrated into *Asia* by some names, and attributed some actions, and places to them, which, upon closer examination, are found to have belonged to the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, whom they had driven thither out of their *European* territories. An accurate ancient geographer tells us [g], that the old *Greek* historians gave the name of *Scythians* and *Celto Scythians*, to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain that a considerable part of them were properly *Celtes* or *Gomerians* [h]. And in the same book he adds, that those people who inhabited beyond the *Caspian* sea, which should be the *Scythians*, were by the same *Greek* historians, called some *Sacks*, and others *Massagetes*, though the former of these names, at least, d
belonged only to the *Celtes*, as we shall shew in its proper place.

FOR these reasons, many learned men have chosen to reckon them as one people branched out into that variety of names and characters, under which they are distinguished in history. Notwithstanding which, and the silence of the sacred books, *Josephus*'s authority has been more universally received both by ancient fathers, and modern authors; who affirms the *Celtes* or *Gauls* to be descended from *Gomer*, and the *Scythians* from *Maggog*, his next brother [i]; and we think very justly too. As to the first, there is not the least reason to doubt of it; for besides the testimony of the *Jewish* historian, we have this undoubted proof, that notwithstanding all the various denominations, which they have undergone, and which e
seem rather to have been given to them by other nations, than assumed by themselves (B); they have still preserved their original name of *Gomro*, or *Cymro*, or descendants of *Gomer*, and retain it to this day, in all those countries where the *Celtic* or *Gomerian* language is preserved; which is therefore called *Gomeraeg* or *Cymbraeg*, that is the language of *Gomer* [k].

To all this we may add the concurrent testimony of *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, or rather *Charax*, *Mela* and others, who mention them under the

* Vol. I. p. 166. d. 167. d. [c] Vid. int. al. EZEK. xxxviii. 2, 3, 6. [f] See PTOLOM. Geogr. lib vi. c. 11. & 13. HERODOT. lib. i. & 4. JUSTIN. lib. i. c. 8. & seq. [g] STRAB. Geogr. lib. ii. [h] Vid. GENEBR. 1949. LEWIS's Introduct. in Hist. Britan. cap. iii. PEZRON. ubi sup. JUN. in Genes. x. 2. [i] Antiq. l. i. c. 7. Vid. HIERON. THEODORET. & al. in Genes. x. 2. BOCHART. Phaleg. l iv. c. 38. RAWL. ubi sup. p. 1. c. 8. sect iv. JUN. LE CLERC. PATRIC. in Genes. x. 2. PEZRON. ubi supra. c. iv. & al. mult. [k] PEZRON. LEWIS, & al. ubi supra.

(B) By these names we mean, not only those which were a palpable corruption of their original one, such as *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, *Cammerians*, and the like; but those of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, *Galatians*, *Titans*, *Sacks*, and perhaps also those of *Scythians*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Celtiberians*, and some others; all which, if we may guess at them by their etymons, seem to have been given to them, some out of compliment, and on account of their valour, and others out of contempt, and in revenge for their incursions, plunders, and conquests. Thus the word *Celtæ*, in *Greek* κελσαι, or κελσοι, signifying horsemen in *Homer* and *Pindar*, might be given them on account of their great expertness in horsemanship (1).

Another

(1) *Vid. Goodwin. Not. in Comm. Cæsar. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *Not.* 3.

a the names of *Comarians*, *Camarians*, *Chomarians*, *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, and such like; all which do plainly appear to be a corruption of their original name of *Gomerians* [l]. We have likewise the authority of some ancient fathers, who agree that *Gomer* was the father and founder of the *Gomerians*, called afterwards *Celtes*, *Galatians* and *Gauls* [m]. And if all this be not enough to prove the *Celtes* to be derived from *Gomer*, we shall add another pregnant argument out of *Cluverius*, who proves that the ancient *Celtic* nation, which according to him included the regions of *Illyria*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Spain*, the *Britannic*, and other northern isles, did all speak the same language [n], which could be no other than the *Gomeraeg*, or the language of *Gomer*, which had been universally preserved among all his descendants, as we b shall shew more fully when we come to speak of their language and history. To all these we shall add at the bottom some authentic monuments, which the warlike descendants of *Gomer*, and his brethren, have left in their various settlements, which still more corroborate what we have said concerning their origin, migrations, and settlements (C).

Were we as well acquainted with the *Scythian* nation, with respect to these two particulars, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain-head, and to dispel that obscurity which we find in ancient authors concerning them, who as we hinted before, have too much confounded them with the *Gomerians*. However, we are not without some additional proofs to the testimony of *Josephus*, who affirms them c to be descended from *Magog* above-mentioned, and for which he had been followed by many of the fathers, and by a greater number of moderns [o]. For first, we find some ancient monuments of that patriarch, and of his two brothers *Meshech* and *Tubal* in the neighbourhood of his brother *Gomer*, in the regions of lesser *Asia*, where they planted themselves after the dispersion (D). Secondly, As they spread themselves towards *Europe*, and *Gomer*'s descendants turned towards the north-west, so those of *Magog* may be reasonably supposed to have spread themselves towards the north-east into both *Scythias*, where we find some plain foot-steps of their progenitor, besides the name of *Mogli*, which was that of the ancient *Moscovites* and

[l] Ptolom. lib. vi. c. 11—13. Mel. ubi supra. Plin. lib. vi. c. 16. Dion. per. v. 700. [m] Hieron. tradit. hæbr. in Genes. Eustat. Com. in Examer. Isidor. orig. lib. ix. c. 2. Zonar. Bed. & al. [n] Antiq. German. lib. i. c. 6, & seq. & Introd. ad Geogr. l. ii. c. 5. & seq. [o] Hieron. August. Eustat. Theodor. Bed. Joseph. Ben-cor. Judæi fer. omn. Jun. Bochart. Rawleigh. Munst. Heylin. Patric. & al. innum.

Another author (2) derives that word, and that of *Gaul* from the *Celtic*, in which both signify a warlike man. *Bochart* conjectures that they were called *Gauls* and *Galatians* from the redness of their hair (3).

That of *Titans*, may either allude to it, as it was a name of the sun, whose etymon can no where be so appositely found as in the *Celtic*, in which *Ti* or *Ty*, signifies a *House*, and *Tan*, or *Taen*, *Fire*, and both together, *The house of fire*. Some however fetch it from the *Celtic Tit*, which in that as well as in the *Hebrew*, signifies dust or dirt; so that Τιτανες shall signify the same as *terrigenæ*, or children of the earth or dirt. This last etymon, if admitted, may be supposed to have been given them in scorn, and to imply the baseness of their origin, as that of *Sacks*, which signifies thieves and plunderers, was given them on account of their living chiefly by that trade.

That of *Celtiberians*, or inhabitants of *Celtiberia*, or *Spain*, might be designed to distinguish those *Celtes* on that, from those of this side the *Pyrenees*, as we shall have further occasion to shew in another note. For thus we find *Gallia* or *Gaul* divided into *Cis* and *Trans-alpina*, and the word *Iberia* seems derived from the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic Iber* which signifies *ever* (4); and thus *Spain*, which is sometimes found in the plural number, was divided into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*.

Other etymologies of their names we omit, because authors have been too apt to fetch them from other languages, in order to make them square with their own hypotheses, because they were ignorant of the *Celtic*, from which it is most natural to derive them, as shall be further proved in due time.

(C) Thus the *Gomerians* left their name to the *Albanian* mountains, when they exchanged them for the more pleasant plains of *Phrygia*; and to a city of this province, which in *Pliny*'s time was still called *Cymmeris*, *Askenas*, *Gomer*'s son gave his to the *Sinus Askanicus*, to a lake and river of the same name; and in the lesser *Phrygia*, to a city and province, and to the *Insulæ Ascanicæ*.

From *Riphath*, another of his sons, we have the *Ripheen* nation and country, since called *Paphlagonia*, and from *Togarma*, his youngest son, whom the *Greek* version calls Θοργαμα and Τοργαμα, the *Trogmans* or *Trocmans* of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*; all these the reader may further see in the learned *Bochart* (5).

In like manner *Magog*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*, whose bands are joined together by the prophet (6) have left their names to several countries, bordering upon those of *Gomer*; as *Magog* to the *Gogarens*, *Meshech*, or, as he is called by the ancients, *Mosock*, to the mountains *Moschici*, between *Colchis* and *Armenia*; and mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*; as the reader may see it further proved in *Bochart* above quoted.

(D) of this kind are the provinces of *Mongog* or *Mongug*, *Congigo*, *Gigwi*, and some others; and the cities of *Gyngui*, *Angui*, *Gorgangoi* and *Goigui* in *Tartary* †.

(2) *Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. chap.* 3. (3) *Phaleg. lib* iii. *c.* 6. (4) *Vid. Cluver. lib* ii. *c.* 3 (5) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. *& seq. Rawleigh, Heylin, Pezron, & al. Vid. & sup. Vol. I. p.* 166, 167. (6) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 2. xxxix. 1. † *See Bochart. ubi supra. & al. sup. citat.*

*Tartarians*

*Tartarians* (E); and seems only a corruption or abbreviation of *Magogli*, the sons of *Magog*. To these we may add, Thirdly, That there is scarce a nation under heaven that so fully answers the warlike, bloody and dreadful character, which the scriptures give us of *Gog* and *Magog*, as that of the barbarous *Scythian*; upon all these accounts therefore we hope we may venture with *Josephus* to derive them from that patriach. a

HAVING thus far cleared the way, and disentangled, as much as possible, the intricacy of ancient authors concerning these two nations, we shall now proceed to add something of their different migrations from *Asia* into *Europe*, which will still give a further light to what has been said already. The reader may remember that we formerly settled *Gomer*, their common progenitor, with his descendants about him, in the province of *Phrygia*[p]: *Asknenaz* his eldest son, or, according to the *Armenians*, *Togarmah* his youngest, or, it may be, both of them, in *Armenia*; and *Riphath* the second son in *Cappadocia*; or, in some province, in the neighbourhood of *Phrygia*[q]. For the condition the young world was then in, would not permit them to go far from each other at first; and when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds[r], even when they began to spread themselves further and wider into *Europe*; they seem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were by a settled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the *Gomerians*, who had taken the left hand, insensibly spreading themselves westwards, towards *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *France*, and so quite up to *Spain*, whilst the *Scythians* or descendants of *Magog*, moved to the right eastward, towards *Moscovy* and *Tartary*, as far as the borders of *Cathai*, if not beyond. b c

THUS was all *Europe*, and the far greater part of *Asia*, their utmost extent northward, peopled by those two famous nations, the former almost wholly by the *Celtes*, or *Gomerians*, that is from the utmost parts of *Spain* to *Scythia Europeana*, eastward, and the latter from thence almost to the territories of *China*, as we shall see in the sequel. So that the whole extent of these two nations reached from the 10th degree west, to the 8th east longitude, and in latitude from the 40th degree quite up to the artic circle. d

UPON the whole then, it appears, that the first rank belongs to the noble *Celtic* nation, as descended from the elder brother, tho' the preference has been given to the *Scythians* by the universal vote of profane authors, who were unacquainted that their progenitor was *Gomer's* younger brother. *Scytharum gens antiquissima* was even a proverb among them; upon which account we gave them the first rank in the plan of this history. But being now convinced of the contrary, and we hope that our readers are so by this time, we shall restore it to its right owners the *Celtes*, who claim it on account, not only of their eldership, but much more on that of their superior merit; as will appear more fully from the history of both. e

[p] See before p. 166. e. f. &c. [q] Vid. EUSEB. Loc. Hæbr. & BOCHART. ubi supra. l. iii. c. 8. [r] See RAWL. hist. ubi sup. sect. vi.

(E) Accordingly, we do scarcely find any part of *Europe* in which some of these are not mentioned by ancient geographers and (7) historians, under the names of *Gomerians*, *Cymbrians*, *Celtes*, *Celtiberians*, *Celto Syrians*, and such like, as we shall more fully see in the sequel.

As for *Iberia*, or *Spain*, *Josephus* doth indeed affirm, that it was first peopled by the *Thobalines*, or sons of *Tubal* or *Thobal*, as he calls him (8), who was the fifth son of *Japhet* (9). On the other hand, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* thinks it more probable, that it was first inhabited by the *Africans*, who did from thence conceive such fondness for it, that they have been ever since striving from time to time to regain it (10). But we see no reason for preferring either of these opinions to the concurrent testimony of the authors above quoted; to which we may add that the surname of *Celto*, given to that province, and that of *Celtiberians* or *Celto iberians*, to its inhabitants, doth make it much more probable, that the *Celtes* were the first peoplers of it, especially if we consider that the name of *Iberia* signifies in the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic*, over, or on the other side, as we hinted in a former note. So that the *Celtiberians* might mean only the *Celtes*, on the other side the *Pyreneans*, to distinguish them from those on this side (11).

It is likewise more natural to suppose, that the warm situation of *Spain*, might invite the *Celtes* thither from the more northern climates of *Europe*, than that the *Africans* could come thither so early by sea; unless we can swallow that ridiculous *Spanish* tradition, which makes *Tubal* to have crossed over thither, and to have built the towns of *St. Vaal*, which is still standing at this day (12).

(7) *Vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib.* i. *c.* 7. *Ptolom. Geogr. lib.* vi. *c.* 11. *&* 13. *& alib. Mela. lib.* i. *c.* 2. iii. *c.* 2. *Cæs. Comm. c.* i. *Plin. lib.* vi. *c.* 16. *Strab. D. Sicul. & al.* (8) *Ant. lib.* i. *c.* 7. (9) *Genes.* x. 2. (10) *Hist. chap.* 8. *Sect.* 3. *& seq.* (11) *See above, Note B.* (12) *Hist. of the world, ubi sup. Sect.* 4.

## SECT. II.

### *The History of the* CELTES, *under the names of* GOMERIANS, CYMMERIANS, CYMBRIANS, CELTES, GAULS, GALATIANS, TITANS, SACKS, &c.

a WE have already spoken of the migrations of these sons of *Gomer*, from *Asia*, into *Europe*, and endeavoured to account, as well as we could, for their variety of names in the last section; wherein we observed their regular progress from *Phrygia* their first settlement, through *Thrace*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Italy*, till they had spread themselves to the utmost borders of *Spain*. In this large *European* tract it was that having fixed their boundaries between the *Scythians* and themselves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, and gave their country, or others for them, the name of *Gallia*, and *Galatia*, whilst themselves did retain their own antient name of *Gomero*, or *Gomerians*. As for those of *Cymerians*, and *Cymbrians*, &c. which seems only a corrup- *The various names of the Celtes.*
b tion of that, it is observable, that it was given to none of the *Celtes*, but those who inhabited the more northern regions of *Europe*, above the *Euxine* sea, and the north of the *Danube*, where they were less known and intermixed. Thus that part of *Germany* now known by the name of *Holstein* was called *Cymbria Kersonesus*. The names of *Tytans* and *Sacks* were given only to those of lesser *Asia*, so that they seem to have been only known in this part of *Europe*, by those of *Celtes* and *Gauls* (A). The name of *Galatians*, γαλατοι was given them also by the *Greeks*, but it is plain it meant the same with the *Gauls*, and accordingly antient authors make them descended from the same father, namely *Gomer*. It was not however in this tract of ground that they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already
c signalized their names in several parts of both the higher and lower *Asia*, where it is likely they began very early to be governed by several valiant princes of their own, and this is the reason that we find the name of *Gomerians*, and *Gomarites*, as well as those of *Sacks* and *Titans* in those parts among ancient geographers, which names were afterwards changed to that of *Celtes*, after their spreading themselves into *Europe*, as will more fully appear by the sequel. But those early exploits are so intricate, and built so much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to rely too strenuously upon them. At the most, it is plain, that these *Asiatic* conquests *Their territories.* did not remain long enough in their possession, to deserve a place in their geography of their country. Those exploits will be best resumed in the history of those nati-
d ons with whom they had to do. Whilst we confine their territories at present within those limits of *Europe*, in which we can speak of their actions with much greater certainty (B).

[a] See PEZRON. Ant. Celt. Nat. c. 2. [b] Comp. JOSEPH. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 7. EUSTAT. Comm. in Examer HIERON. tradit. hebr. in Genes. ix. ISIDOR. Origin. l. ix. c. 2. & PEZRON. ubi sup. [c] Vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. MELA, & al.

(A) *Cæsar* in his commentaries, doth indeed tell us, that they took the name of *Celtes* to themselves, whilst the *Romans* did give them that of *Galli* or *Gauls* (1), not knowing in all likelihood that they both signified the same thing in the old *Celtic*, namely warriors (2). We would not depend too much upon uncertain etymologies, though we have ventured to give some other sense of these two names; as they are fetched from other languages, and indeed there is nothing more easy than to find in all languages such likeness of sounds as *Gauls* and *Galli*, *Celtes*, and κελται, though of such different meanings, as to make it very dubious, which is the right etymon. At least those are the most likely to be the truest, which are derived from the language itself, unto whom the name belongs; excepting however such of them as we observed there, were given in contempt, and by way of reproach, as that of *Sacks* or robbers. But here it is certain that the *Celtes* made too great a figure in the world long before *Cæsar*'s time, to have been called *Galli*, in derision.

(B) We must not however omit taking notice, that when the prophet threatens the *Jews* with bringing *Gomer* and his armies against them from the north quarters (3), he seems to intimate that there were still some of the descendants of that patriarch settled in some of the northern parts of higher *Asia* even in his time, and that they continued there till the fulfilling of the prophecy, that is till some years after the *Babylonish* captivity, when they made that terrible irruption into *Palestine*, of which we shall speak in its proper place.

Accordingly we find *Ptolemy* placing the *Chamarians* and *Gomarians* as two distinct nations, though originally the same; the first with *Chamara* their supposed metropolis, in *Bactria* along the south banks of the river *Oxus*; and the latter a little further north in the province of *Sogdiana* (4). *Mela*, though he differs somewhat from *Ptolemy* in their situation, doth

(1) *lib.* 1. (2) *Vid. Pezron, Ch.* ii. (3) *Ezek.* xxxviii 6. (4) *Ptol. lib.* vi. *c.* 11. & 13.

IT is not easy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the *Celtes* from the a
*European Scythians*, for the reasons given in the last section. We may perhaps be more particular, when we come to the geopraphy of the latter. At present we shall only observe that the former extended from the *Danube*, their supposed boundaries, to the farthest part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reaching at least three degrees from east to west, that is from that famous river to cape *Fenestre*. It was bounded on the south by the *Mediterranean* sea, and west and north-west by the western and northern ocean. How far it extended full north, whether to *Hyperborean* or frozen sea, or only to the *Baltic*, we presume not to say. The last however seems most probable, for reasons we shall
*Geography.* give in the history of *Scythia*. For it is probable they did not advance towards *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the other more northern regions, till they found themselves b
too streightned in the more pleasant climates of the south; which did not happen in all likelihood till many centuries after their migration into *Europe*. However, it is certain that in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, not only they, but also the northern islands of *Britain*, *Ireland*, and even *Iceland* were inhabited, and made part of the *Celtic Gallia*. As for the southern islands on the *Mediterranean*, such as *Sicily*, *Corsica*, *Majorca*, and others, we need not doubt but they were much sooner peopled than those on the northern ocean.

So considerable was the *Celtic* nation, even in *Augustus Cæsar*'s time, though greatly abated of its former grandeur, and shrunk into more narrow limits; that it contained no less than sixty great people, distinguished by the names of cities or c
districts, according to *Strabo*. *Tacitus* says 64[d], but this is nothing to *Josephus*, who reckoned the number of these nations about 315[e], or to *Appianus*, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greatest part of them were not really villages, to 1300. But how much greater a figure they must have made before that time, may be guessed by that notable expedition they made into *Italy*, in the time of *Tarquin* the elder, that is almost 600 years before Christ, when *Bellovesus* having penetrated through the *Alps* with a numerous army, did in a short time invade a great part of *Italy*, called from them *Gallia Cisalpina*. For this and their succeeding exploits against that province, and their conquest of its metropolis, we may justly look upon it as part of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* territories, tho' we should d
grant it to have been originally peopled by some other nation, than the descendants of *Gomer*. But this doth not seem to us to be the real case, for though we have already sufficiently discountenanced the fable of *Berosus*, who brings *Gomer* into *Italy* so soon after the flood; yet it is much more likely that his descendants were the first that peopled it, with the rest of *Europe*, it being impossible so fine a country should escape them in their progressive migration; than to suppose that either *Kittim* the son of *Javan*, or his descendants, were got thither before them. To make this still more probable, we must remind our readers of two things, namely that the *Umbrians* were by many antient authors esteemed the most antient people in *Italy**. And *Pliny* in the place last quoted tells us, that when the *Hetrurians* entred e
that country, and made war against the *Umbrians*, they destroyed 300 of their cities; which proves that they must have been there a considerable time. Our next observation is, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by other antient historians to have been the descendants of the *Gauls* or *Celtes*†. And if it be so, it will be more reasonable to believe that these *Gauls* or *Umbrians* had already passed the *Alps*, and settled themselves in *Italy*, long before *Saturn*'s time, since we find that he made no scruple to go and take refuge amongst them, and was courteously received by them; than to imagine that the country was inhabited by the sons of *Javan*, or, as others pretend, that the *Arcadians*, their supposed descendants, could come thither so early by sea; they who are only famous for their pastoral life, and con- f
sequently so unacquainted with navigation (C). If ever therefore either of these did possess

[d] ANNAL. l. 3. [e] Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 16. [f] Vid. REYNECC. ap. RAWLEY hist. lib. ii. c. 24. Sect. 1, 2. * FLORUS lib. i. c. 17. PLIN. l. iii. c. 14. DIONYS. HALIC. l. i. c. 8. com. SERV. in Virgil. † SOLIN. ex. BOCHO. ISIDOR. & al. ap. PEZRON. c. 10.

doth agree in placing them in the northern provinces of *Asia* (5), where we may have occasion to visit them again in the sequel of this history, as well as the *Sacks*, another branch of the *Celtes*, whom *Strabo* (6) places a little farther westward in *Cappadocia* along the south coast of the *Euxine* sea.

(C) We need not observe further to our readers, how fond the *Arcadians* were of vaunting their antiquity above all other nations, and how much they valued themselves for their assumed name of *Aborigines* every where. Whether the *Celtes* did take that of *Tytans* or *Tvrans*, one signification of which is almost

(5) *Ibid.* i. c. 2. (6) *Lib.* xi.

a possess themselves of *Italy*, as some have conjectured from uncertain etymologies, and some intricate testimonies from antient authors, it is more reasonable to suppose it to have been of later date, and that they drove the greatest part of the *Celtes* out of it over the *Alps*; and this may be the reason of their making so many brave attempts to recover it out of their hands.

*Plutarch* indeed speaking of the *Gallic* or *Celtic* nation, tells us that some of them passing over the *Ripbean* mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern sea, the extreme or the northern parts of *Europe*, whilst others remained in the south parts, between the *Pyrenees* and the *Alps*[f]. Where he adds, that having tasted of the wine that came out of *Italy*, they marched over the *Alps*, under the conduct of a b malecontent, named *Arron*, and conquered those territories, which had been till then held by the *Tuscans*. But the name of *Celtiberia*, by which *Spain* was antiently known, and that of the *Celtic* promontory, now *Cape Fenestre*, or *Finister*, the utmost verge of *Spain*, westward, on the one hand, and of *Gallia Togata*, or *Cisalpina*, on the other, including near one third part of *Italy*[h] westward, shews nothing less than their having confined themselves within the limits of those two ridges of mountains (D). It is likely that our author either knew nothing of these *Celtic* names, or if he did, that he thought the *Celtes* had been only the invaders of those two provinces, rather than the first inhabitants of them, the contrary of which, we hope, we have shewn by this time to be at least the more probable of c the two.

Upon the whole then, the antient territories of the *Celtes* extended themselves east and west, from the head spring, *Ister* or *Danube*, which divided them from the *European Sarmatia* (E), quite cross *Europe* into *Cape Finister*, and the streight of *Hercules* now *Gibraltar*, and contained the following provinces, namely *Iberia*, now *Spain* and *Portugal*; *Gallia*[i] or *Celtogalatia*, now *France*, with the low countries; *Germany* as far as the *Danube* eastward, and *Denmark* northward; *Rhetia*, *Vindelicia*, and *Noricum*, since *Swisserland*, *Savoy*, and *Lombardy*, and the *Gallia Cisalpina*, or *Togata*, containing that part of *Italy*, now *Piedmont*, the dutchies of *Milan*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, &c. and the republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, besides the d southern and northern Islands of *Europe*, which we have lately had occasion to mention.

These extensive territories, had however been very much curtailed long before *Julius Cæsar*'s time, having been reduced within the boundaries of the *Alps*, and *Pyrenean* mountains, from east to west; by the *Mediterranean* on the south; and by the *Rhine* and *British* ocean on the north and north-east. In *Cæsar*'s time we find it still lessened by all that tract, which lies between *Geneva* and the *Alps*, which had been some time before added to the *Roman* empire, over and above the *Gallia Cisalpina* lately mentioned, which they had invaded in *Tarquinus Priscus*'s time, and advanced almost as far as the middle of *Italy*. This *Gallia*, thus curtailed, was called e *Comata*. *Cæsar* divided it into three nations, namely *Belgæ*, *Aquitans* and *Celtes*, or *Gauls*[k] (F). But by this time a great part of the *Celtic* territories had been dismembered

[f] In vit. Camill. [h] Vid. Ptolom. ubi sup. Mela. lib. iii. 1, 2. Cluver. & al. [i] Vid. Polyb. lib. iii. [k] Bell. Gal. lib. i. c. 1.

almost of the same import with that of *Aborigines* or *Terrigenæ*, out of the same ostentation, we would not venture to affirm, after *Pezron*, seeing it is capable of another signification, as we shewed in a former note. We may say in general that the etymons of the various names of *Italy* are manifestly forced, as *Latium* from *latco*, to be hid, because *Saturn* sheltered himself there, and *Italy* from the *Greek Æolia* or the *Arcadian Elatus* (7). Upon the whole then, those who will not allow it to have been peopled at first by the *Umbrians* abovementioned, and these to have been a colony of the *Celtes* or *Gomarians*; must be contented to remain in the dark about it.

(D) We could further confirm this, by multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, &c. both in *Spain* and *Italy*, which are to be met with in all the antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day, all which being plainly of *Celtic* origin, do shew them to have been given to them by that nation; but we shall refer our readers for them to the authors quoted in the margin (8).

(E) *Herodotus* says much the same thing, though in other words, when he tells us (9), that the *Ister* hath its spring in the land of the *Celtes*, and traversing the *European* regions, enters obliquely into the borders of *Scythia*.

(F) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the custom of the *Romans*. Thus we find also the *Gallia Citerior* called *Togata*, from the long robes, and the *Ulterior* or *Transalpine Bracbata* from the breeches which were worn by its inhabitants.

(7) *Reynecc. ubi sup. Camden. Heylin. & al.* (8) *De his vid. Wott. Archeol. Lluid. lexic. Cambrobrit. Hick. lexic. Breerw. de orig. ling. Hackew. orig. nat. septent. Lewis hist. Mag. Brit. Pezron. ubi sup. & al. mult.* (9) *Comm. lib.* ii. *c.* 4. *& seq.*

dismembered from it; as *Spain*, which had passed from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*; the *Gallia Narbonensis*, which was become a province of the *Roman* empire[1], and included all the southern provinces of *Gallia* along the *Mediterranean*, from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*: this last contained at least *Gascony*, *Languedoc*, *Provence* and *Dauphine*. Nevertheless, these three divisions were far from being all that the *Celtes* had left in *Europe*, though *Cæsar* has made the most of them in his account of that war (G). Other divisions of *Gallia* which were made by *Augustus*, and other *Roman* emperors (H), after the conquest of it, will be best seen in the *Roman* history.

Seas

[1] Bell. Gallic. lib. iii. c. 20.

(G) By which distinction it is plain, that he speaks only of the *Gallia* which he conquered, and not of the whole territories of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* nation, which still spread themselves vastly further, at least towards the north; and therefore when he comes to explain himself, and to give the particular names of each people belonging to each of those three nations, it appears that he goes no further than his own conquests (10), so that it should seem as if he had affected to compliment himself with the subduing of a numerous and powerful nation, of which the *Celtes*, so famous both in *Europe* and *Asia*, were but the third part.

It was probably out of the same ostentation that he ranks, for instance, 16 people under the name of *Belgæ*; namely the *Bellovaci*, or those who belonged to the city or district of *Beauvais*; the *Suessones* those of *Soissons*; *Nervii*, now *Cambraisians*; *Atrebates* or *Artois*; *Ambianes* or *Amiens*; *Morini* whose capital was *Terouana*; *Menapii*, or the *Gantines*, *Antverpians* and *Brabantines*; *Caletes*; or those of the district of *Caux*; *Velocaces*, now *Vexinois*; *Vero-manduos*, or *Vero-mandois*, now *St. Quintin*; *Advatici*, now not known, and variously guessed at; the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cæræsi*, and *Panones*, concerning which we are also much in the dark. Now it is plain that all this pompous list did take up little more than the north part of *France* and the *Netherlands*.

The same may be said of another third, *viz. Aquitain*, among which he reckons twelve distinct people, making up in all the *Gallia Armorea*, so named from the *Celtic* word *Armor*, which signifies those countries which are upon the sea coast; this province was afterwards called by the *Romans Aquitain* from its mineral waters (11). And this contained at most the western provinces of *France* from the river *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, to the *Pyrenees*, according to his own account of it in another place (12).

As to the *Celtæ*, to whom *Cæsar* tells us the *Romans* gave the name of *Gauls*, their country extended only north and south from the *Ligeris* or *Loire* to the *Sequana* or *Seine*, and east and west at most, from *Burgundy* to *Low Britanny*, including the *Gallia Lugdunensis*, part of which last was already under the *Romans*. But how short did all these three come of the *Celtic* territories, when some authors tell us that they extended from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* quite to the *Scythians* (13)? When another tells us that all the inhabitants on each side the *Rhine*, were still called *Celtes* (14)? so that all that were on the other side of that river were out of the boundaries of the *Gallia Belgica*, and much more so out of those of the other three. Whether or no this *Gallia Celtica* was so called, and its inhabitants *Celtes* in *Cæsar*'s time by way of excellence above the rest, as the province of *Holland* is commonly taken for all the seven, and whether or no the other *Celtes* were unknown to that conqueror, we will not pretend to determine. Only it is plain that the three *Gallic* provinces which he subdued, one of which only he distinguishes by the *Celtic* name, were but about one half of the whole nation even in his time.

(H) This may, perhaps be thought a proper place to have spoken of the isles of *Great Britain*, both as they were first inhabited, and are still in some parts by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, which last name, as well as the antient language of that nation, is still preserved amongst them, especially in the north part, of *Wales*. But as they make so great a figure in antient history from their being first planted by some colonies of that nation, their history will be better referred to another book, wherein we shall resume that of the western and northern empires according to our first plan of this work.

However it will not be amiss to hint something here concerning the name of *Britain*, which has been confounded by *Camden* and others with that of *Gomro*, as if they had both belonged to the same people; for it is certain that the former is only to be found among the *Britains* in *France*, who call themselves *Brithained*, and are as great strangers to the name *Gomro*, as the *Gomros* or *Welsh* are to that of *Brithained* or *Briton*. It seems therefore that those antiquaries have too lightly rejected the story of *Brutus* coming into *England* and conquering the gigantic inhabitants of it, from which conquest that part was afterwards called *Britannia* or *Britain*, which *Camden* and his followers will have to be derived from *Brit* painted, and *Tain* region; because the *Britains* painted their bodies, and were upon that account called by the *Romans Picts* or *Painted*.

It doth not appear at all probable, that if the *Britains*, who went out of *England* into *France*, had been the same with the *Gomros*, or antient inhabitants of *Britain*, they would have changed their original appellative, in which all the other descendants of *Gomer* did so pride themselves, for the nickname of *Britained* or *Painted*; much less that they should have quite obliterated the former, which was still so carefully preserved by their neighbours. But if the *Trojans* were themselves a colony of the *Gomerians* or *Welsh*, as a modern author seems to have nearly proved (15); and these after the destruction of their city, came under *Brutus* or *Trotus* as he is called by *Vitus*, and by others *Brito*, and from him they were called *Britains*, and invaded a considerable part of this Island; it will at once account for the name, and for the great affinity there is between the *Gomeraes* or *Welsh*, and the *Britained* or *British*, which last is objected by the antiquaries against the probability of the first.

It is therefore not only more for the honour of this nation, but also more reasonable to suppose with Sir *John Price* (16), that these isles were at first peopled by the ancient and warlike *Gomerians*, than by the conquered and fugitive *Trojans*: for who can think that they should have been so long unknown to the former as 1000 years after the dispersion; for so long at least it was before the latter can be supposed

(10) *Vid. Godwin. annot. in Cæs. Comm. ibid.* (11) *Vid. Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 17. (12) *Comment. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *& alib.* (13) *Diodor. l.* v. *c.* 5. *Plutarch. in vit. Camil. vid. & Mel. Cluver. & al.* (14) *Dio. Cass. l.* xxxix. (15) *Lewis Introd. in hist. Britan. c.* iv. *& lib.* ii. *c.* 14. (16) *Dissert. hist. Brit.*

a SEAS of note were the *Mediterranean*, the western, *British*, and northern ocean, and the *Baltic*. Their principal lake in these territories is that of *Geneva*, which is upwards of twenty miles in length, and about eight in breadth, and by its navigableness inriches both the city of that name, and all the countries about it. To this we may add that of *Serviere*, in high *Dauphine*, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day's journey up to the *Alps*, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much smaller at 8 or 9 miles distance, and is calculated to stand near half a mile perpendicular lower than the former without being overflowed, or sending out more water than a very inconsiderable stream, scarce sufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the *Pyrenees* and *Alps*, otherwise called b *Apenine*, which are of very great length, and of such prodigious height, that they are always covered with snow of incredible hardness. The latter were supposed by *Livy* and others to have been called *Apenine* from *Hannibal Peninus*, but much more probably from the old *Celtic* word *Pen*, a head, by reason of the exceeding height and whiteness of them. So that *Apenine* may be only a contraction of *A Pen Ghwin*, white heads, as the word *Alps* may be derived from the *Celtic Alp* or *Alb*, white.

THE chief rivers are the *Ister*, which runs into *Scythia*, and empties itself into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. The *Rhine*, which springs from the mountains of *Switzerland*, and runs through *Germany* and *Holland* into the *British* sea. The *Seine*, *Loyre*, and *Garonne*, of which we have lately had an occasion to speak, as they divided the c *Gallia Celtica*, *Belgica*, and *Aquitana* from each other. The *Durius* now *Duero*, which descends from the mountains of *Siarro* in *Asturia*, into the *Atlantic* ocean at *Oporto*. The *Tagus* or *Tajo*, which crosses great part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and falls into the same ocean below *Olysipon* or *Lisbon*. The *Anas* now *Guadiana*; the *Bætis* or *Tartessus* now *Guadalquivir*; these two empty themselves in the gulph of *Cadis*. The *Iber* now *Ebro* which descends from the same mountains of *Sierra*, with the *Durius*, but taking a contrary course from it, runs eastward into the *Mediterranean*, and empties itself into the gulph of *Valencia*. The *Rhodanus* or *Rhosne*, which hath its spring from the mountains of *Switzerland*, but descends a contrary way, and crossing d the lake of *Geneva*, runs through the south part of *France*, and empties itself into the *Mediterranean* about *Marseilles*; the *Padus* or *Po*, and *Adesis* now *Adige*, which descend the former from *Piedmont*, and the latter from *Switzerland*, and fall at a small distance from each other into the gulph of *Venice*. Those of *Italy* and of the *European* islands will be seen in another chapter.

WE shall only add that the greatest part of the names of these and of other smaller rivers are certainly of *Celtic* extraction, and agreeable to their properties. Thus *Garunna* from *Garw*, rough, expresses its great rapidity. *Rhodanus* from *Rhedog* to run swiftly, implies its swift course. *Arar* now *Saon* is so called from its slowness, its descent into the *Rhosne* being scarce perceptible. *Durius* or *Duiro* from *Dour*, water or river, whence the names of a great many cities and towns situate near the water-side ended in e *Duro* and *Durum*. Thus likewise the names of counties and districts which end in *Tan*, or *Tain*, and in the *Latin Tania*, as *Aquitain*, *Britain*, *Lusitania*, &c. are formed from

supposed to have come from *Troy hither*, by which time the others had spread themselves all over *Europe*. And is it not also more probable that these gave it the ancient name of *Albion*, which in their language signifies white, from the whiteness in which the *Cliffs* of *Dover* appeared clad from the other side of the water, than that it received it from *Albion* the brother of *Bergion*, the son of *Neptune?*

We may add, that *Berosus* and those who have followed his steps (17) have given us a list of 20 kings of the *Celtes* who reigned in *Gaul*, and the greater part of them also over the *Gomeros* on this side the water, before *Brutus*. The reader will see by the following list of their names how several *Cantons* of *Gaul* might probably receive theirs from them, as *Longobards* from *Bardus* and *Longus*, their fifth and sixth monarchs. *Gallia Narbonensis* from *Narbo*; *Lugdunensis* from *Lugdus*; the *Belgic* from *Belgius*; the *Allobroges* from *Allobrox*, &c. they run as follow: 1. *Samothes*, by others called *Dis* and *Discelta*. 2. *Magus*. 3. *Sarron*. 4. *Druis*. 5. *Bardus*. 6. *Longus*. 7. *Lucus*. 8. *Celtes*. 9. *Galates*. 10. *Narbon*. 11. *Lugdus*. 12. *Belgius*. 13. *Jasius*. 14. *Allobrox*. 15. *OEgypptus*. 16. *Paris*. 17. *Olbius* 18. *Galates* II. 19. *Namnes*. 20. *Franicus*.

It is true, this list seems rather to be that of the princes of several cantons of the *Celtes*, than a regular succession of the kings of the whole nation, which it is not likely was governed by one sole monarch. Nevertheless as they reigned either in *Gaul* or *Britain*, long before this *Brutus* (suppose him to have come from *Troy*, as will be further seen when we come to that part of our history) the most that can be said of him is, that he invaded and took a great part of the latter from the *Gomros*, its *original* inhabitants, who were thereby forced to retire further westward, where they have continued ever since.

(17) *Vid. Vitus Basinst. hist. Brit. lib.* i. *not.* 25. *& auct. ab eo citat.*

the *Celtic Tan* and *Stan*, a region [a], and imply the country of waters, of the *Britons*, a
and *Lusians*, which last were a *Celtic* people from whom came the *Portuguese*. We omit a multitude of cities, towns, mountains, and other ancient names which are palpably of the same extraction, concerning which the curious may consult the authors above named.

Natural and artificial rarities in so spacious a field would take up too much room in this history, and are so well known to the curious, that we think they may be safely omitted, those only excepted as have some immediate relation with some remarkable facts as shall fall in the course of this history, when we come to resume it in another chapter. One thing only we beg leave to mention here, namely the *Littus Lapideum*, otherwise the *Campus Lapideus*, or stony shore or field of above a mile in length upon b
the coasts of the *Gallia Narbonensis* or *Languedoc*, where *Hercules* is said to have fought the giant *Albion*, the son of *Neptune*; which place is still called by the inhabitants *Les Craux*, from the multitude and largeness of stones with which it is covered; that word being derived from the *Celtic Craig* or *Craic*, which signifies rocks or stones [c].

[a] Vid. Camden, Brit. Lewis introduct. in hist. Britan. Pezron. antiq. lib. iii. sub voc. tan. & alib. [b] Hist. Delphinial. Lugdun. 1498. [c] Vid. Lewis Introd. in hist. Brit. c. iv.

## SECT. III.

### *Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning and trade of the ancient* Celtes.

Tho' the *Celtes* exceed all other nations in antiquity, their descent being, as we have seen, from *Gomer* the eldest son of *Japhet*, the eldest son of *Noah*, in which respect c
they outgo the *Egyptians*, *Phrygians*, and even the *Scythians*; yet it must be owned that our knowledge of their government comes vastly short of the two first, whether it be owing to the want of records, or rather to the slowness and length of their migrations d
into *Europe*, where we find them first settled into a spacious and regular polity. A late antiquary [a] hath indeed attempted to prove that upon the dispersion of *Babel*, *Gomer* or his immediate descendants did presently enter into *Armenia*, thence into *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, till at length, under the conduct of *Acmon*, and afterwards of his son *Uranus*, two warlike princes, they spread themselves further, and sent their colonies from lesser *Asia* even into *Spain*. *Chronus* or *Saturn*, *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, or *Teutat*, were their three next successors; and it was this last, according to our author, d
who settled the *Gomerians* then called *Titans* in *Europe* into a regular government, gave them laws, and there they changed their name into that of *Celtes* and *Gauls*. e
According to this system then this *Gomerian* polity must have begun about the time of *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father, or even of *Nahor*'s, if *Mancus* be admitted to have been, as some historians think, the father of *Acmon*; tho' *Saturn* was the first who took the title of king.

All this our author brings proof for, from ancient authors, which would carry us too far to repeat; we shall find a proper place for the history of those princes, since deified by a great part of the world; for the present we shall only observe, that nothing is more likely than that their government was originally monarchical as e
well as that of other nations, since we find it in the same form even in *Cæsar*'s time, when they had spread themselves all over *Europe*. Only by that time they had so far altered the form of their government, if we may believe that historian, that f
instead of one monarch they were divided into several petty kingdoms, and did not yield the absolute command to any one, except when their territories were threatened with invasion from a common enemy [b]. This is further confirmed in part by another historian [c], who tells us that the *Cimmerians*, or northern *Gomerians*, being invaded by the *Scythians* their neighbours, called a council of their kings and people, whose disagreement about defending or abandoning their country occasioned the loss of it, as well as the lives of those who resolved upon opposing the invaders. f
It is indeed hard to conceive how so warlike a nation, extended over such large

[a] Pezron. antiq. Na. Celt. pass. & ch. 15. [b] Comment. l. 6. & al. Herodot. l. iv. [c] Pezron. ubi sup.

tracks

a tracks of ground, and in such a difference of climates, should continue long under one head, without splitting itself into several kingdoms; so that it is rather a wonder to find that they preserved so much of their ancient affinity and government in *Cæsar*'s time, as to unite themselves under one head in cases of common danger.

WHAT their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their sovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told by the antiquary abovementioned, that *Mercury* did polish and give them laws, and by others [d], that *Samothes*, otherwise called *Dis*, and *Discelta*, a man of singular learning and wisdom, and the first founder of the *Celtic* monarchy, gave them a body of laws and discipline which he wrote in the *Hebrew* tongue, but in the *Phœnician* character; and b that the *Greeks* did borrow the latter from the *Celtes* when they re-entered *Asia*. The mistake of these authors in affirming that he wrote in *Hebrew*, and retained that tongue above all other nations, the descendants of *Heber* excepted, may be easily accounted for from the great affinity there is between the *Celtic* and it, of which we shall have further occasion to speak; and as to his using the *Phœnician* character, there is nothing extraordinary in it, since it was the most universal at that time, and is now allowed to have been the same with the *Samaritan* or ancient *Hebrew*. The reader may see what has been heretofore said upon that subject †. It is added that he was therefore called the *Saturn* of the *Celtes*, and that their learned men, such as their divines and philosophers, were called from him *Samothei*. But if ever he wrote c such a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them, neither can we find any footsteps of either his or any other's in any author, but what are too recent to be mentioned here. However as they very much deviated from the simplicity of their brethren the *Scythians* in their manner of life, they can no more be supposed to have been without some for the preservation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial discipline. *Their government.*

THE *Curetes* of whom we shall speak by and by, were the interpreters of their laws, judged all causes whether criminal or civil, and their sentence was reckoned so sacred, that whoever refused to abide by it, was by them excluded from assisting at their sacred rites; after which no man dared converse with him, so that d this punishment was reckoned the most severe of all, even than death itself.

THEIR religion was very like that of the *Scythians*. They worshipped the same gods, as *Jupiter* under the name of *Taran*, which in the *Celtic* signifies thunder. *Mercury*, whom some authors call *Heus* or *Hesus*, probably from the *Celtic Huad*, which signifies a dog, and might be the *Anubis latrans* of the *Egyptians*. But *Mars* was held in the greatest veneration by the warlike, and *Mercury* by the trading part, as we shall shew in its proper place. It will not however be easy to reconcile the greatest part of these *Celtic* deities with what *Pezron* says of them with great probability, that they were originally kings of that nation, as we shall shew in the sequel. All that need be said at present on that head, is, that the *Celtes* after e having dwindled into idolatry, like other nations, did like them deify their kings and heroes after their deaths. Thus we find the *Cretans* at once worshipping of *Jupiter*, and shewing his sepulchre at the city of *Gnossus*; for which reason, whilst *Calimachus* calls them liars, for forging a tomb for that god, others, especially the christian fathers, justly blamed their folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred among them. How these gods, or at least their names came to be adopted by other nations, will be shewn when we come to speak of the fabulous and heroic times; and it would be labour lost to inquire what gods or religion the *Celtes* had before they deified their Kings; but since then, we find them very much addicted to all kind of superstition, divination, astrology, magic, and f other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion was immediately under their *Curetes*, since known by the name of *Druids* and *Bards* (A). These were, as *Cæsar* *Religion.*

[d] Vid. LEWIS hist. Brit. cap. 2. & auct ab eo citat.

† See before, Vol. I. p. 404. & 719. & seq.

(A) The *Curetes* were among the *Titanic Celtes* what the *Druids* were afterwards among the *Gauls*, and were had in the same reverence and esteem, insomuch that the education of *Jupiter* was committed to them, and *Cres* one of his sons was of their society. It is not easy to trace their original; and *Strabo*, exact and learned as he was, doth not seem to be satisfied with all he has said about them (1). Their name of *Curete* seems derived from the *Celtic* word *Cure*, to strike or beat one thing against another, whence the *Greek* κρουω by the transposition of a letter, which signifies the same. And this seems to have

(1) *Geogr. lib.* x.

tells

*Learning.*

tells us [e], the performers of sacrifices, and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people. They also instructed youth in all kind of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, astrology, the immortality, and transmigration of the soul from one body into another, which was both an incitement to virtue, and an antidote against the fear of death. These they taught their disciples by word of mouth, esteeming them to be too sacred to be committed to writing. a

Other more common subjects, such as their hymns to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their exhortations to the people in time of war, and especially before a battle, all these were written in elegant verse, and recited, or rather sung by them, upon all proper occasions. *Diodorus*, speaking of the *Celtes*, tells us farther, that these poets used to accompany their songs with instrumental musick, such as that of organs, harps, and the like, and that they were had in such veneration, that if an army was engaged in battle, if one of these poets or *Bards* appeared, both sides immediately ceased fighting, so that their fury gave way to wisdom, and *Mars* to the muses. But the true reason was, that they were universally believed to be prophets, as well as poets, so that it was thought dangerous as well as injurious to disobey what they supposed came from their gods. b

These prophetick philosophers kept academies, which were resorted unto by a great number not only of their own youth, but even of other countries, insomuch that *Aristotle* says, that their philosophy passed from thence into *Greece*, and not from *Greece* thither [f]. Other authors add many things in praise of their virtue and morality [g]. But a *Roman* historian [h] makes no scruple to call their religion an impious one, and as such to have been forbidden by *Augustus*, and abolished by *Claudius*. *Lucan* is no less severe against them; and this might indeed be partly attributed to the hatred which the *Romans* bore to them; yet it must be owned that they had some barbarous customs, such as sacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than those of any other animals [i]. And *Diodorus* tells us of another inhuman custom they used in their divinations, especially in great matters, which was done by killing a man with a scimetar, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs. c

*Cruel customs.*

But though they resembled the *Scythians* in some of their barbarous customs and warlike temper, yet they were far enough from imitating them in their pastoral life. They built large cities where-ever they came, they fortified and adorned them with spacious walls, towers, and sumptuous edifices. They were upbraided by the *Romans* with following the oldest law in the world, which ever leaves to the strongest what the weaker cannot defend [k]. And indeed so greedy were they of conquest and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they ever fought with such strength and fury, that nothing could withstand them. And so sudden and violent were their onsets, that like fire and storm, they drove all before them. They seldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people [l]. As for the prisoners they took in war, they sold them to d e

[e] De Bello Gal. lib. vi. c. 12. [f] Ap. Laert. de vit. Philos. c. i. [g] See Vitus Basinstoc, Camden, Lewis, & al. [h] Sueton. in vit. Claudi. [i] Mela. lib. iii. c. 2. [k] Vid. Plutarch. in vit. Camil. [l] Id. in vit. Mar. Vid. & Strab. Tacit. Dio. Herodian, Mela & al.

have been given them on account of their striking their shields with their javelins, which an ancient author tells us they did (2), when they kept young *Jupiter* concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noise and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the *Druids*, as some pretend (3), we will not determine. If the *Druids* were exempt from that duty, they must have been different from the *Bards*, who though in all other respects of the same order with them, yet were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and musical compositions. Upon this account it is that these *Bards* are affirmed by *Cæsar* (4) to have been the inventers of musick and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king *Bardus*, whom *Berosus* affirms to have reigned over the *Gauls* and *Britains*, or *Cymbri* (5), from whom they were called *Bards*.

The *Druids* some think were so called from *Berosus*'s *Drus*, the 4th king of the *Celtes*, a man of uncommon learning for those days (6); but we think with *Camden* that *Pliny*'s is far more probable, who thinks that they were so called from the *Celtic* and *Greek* word *Dros* or *Dross*, an oak (7), which tree was held so sacred by the *Celtes* as well as *Scythians*, that they performed most of their religious rites near some large oaks, if not in oaky groves, and offered no sacrifice without some leaves of that tree. As we shall shew more fully in their history.

(2) *Apollod. Bibl. lib.* i. c. 1. *ap Pezron.* (3) *de Bell. Gall. vid. & Lewis hist. Brit. c.* v. *Pezron, c.* xiii. *Kyslin & al.* (4) *Vid. Caius ant. Cantab. Perion. Basinstok.* (5) *Nat. hist. lib. vid. Camden, Lewis, Pezron.* (6) *Bell. Gall. l.* vi. (7) *Vid. Cas. ubi sup. ex Berof. & Cæsar Com.*

their

a their great men, who made slaves of them, and appoited and the most sightly of them for their retinue. Instead of the skins of their enemies worn as ornaments by the more savage *Scythians*, these chose to adorn themselves with their spoil. They wore gold rings and bracelets, and chains about their necks; and were very neat in their dress, as we have had occasion to hint a little higher.

*Warlike discipline.*

We have also observed that they were expert horsement, so that considering their martial genius and discipline, their cavalry seldom failed of doing execution. They were no less famed for their armed chariots, and their dexterity in managing of them. In other respects we do not find that they had any thing but what was common b to almost all other nations, and so shall not dwell longer upon them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, and scimetars, daggers and bayonets; they had likewise shields and head-pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the same manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby spurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the business of their poets to record the actions of those that signalized themselves in songs and stories which were afterwards sung at their games, and other solemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this had such an effect upon them, that c they chose to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than to be made prisoners. It was also their custom, before a battle, to observe the moon, and, if possible, to avoid fighting till after the full of it. And this was not so much with a view of having a longer time for execution, as from a superstitious belief that it would prove more fortunate; in this they were afterwards imitated by the *Lacedæmonians*. They used likewise like other nations, to consult their priests or augurs upon all emergencies, but especially before an engagement, and if the augury proved good, these priests used to march before them with songs and dances, and musical instruments, till the onset was begun; but if their augury proved otherwise they gave such heed to it that nothing but absolute necessity could prevail on them to fight. d Their martial laws used likewise to be written in verse, and set to some warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to sing upon proper occasions, so that their very youth were versed in them, and knew the theory of military discipline, long before they were of age to bear arms. They seem in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inspire them with a desire of conquest and glory, and to cherish the warlike temper for which they have been so fam'd in history. How much their valour was dreaded both by the *Romans* and other *European* nations, will be seen in another chapter, and we shall shew in the sequel of this, that they signalized themselves no less in *Asia* both before and since their migration into *Europe*.

*Language.*

Their language, which we have already had occasion to speak of, was the old e *Celtic*, or *Gomerian*, preserved still by the *Welsh*. This has been so fully proved by numberless antiquarians, that we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to them, without entering into so spacious and intricate a field[m], Those who are acquainted with it must readily own, that no tongue, either ancient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this *Gomroeg*; and that though it must be supposed to have been very much blended with the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German* in process of time, yet it retains still so much of the admirable simplicity of the *Hebrew* grammar and construction (B), that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the

[m] De his vid. Camd. Brit. Joach. Perion. orig. ling. Celt. Brierw. inquir. in Nrig. ling. Lluydd Davies & Robert. Gram. Wooton, Hick, lexic. Lewis & Pezron, ubi sup. & al. mult.

(B) With respect to the *Hebrew*, we refer our readers to what has been said of it in the history of the *Jews* * and it would be endless to enumerate in how many instances the *Gomroeg*, now the *Welsh*, doth imitate it. We shall however give our reader some few instances of it by way of specimen, and refer him for further particulars to the authors quoted above.

1. The *Gomroeg* is so near akin to the *Hebrew*, that an antiquary (8) who was master of both, has given the learned world a specimen of a considerable number of phrases out of the *Old Testament*, which are so alike in both, that they seem to have been originally the same, and their difference to be only owing to distance of time and place, and other such like causes, by which a language is naturally altered. It distinguishes cases like the *Hebrew*, not by different terminations as the *Greek* and *Latin*, but by prepositive articles; 3. It often changes the radical or primitive letter of a word according to the preposition, adverb, pronoun, or article, it is affixed to, giving it sometimes a harder, sometimes a softer sound, more for the sake of melody than grammar. 4. It hath its aspirations and gutturals, which

* *See before Vol I. p. 717. & seq.* (8) *Ch. Edward's specimen printed An. 1675. Vid. & Lloyd Gram. & al.*

same tongue from which the other languages above named, and even the *Arabic*, a
seem to have emanated (C). The only wonder in all this would be, that the *Gomerians* should be the only people that have preserved their own in such purity, whilst the *Jews*, and all other nations have suffered theirs to be corrupted, and blended with those of their neighbours, and especially of their conquerors. But may not this be owing to the formers having still preserved themselves from foreign conquests and bondage, chusing rather to leave their fertile abodes and retire into countries stronger by nature, and less tempting to a conqueror, than to submit to their yoke? and as this at once inspired them with an over-weening value of themselves, and natural hatred to other nationss might not this be an effectual means of preserving them from suffering their original tongue to be corrupted by those of their neigh- b
bours.

*Poetry.* IT were labour lost to endeavour to find what their ancient poetry was, in which their *Curetes* and *Druids* recorded all the exploits of their heroes; and our only reason for mentioning it here, is to observe that these poets were their only historians, and their tongue abounded, like the *Hebrew* and other eastern ones, with bold allegories, and figures as we observed in the last note: this might probably enough administer matter sufficient for that variety of wonderful events, with which the fabulous and heroic times have been since stuffed, as we shall have further occasion to shew when we come to speak upon that head. As to their musick, of which we c
have already hinted something under a former head, they are supposed to have brought it from *Crete*, where having found an iron mine on mount *Ida*, they began to forge themselves tools, then arms and shields, and armour; hence sprang not only the trades of smiths and armourers, but even the first notions of music are said to have been taken from the sound of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their shields, especially when the *Curetes* were nursing up young *Jupiter*, of which we have spoken already*. How far they have improved these, and what other arts they cultivated, must be only guessed at from their manner of life; for since their warlike disposition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting some grandeur in their equipages, dress, and d
houshold furniture, we may reasonably suppose all those arts and manufactures that tended to it. to have been likewise encouraged amongst them. To these we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their slaves and inferior sort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with respect to dress and equipage, we do not find that they used any in their food. Pulse of all sorts was their common diet, especially that which the *Greeks* called *Elimos*, which we take to be the same with *Lim*, which in the *Celtic* signifies millet, and is a very nourishing grain. Milk was also a considerable part of their diet; and as to flesh they eat very sparingly of it, if we except that of swine, called in the *Celtic Souckh*, whence perhaps the *Greek* ΣΥΚΑ or ΣΙΚΑ, and the word *Sick*, used by the country people, in several parts of *Europe* to call their hogs.

* See NEWTON's Chronol. p. 14.

which are more or less dense like those of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, &c. 5. In verbs it retains the root in the third person singular, as *Car*, he loves; *Cari* thou loveſt; *Cara*, I love; *Carwn*, we love; *Caruch*, ye love; *Carant*, they love.

With respect to its genious, it is strong, masculine, very poetical and figurative, and though, perhaps more thro' corruption than primitive orthography, it seems harsh in the pronunciation by reason of its vast number of consonants, yet when put into verse, and spoken with its genuine pronunciation, it is, like the *Hebrew*, very soft, melodious, and musical.

(C) This is indeed what a learned antiquary has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and confirmed also by historical facts (9) But we dare not be so sanguine as he, in so delicate a point, lest we should be thought to write rather the panegyric than the history of that ancient nation and tongue.

Here however the reader may find the most rationa account for that surprizing affinity which the learned have found between the *Celtic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Persian*, *High-Dutch*, and some other *European* and *Asiatic* languages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for by any other author, nor indeed could be, without having recourse to ancient history; in which it seems at least highly probable that all these were tribes or colonies of the *Gomerians*, and used the same language, till in process of time being parted from their brethren, and intermixed with *Scythians* and other nations, it split it self into that variety of dialects in which we find it, without losing the greatest part of their primitive words, which are still the same in them, as may be seen by the vocabulory at the end of our author's work, and by the history itself.

(9) *Pezron. Ant. ling. Celt. pas. & p.* 3.

CONCERNING

a CONCERNING their ancient traffick we have not much to say, only when *Mercury* the son of *Jupiter* had obtained the empire of the west, that is of *Europe*, as we shall see in its proper place; he is said to have polished them very much both by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (D), of which, after he was deified, he was worshipped as the patron and protector, and had every where statues reared to his honour, as *Cæsar* himself assures us †. Thus from a wandering, conquering, ravaging and barbarous people, like the *Scythians* their younger brethren; he so polished them by degrees, as to vie in most respects with all other nations in learning and politeness, as will further appear by what we have to say of that deity under the next section.

b † Comment. l. vi. ch. xvi.

(D) Hence the name of *Mercury* seems to have been given him from the *Celtic Merc*, merchandise, and *Ur*, a man, as if he had been called by way of excellence the man, master, or founder of merchandising. That of *Teutat*, which he is supposed to have taken at his going or returning from *Egypt* seems likewise to be of *Celtic* extraction, *Teut Tat*, signifying the father of the people, such as he was upon this and many other accounts.

## SECT IV.

c

### *The Chronology and History of the* GOMERIANS *or* CELTES.

IT must be owned that all that has been said concerning the time of their migration from *Asia*, as well as of their famous exploits in that part of the world, is built upon meer conjecture, not to say fancy; and that it would be a mad attempt to settle it upon a better foot. We are as much in the dark about these as we are about the *Scythians*, nothing being more confused than the history of those two nations. Sir *Isaac Newton* [a] thinks that these two nations had already spread themselves over lesser *Asia* and *Europe*, long before the year of
d the flood, 1220, that is about the latter end of the *Israelitish* judges. But before that time they had signalized themselves in *Asia*, under the names of *Sacks* and *Titans*, and had a succession of kings. The first of which was, according to the author whom we chuse to follow, cotemporary if not before *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, that is about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of this history. The person we mean is the learned *Pezron* [b], who has taken greater pains, and made more considerable discoveries concerning the *Celtic* nation, than any historian we know of. It were indeed to be wished he had built less upon conjectures, and yet we hope our readers will find that they are not without some solid testimonies from antiquity, and that his history of the *Celtes*
e carries a greater share of probability than any that has been attempted concerning this ancient and populous nation, under their various denominations, conquests, and settlements. We shall upon the close of this history make some kind of apology for preferring his notion, that, *Uranus* for instance, *Saturn* as well as their predecessors and successors, were *Celtic* princes reigning in *Asia*, about the times of *Terah* and *Abraham*, to that of bishop *Cumberland*, who supposes his *Sanchoniatho's Chronus*, or *Saturn* to have been *Ham* the Son of *Noah* and so on; because it will we hope fully appear by that time, how much more evidence his system carries from ancient writers, than that of our learned prelate. Here the reader will find a probable history at least of those heroes, and of the *Celtic* and *Titanic* nations
f divested as much as possible from the fable, and that there is at least more reason to believe that there really were such men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

BUT in order to open a way to their history, it will be necessary to mention what is previous to it, with respect to the migrations, and exploits of the *Gomerians* in the several parts of *Asia*, before their spreading into *Europe*. For though they are mentioned by ancient geographers and historians under other names, such as *Titans*, *Sacks*, *Parthians*, *Celtes*, and the like, yet it is plain they were really the same people, and the descendants of *Gomer*, and that these names had been given them by other nations, as we have hinted heretofore, whilst they not only preserved

[a] Chronol. p. 10. [b] Ant. Nat. Celt. ch. viii. & seq.

still

still that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to those very authors, a who mention them under their other names (A).

THUS then from *Phrygia*, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of *Comarians*, fixed along the river *Jaxartes*, beyond the *Caspian* sea, quite up to the province of *Bactria*[c]; these *Ptolomy* expressly calls *Sacks*, *Comerians* and *Curetes*[d] his words are, The *Saccæ* which inhabited along the *Jaxartes*, were the *Comarians* and *Curetes*. And as we find the *Saccæ* in the more fruitful plains of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Gallogrecia*, and all those provinces which lie along the *Euxine* sea, we may hence frame a kind of route how they spread themselves through all that part of *Asia*, 'till their course was stopt, (not by the *Bactrians*, who seem rather to have been of *Celtic* extraction, and are accordingly called b *Chomarians* by *Ptolomy*† who makes *Chomar* to have been their metropolis,) but by the *Sogdians*, who being of *Scythian* race, had probably possessed themselves of that province long before the *Chomarians* reached that of *Bactria*, and had by that time spread themselves much farther northwards from *Armenia*, either for want of room, or through discord. Some of them probably passed over the vast mountains which lie on the south of the *Margiana*, and entered into the country of the *Median Arii*, where having fixed themselves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by the rest, they were called in scorn *Parthians*, which signifies in the *Celtic*, parted or divided from. This is affirmed by *Justin*[e], only with this difference, that he makes them of *Scythian* extraction, according to the c vulgar error of the ancient *Greek* writers, who, as *Strabo* tells us[f], called all the nations towards the north of *Asia*, *Scythians*, and *Celto-Scythians*. This origin of the *Parthians* is likewise confirmed by several other authors[g], though it doth not appear to us that the *Persians* were descended from them†.

THAT the *Saccæ* possessed themselves of at least the best part of *Armenia*, is expressly affirmed by *Strabo*[h], who adds, that they called that country by their name

[c] MELA. lib. i. c. 2. [d] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 13. † Id. ibid. lib. ii. [e] lib. xii. c. i. [f] Geogr. l. xi. [g] Vid. ARRIAN. in Parthic. ap. Phoc. STEPH. BYZ. in voc. Parthy. JORAND. de Reb. Getic. cap. 6. apud PEZRON. c. iv. † Vid. sup. vol. II. p. 26. and 57. [h] lib. xi.

(A) This really holds true with respect to all except the name of *Titans*, with this difference however, that they sometimes confounded them with the *Scythians*, as has been observed more than once, which was doubtless owing to their affinity in blood, manners, language, and such like, as well as to their regular progress, and spreading to the right and left of north *Asia* and *Europe*, so that there is no other way to distinguish them but by those countries through which each of them took its way towards *Europe*. Accordingly we find *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny* and others speaking of them in those respective provinces of *Asia* under the name of *Sacks*, *Celtes*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Curetes*, *Comarians* *Chomarians*, *and Cymbrians*. Thus *Ptolemy* tells us, that the *Saccæ*, who lived near the river *Jaxartes* were of the *Curetes* and *Comarians* (1). *Pliny* likewise seems to mean the same thing, when speaking of them, he says (2), Beyond are the *Scythians*, whom the *Persians* did in general call *Sacks*, from their next neighbouring nation, *à proxima gente*, &c. which nation could be no other than the *Celtic*, because, as *Ptolemy* observes elsewhere, the *Chomarians* in *Bactriana*, were a more civilized sort than the *Scythians*, had a capital city called by their name *Chomer* (3), whereas the *Scythians* were known to live in the open fields at large, as we shall shew in the sequel.

Thus then it is plain, that bating their confounding them with the *Scythians*, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of *Comerians*, though they used in the main other appellatives by which they were better known to the world, which is what we observed in the first section had been done by *Herodotus* in his account of the *Scythians*. But as to the name of *Titans*, as it was both less known to the ancients, and consequently with less probability applicable to the *Celtic* nation, our author has taken a different way to prove it, but which we own is not altogether so clear as could be wished.

He first supposes that the *Comerians*, or, as they had been since opprobriously called *Sacks*, *or Robbers*, exchanged that odious name for the more pompous one of *Titans*, which, as we have shewn, is of *Celtic* extraction, upon their removing farther into upper *Phrygia*. Here it seems they built a city which they called *Acmona*, from *Acmon* the son of *Manæus* the founder of it (4). *Acmon* being by the *Greeks* reckoned the father of *Uranus*, who is therefore called *Acmonides*; our author supposes him to be the same with *Sanchoniatho's Elion*, or most high, because this first is there affirmed to be the father of *Uranus*; from whom he deduces his genealogy of the other *Celtic* Princes.

These conjectures he endeavours to corroborate with that passage in *Judith*, where the *Titans* are mentioned as synonymous with the *Giants* (5); and from another in *Isaiah* (6), which the septuagint renders Γιγαντες οι αρξαντες της γης, the *Giants* who subdued the earth, which he thinks can be applied to none so well as to the *Titans* or *Celtes*; but the misfortune is, that the *Hebrew* doth by no means support that version, any more than that version doth the universal rule of the *Celtic* over all other nations; so that the most that can be inferred from all this is, that the fable of the *Titans* seems to have been founded upon some ancient facts, and that these since deified heroes, being [illegible] having [illegible] themselves for their wonderfull exploits [illegible] regions of which the *Comerians* had made [illegible]

(1) *lib.* vi. *c.* 17. (2) *Nat. hist. l.* vi. *c.* 17. (3) *ubi sup. l.* xi. (4) *Vid. Steph. de urb. p. v. voc. acm. Ptolm. Geogr. lib.* v. *c.* 2. *& Numism. Puper. ap. Pezron. c.* 8. (5) *Ch.* xvi. 7. (6) [illegible]

S [illegible]

a *Saccacena* (B). It likewise appears from the same author that they passed over the mountains, bordering upon *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*, that part especially which is upon the coasts of the *Euxine* sea [i]. This expedition seems to have been made under the conduct of *Acmon*, the father of *Uranus*, and of his brother *Dæas*, where they gave their name the former to the capital city, called *Acmonia*, in which we are also told [k], was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified, and the latter to the spacious *Doean* plains near the city of *Themiscyra*, along the river *Thermodon* (C). From the *Euxine* sea their progress towards the *Palus Meotis* is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the *Cymbriam* or *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, from which they needed but to cross the *Thanais*, to enter into their *European* ter-
b ritories.

We must now leave those colonies extending themselves toward *Europe*, and return into *Phrygia*, whether *Acmon* is supposed either to have returned from *Cappadocia* [l], or, which is more likely, where he continued after his ancestors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely another city called *Acmona*, and said by the same authors to have been founded by him; likewise another grove dedicated to him, and some spacious plains called *Doeantes*, from his brother *Dæas* [m] (D). From which one may reasonably infer that he both reigned, and was afterwards worshipped here likewise; and consequently that it were absurd to suppose him a fabulous person, any more than his descendants *Uranus*, *Saturn*,
c and the rest of the *Titan* princes. And as for the *Celtes* being descended from them, we find it expressly affirmed by a very ancient author [n], who was no friend to the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and yet says that the κελτοι were οφιγονοι Τιτανες the descendants or late posterity of the *Titans*. If it be objected that the *Druids* in *Cæsar*'s time did boast themselves to be descended from *Dis* or *Pluto* [o], it will appear that he also was a *Titan* prince, who had the western part of the empire, that is *Europe*, to his share, whilst *Jupiter* kept the eastern part to himself; so that both *Cæsar* and *Callimachus* agree in the main point. *Pluto* being the great grandson of *Acmon*, the first prince of note of the *Gomerian* or *Titanic* race.

[i] Strab. ubi sup. [k] Appollon. Argonaut. lib. ii. Steph Byzant. sub voce Acmon. [l] Pezron. ch. vii. [m] Byzant. ubi supra. [n] Callimach. hymn in Delum. vers. 170. & seq. [o] Vid. Cæs. Comment. lib. vi.

masters under the names of *Sacks*, since absorbed into that of *Titans*; it is much more probable that they were princes of that nation, than that they were altogether fabulous, or that they were of any other nation than the *Celtic*, especially considering that the greatest part of their names and surnames which were still retained by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, are plainly of *Celtic* extraction, as we shall see when we come to their history. To this may be added the tradition of the *Cretans* concerning the *Titans* and *Curetes* being cotemporary in that island, the sepulchre of *Rhea*, *Saturn*'s sister and wife being shewn there, and their boasting that several of the gods were born there, all which have been preserved to us by *Diodorus Siculus* (7).

(B) Or rather perhaps *Saccastena*, as we find it more properly spelt by another author (8); from the *Celtic Stan*, which signifies region, and is still preserved by the *Persian*, as in *Indostan*, *Chusistan*, &c. which perhaps the *Celtes* softened afterwards into *Tan*, as in *Aquitan* the country of water, *Britania* the country of the *Brits* (9).

(C) That these two were brothers, our author (10) not only proves from the testimony of the authors above quoted, but adds that *Themiscyra* means no more than the city of *Themis*. *Kir* in the *Hebrew* and *Ker* in the *Celtic* signifying a city. As for *Themis*, whom the *Greeks* made goddess of justice he supposes her to have been the grand-daughter of *Acmon*, and a famous magician or prophetess; and that *Dæas Acmon*'s brother was of the same profession; his name in the *Celtic* signifying a diviner from *Ddoe* or *Duoe*, God.

(D) If any such monuments were really in two different provinces of *Asia*; the one in *Phrygia*, as the authors above quoted expressly affirm, and the others in some other parts, for they do not name *Cappadocia*, it will only follow, that both had been under *Acmon*'s government, and there will be no necessity to send him into the one, to bring him back into the other, since his colonies could easily atchieve the conquest of the latter, and leave those monuments in honour of their prince.

But what induces our author to the contrary opinion is, that the name of *Sacks* is from that time wholly absorbed into that of *Titans*, from which he concludes that that warlike prince, at his return into *Phrygia*, exchanged that reproachful name into the more glorious one of *Titans*; which either signifies sons of the sun, or of the earth, as we shewed else where †, whilst that of *Sacks* stuck only to those who went and dwelt in the more northern provinces of *Asia*. It is not easy to say when or why they assumed the name of *Titans*: but if we suppose with our author that word to signify sons of the earth which answers to that of *Aborigines*, it will be more reasonable to suppose that they began to aim at it much earlier in *Phrygia*, because it was the original settlement of their progenitors, *Gomer* and his descendants, whilst those colonies, who were forced to leave their province, and to go and settle by main force into other provinces already inhabited, must be contented to quit it for that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*, which the losers gave to them.

(7) *lib.* v. (8) *Isidor. seu Charax. Parthen. Stathm. ap. Pezron. c.* v. (9) *Id. ibid.* (10) *Ibid.*
† *Vol. II. p.* 243. *Note B.*

This prince was the son of *Mon*, *Man*, or *Maneus*, his name *Acmon*, or perhaps rather *Ack-man*, seems to imply as much. He is supposed by our author to have lived in the days of *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*. So that including *Maneus* in the list, we have a succession of six *Titan* princes, whose government according to him, lasted about three hundred years [p], and are as follows, a

| | |
|---|---|
| *Man* or *Maneus* | *Saturn* |
| *Acmon* | *Jupiter* |
| *Uranus*. | *Theutat* |

We have already mentioned how impossible it is to adjust the chronology of these princes, yet has our author at the latter end of his 12th chapter, found means to give some light to it out of some ancient writers; we shall give what he has there said in his own words. b

I have taken no small pains to find out what ancient authors have said on this head. I find that *Jupiter* began to reign when *Isaac* had attained the one half of his age, or some years after *Abraham*'s death, and this is what may be made out from ancient historians, such as *Evemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thallus*, and some others, who all agreed that *Jupiter* reigned in the time of *Belus* the first king of *Assyria*; which agrees exactly with the opinion of those who made the verses of the *Sybils*, which expresly say that *Saturn* with his Brother *Titan* and *Japhet* began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were those whom people called the children of heaven and earth, because they excelled all others in vertue and strength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly answers to the time of *Abraham*. *Saturn* must therefore begin his reign many years before *Abraham* had been in the land of *Canaan*. Nay, his father *Uranus* must already have been very potent, both in *Asia* and also in *Europe*, in the time of *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father. All this seems plain to me upon examining those monuments of antiquity, which are still extant. But the chronicle of *Eusebius* which has been regulated from ancient histories, and especially those which related to the island of *Crete*, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed that about these times, *Cres*, one of the *Curetes*, who took care of *Jupiter*'s education, reigned in *Crete*, and that the island received its name from him. *Eusebius* by the words Κατα τους χρονους, about these times, points out the years between the 50th and 60th of *Abraham*'s life. Now *Jupiter*, according to his calculation, must have begun his reign about the latter end of *Terah*'s life. But I have many reasons to believe that *Eusebius* was mistaken in making him of such old standing; and that this *Titan* Prince ought not to be placed higher than the middle, *that is, the 98th year of* Isaac's *Life*, and that he could not precede *Moses* above 300 years. c d

Thus far *Pezron*; according to whose account it might be easy to conjecture the times when *Jupiter*'s predecessors reigned, by tracing so many generations back; especially because we have the length of *Jupiter*'s life recorded, as we shall see in its proper place, to have been 120 years, which, if it come short of the number of his contemporary *Isaac*, may be attributed to his living a quite different life from him. e

Maneus. We have nothing recorded concerning *Maneus*, but that he is reported to have been the father of *Acmon* [q].

Acmon. Concerning *Acmon*, if he be the same with the *Elion* of *Sanchoniatho*, as this author makes him the father of *Uranus*, who was therefore called *Acmonides*, or the son of *Acmon*; we have nothing particular, except that he had a son named *Epigeus Autochton*, called afterwards *Ouranus*, and that being killed by a wild beast, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified and worshipped by his descendants [r] (E).

*Urana*,

[p] Pezron. c. 15. [q] Polyhist. ap. Byzant. sub voce Acmon. [r] Sanchoniath. lib. iii.

(E) If his descendants paid him those divine honours presently after his death, we have here, as *Pezron* observes, one of the ancientest heathen deities in all antiquity. But we see no reason for departing from our former opinion, that the deifying of princes is of much later date †; those groves which were consecrated to him in *Phrygia* might be no other than monuments to his memory, not unlike perhaps to those of the *Scythian* kings, of whom we shall speak by-and-by, whilst the idolatrous worship

† *See before, Vol. I. p. 372. Note E. p. 889. Note W. & alib.*

a *Uranus*, according to the same ancient author, succeeded his father, and married his own sister, [r] *Ge*, or the earth (F), by whom he had four sons, the eldest of whom, called *Isus* or *Chronus*, afterwards *Saturn*, also succeeded him. *Sanchoniatho* observes that he had two other names, and that that of *Ouranus* was not given him till afterwards, but tho' he knew not the reason of it, yet if we attend to the *Celtic* etymology, *Ur* or *Our*, a Man, and *en* heaven; it will appear highly probable that he was called *Our-en* a man of heaven, from his being very much addicted to the study of astronomy, and astrology. From this the *Greeks* might easily also call him *Uranus* or *Ouranus*, if not wholly derive that word from him. We pass b by many fabulous things, which have been invented of him by the *Greeks*, and other writers, and shall only add, that his new conquests in *Asia* and *Europe* seem rather to have been owing to his ambition than to his magic; to his policy, than to his skill in astrological predictions. How long he reigned we are not told, but after having inlarged his dominions, he had the misfortune to be bereaved of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious son and successor *Saturn*, who having intercepted him, put him into close confinement, where he either died with grief, or was dispatched by the order of that unnatural son. Uranus.

*Saturn*, sirnamed afterwards *Chronos* or *Cronos*, is said by *Sanchoniatho* to have been the eldest son of *Uranus* [s], whilst other authors affirm him to have been the c youngest of all [t]; and that his eldest brother, who was called *Titan*, did for a long while contest the crown with him, till being at length over-powered and forced to yield to him, *Saturn* is supposed to have been the first, who took upon him the regal dignity. For we are told [u], that all his predecessors, down to *Uranus*, had contented themselves with the title of princes; and an ancient father tells us [w], upon the authority of *Perecydes*, *that he was the first that wore the diadem*, whence he is supposed to have been sirnamed *Cronos*, which in the *Celtic* signifies crowned (G). He likewise tells us in another place, that he much *delighted in wearing a red cloak, or a short coat of the* Gallatic *dye*, from which perhaps came also the royal purple, so much worn by kings, and persons of the highest rank (H). Saturn.

d *Saturn*, though he was no less politic and crafty [x] than prone to ambition, could not so well conceal his treasonable designs, but that *Uranus* had some suspicion of them, and to be before-hand with him, dispatched his daughter *Rhea* to make away with him by some private means. But *Saturn*, who perhaps was apprized of it by his mother *Titea*, whose jealousy had so far transported her (I), as to

[r] Ubi supra. [s] Hesiod. in Theogn. Apollon. lib. i. c. 1. & al. vid. Pezr. c. x. [t] Vid. Enn. ap. Lactant. lib. i. c. 13. [u] Tertull. de Coron. c. 17. [x] Hesiod. ubi supra.

worship of them was not introduced till many ages after.

These *Titans* of *Sanchoniatho*, whom the *Greeks* called αλιτραι or wanderers, such as the *Gomerians* really were, are also supposed to have been of gigantic stature, like those we have mentioned in the history of *Canaan*; the fable indeed reckons them as such. The apocryphal book of *Judith* (11) mentions the *Titans* and giants as synonymous, as we hinted before; and the septuagint have translated the words the valley of *Rephaim*, or giants; the valley of *Titans* (12). The Greeks which called them Τιτανες and Γιγαντες, seem to have borrowed that word from the *Celtic Gugg*, which signifies proud, fierce, arrogant, such as we may reasonably suppose their monstrous stature might incline them to be, and such as we find those to have been, of whom mention is made in holy writ. And as the *Titans*, kings and priests as well as people, were extremely given to superstition, divination, magick, and all such like vile practices, an ancient father had reason to upbraid the heathen with placing giants, tyrants and magicians in the number of their kings, and afterwards of their gods (13).

(F) It is observable that the *Greeks* who have translated this name have also retained the ancient one of *Titea*, which is derived from the *Celtic Tit*, which signifies the same thing. We shall find many more such *Greek* names in the sequel, which are palpably of *Celtic* extraction.

(G) That of *Saturn*, which some have absurdly derived from the *Hebrew* סחר *Satar*, to hide, because he went and concealed himself in *Italy* from his son *Jupiter*, is more naturally deduced from the *Phrygian Saturn*, or rather *Sadorn*, which signifies strong and potent; for so he really was, till weakened by his sons unnatural rebellion, as the history will shew immediately. *Sanchoniatho* gives him the name of *Il* or *Ilos*, which may be properly enough derived from the *Hebrew* word אל *El*, which signifies strong and mighty, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) *Saturn* being supposed to have dwelt in *Phrygia*, part of which was afterwards called *Galatia*; *Pezron* observes that this country being very famous for dying that colour, the *Greek* κοκκος, and *Latin Coccus*, may naturally be derived from the *Celtic Coch*, which signifies red (14).

(I) This jealousy and resentment *Sanchoniatho* tells us, was occasioned not only by the number of other wives which *Uranus* took, but because though she had left him upon that account, yet he would come and lie with her by force. But what most of all enraged her was, that he endeavoured to destroy all the children he had by her, which, if it be true, did not a little extenuate her and her son's rebellion (15).

(11) *Chap.* xvi. 7. (12) 2 *Sam.* v. 18. (13) *Euseb. pr. evang. l.* ii. c. 5. (14) *Chap.* 10. & *lexic. Cel. Latin. sub voc. Coccus.* (15) *Id. ibid.*

encourage

encourage him, if not to inspire him with his first design of his unnatural rebellion, soon found a way not only to divert her from her enterprise, but to bring her over to his side. This caused an open rupture, in which *Saturn*, after a contest of several years, proving the stronger of the two, imprisoned his father, as we have seen above,[7] and made himself absolute; after which it is supposed, that not being contented with the title of prince, he assumed that of king. And indeed if it be true, that he had inlarged his dominions, not only in *Asia*, but in *Europe*, as far as *Spain*, and gained also some provinces in *Africa*, a less title than this could not well suit his ambitious mind.

He had two notable counsellors, besides his mother, the one from his youth named *Hermes Tresmegistus*, a great philosopher and consummate politician; some add that he was also a great conjurer; the other was his Sister *Rhea*, whom he afterwards made his wife (K). These three did so far prevail upon the princes and grandees of the court, and especialy with his other brothers, what with their address and munificence (L), that they all came into his party, so that it is no wonder if his dominions and conquests did vastly exceed those of his predecessors, and himself proved so successful both at home and abroad. But his happiness was soured many different ways: he was extremely mistrustful of his children: he had himself dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, lest his crime should be punished in the same kind. This made him sacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as some think, or, as others believe, to the ghost of his father. He was extremely given to superstition and divinations, and it is not improbable that his diviners might increase his suspicions, by foretelling that he would be in danger of being dethroned by some of them, as he really was by *Jupiter*. he had still another private enemy to ward against, namely his brother *Titan*, who, though forced to yield to him, at least in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was so intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected him; and this gave him at length an opportunity of surprising him and his wife *Rhea*, whom he immediately conveyed into some province of *Asia*, and kept them in close confinement till his son *Jupiter* came with a considerable army of *Cretans*, and restored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom (M).

What we have observed concerning *Saturn*'s jealous temper and cruelty to his children, must in all probability have been the cause why his wife *Rhea* took such pains to preserve her youngest son *Jupiter*, by concealing her pregnancy from him by being delivered of him in one place, and sending him privately to be educated in another (N). This action therefore of *Jupiter*, pious and generous as it was, did

[7] Sanchoniat. ubi supra.

(K) This custom of marrying of sisters had nothing extraordinary in those days; we have seen in a former volume that it was common to the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, and many other great and polite nations. The name of *Rhea* is likewise of *Celtic* extraction, and signifies a lady, as *Rhey* signifies a lord (16).

(L) Among others of his brethren we find one called *Japhet* or *Japet*, a name preserved only among the descendants of his son *Gomer*, *Sanchoniatho* likewise names *Atlas*, but he is more likely to have been his nephew, and the son of *Japhet*. It is very probable that *Saturn*, in recompense of their friendship to him, gave that part of his conquests in *Mauritania* to *Atlas*, and that the famous mountains of *Africa* received their name from him (17).

(M) This remarkable transaction has been preserved to us by an ancient father (18) upon the authority of *Ennius*, or rather of *Evemerus*, whose translator he was; and as he produced it to prove against the heathen, that the Gods they worshipped had been meer men, he introduces it with this singular preface. *Aperiamus ea quæ veris literis continentur, ne poetarum inceptias in accusandis religionibus sequi aut probare videamur.* It should seem by these words that he had read the fables of the poets, as well as the more authentick testimonies of historians, and knew full well how to distinguish the one from the other, and to urge nothing but what was acknowledged for truth.

We may add that many other fathers and apologists have appealed to the like historical facts concerning *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, &c. which they would hardly have ventured to do if they had not been acknowledged as such by those against whom they wrote (19).

(N) Authors are not agreed about the place of *Jupiter*'s birth. The *Cretans* did pretend that he was born in that island on mount *Ida*, and *Callimachus* (20), who gives them the title of liars for having forged his tomb there also, because such a god as he could not die, yet absurdly enough, owns him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been mount *Lycæus*, in *Arcadia* The latter may be the more probable of the two. The hymnist adds, that the place was since held so sacred that no women dared to approach it. It was also called by way of excellence the sacred top, and the *Puerperium*, or place of *Rhea*'s lying-in. As for the *Cretans*, they might be easily led into the belief of his being born among them because he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmost privacy

(16) *Pezron. ubi sup.* (17) *Id ibid.* (18) *Lactant. instit. lib.* i. c. 14. (19) *Vid. inter al. Tertul. Apolog. cap.* x. *& alib. pass. Athenag. Theophil. Antioch. Min. Felix, Arnob. August. Jul. Firmic & al.* (20) *Hymn. in Jov. ab initio.*

a did rather increase than dispel his jealousy. His surprize to find himself overreached by his wife, and to see this son, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage and strength sufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear lest he should in time deprive him with the same facility of his kingdom and life. *Lactantius* adds, upon the authority of *Evemerus*, that he went to consult the oracle and his diviners, who bid him beware of his son *Jupiter*, who would be likely in time to dethrone him. Upon this warning he lost no time to try to put it out of his power. He entered into *Crete* with an army, for his son was again retired thither after he had atchieved his deliverance; but he soon found that the *Cretans* were all in his son's interest, and that he was more likely to be intrapped than b obeyed by them. This obliged him to return into that part of *Greece* since called *Peloponnesus*, whither *Jupiter*, enraged at his cruel design against him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into *Italy*. *Janus* was then king of the *Aborigines*, whom we observed before, may either have been of *Celtic* extraction, or upon some other account friends to the *Titans* (O). However, that good old king gave him a kind reception, and as some affirmed admitted him into a kind of partnership with him in his kingdom[a]; so that the region where *Saturn* reigned, and which is adjoining to the *Tyber*, was since called *Saturnia* from him. How long he lived there, and what became of him, is impossible to guess, except that his tomb being shewed in *Sicily*[a], may induce one to suppose that he went and ended his c days there.

*Jupiter*, or, as he was rightly called, *Jou* (P), because he was the youngest of *Saturn*'s children; did not however enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle *Titan*, or perhaps one of his sons, having probably found means to strengthen his party, whilst he was taken up against his father, raised a war against him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmost fury on both sides, both by sea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of *Titan* and his army. *Jupiter.*

This war seems to be the truest original of the fabulous war of the *Giants* or *Titans* against the gods, which the poets have so interlarded with their inventions,

[a] Tertul. Apolog. ubi sup. [a] Philocor. ap. Clem. Alexand. Admonit. ad Gent.

privacy from his very infancy. However that be, it is agreed that his education was committed to the care of the *Curetes*, and these being men of great power and credit among the people, it is no wonder that they procured him so powerful an army to go to his father's rescue. And it is not improbable that they were the persons that inspired him with that pious design, which might probably cure the father of his unjust suspicion, and intitle the son to the succession of his kingdom.

The story of *Saturn*'s cruelty in sacrificing so many of his children to his jealousy, may also have given birth to what the poets have related of his devouring of them, as *Jupiter*'s depriving him at length of his kingdom, may have given occasion to their accusing him of castrating him.

(O) We have already taken notice that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by antient historians both to have been the oldest people in *Italy*, and to have been the descendants of the *Celtes* †; and it is hardly to be supposed that *Saturn* would have trusted himself, in his desperate circumstances, to any but a friendly nation; but whether these were the same with the *Abrigines*, or another colony incorporated with them in process of time, we will not decide. The reception which he met with from *Janus* scarce leaves room to doubt, of their being allied either by blood, or by some other tie.

Some critics have found fault with *Julius Firmicus*, for having affirmed (21), that this fugitive prince was concealed by the *Spartans* in *Italy*. *Pezron* has taken some pains to prove that they were really in *Italy* before that time, and incorporated with other nations of that province; and that the *Sabines* were descended from them, and they from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. But if this should not seem altogether so plain, as it is impossible to grope into those dark and remote ages with any tolerable satisfaction, the words of *Firmicus* in *Italia a Spartis abscenditur*, if there has no error crept into them, may be understood proleptically. The nation that received *Saturn*, whatever they were, might in time, if not by *Jupiter* himself, be drove out of *Italy*, and go and settle in *Sparta*, or upon some other account be thenceforth called *Spartans*. At least the author above-named has made it very probable, that they originally came from *Italy*; though it doth not appear that they were ever known by that name there.

(P) The irregular inflexion of his name into *Jovis*, &c. shews it plainly. It is therefore absurd to derive it, as *Cicero* doth, upon the authority of *Varro*, from *Juvans Pater*, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the *Celtic Jou*, or as we pronounced it *Jou*, which signifies young, is on all respects so much nearer to it; and *Jupiter* seems plainly to be the same with *Jou-pater*, which last was added to his former name of *Jou*, when he came to be worshipped as the greatest of the gods.

Accordingly we find that the antient *Latini* did not write his name *Jupiter*, but *Jaopiter*, *Joupiter*, and *Japiter*. But the *Celtic* has still preserved his antient name of *Jou*, and call *Thursday*, or the *Dies Jovis* of the *Romans*, *Diz-jou*, and *Di-jou*, the day of *Jove* (22). We shall have occasion by-and-by to speak of some of his other names.

† *Vol. II. p.* 246. *Note.* (21) *Lib. de Error profan. relig.* (22) *Vid. Pezron. ch.* xii.

that it is scarcely possibly to discover it through them (Q). This final overthrow a was given them near the antient city of *Tartesa* in *Spain*, a sea-port town a little to the north of *Cadiz* [b] (R), whither it seems he went in person with a great fleet, and a puissant army, and having brought over some of their confederates to his side, and gained this signal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

*Jupiter* after the example of his predecessors married his own sister *Juno* (S). But as he was seldom without some amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous issue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the other hand he did not follow his pleasures so close, but he allowed himself proper seasons for the administration of justice b throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, in rooting out robbers, and *Banditi* who sheltered themselves in the forests of *Thessaly*, *Macedonia*, and *Illyria*, where they committed the vilest outrages. But as he had made *Mount Olympus* [c], (T) one of the most delightful parts of *Thessaly*, his chief residence, he was under a kind of necessity to rid those countries of such vermin, that his subjects might have the freer access to his court.

Before his death he is affirmed by the last quoted father, as a known truth, to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the western, or *European* part of it, to

[b] Tertul. Apolog. Scholiast. in Iliad. viii. ad vers. 479. ap. Pezron. c. 11. [c] Evemer. ap. Lactant. Instit. lib. 1. c. 10.

(Q) We have deferred till now to observe how much this system of history, for we dare not to venture to give it a stronger name, doth clash with that of our learned *Cumberland*, who, as we have fully shewn in the beginning of this history*, makes his *Sanchoniatho*'s *Uranus* to have been *Noah*, *Cronus Ham*, *Mizor Mizraim*, *Zadic Melchizedeck*, and so on; that our readers might see which of the two carries the greatest probability. They are both built upon conjectures, and both supported by some collateral kind of proofs, and upon a supposition, that this fragment we have left is the relick of a fuller history, and that its author is not a fictitious, but a real, antient, and credible one. We shall not repeat what we have said elsewhere on this last head †, much less do we design to draw a parallel between these two systems, or their learned authors. Thus much, however, we hope we may say without partiality, concerning that of our *Celtic* antiquary, that it not only gives a great light to the dark and fabulous times, but that it is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathens as well as christians. But the latter, especially the apologists, seem plainly enough to have been generally of the same mind with him, and have made no difficulty to urge this genealogy of heathen deities abovementioned, against their stupid worshippers.

How far all this is further corroborated by numberless *Celtic* etymons, the greatest part of which are both easy and natural, and confirmed by historical facts, must be submitted to the reader's judgment. Of this number we beg leave to remind him of what has been said concerning the names of *Uranus* and *Titan*, *Cronus* or *Saturn*, and *Rhea*, *Jou* or *Jupiter*, *Theutat*, and others, besides a greater number which we have omitted, but which may be seen in our author, and some few which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel; all which put together, will, if not convince him, yet, at least, justify our giving it a place in this history, as we have that of our learned bishop in the former volume.

(R) This seems also confirmed by what *Justin* (23) adds, that the *Curetes* lived formerly in the forests about that city. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed, after *Vossius*, that it ought to be read *Cinetes*, because the *Curetes* were a people of *Crete*. We have already shewn that the latter were the priests or soothsayers of the *Titans* and *Celtes*, and accompanied them in their wars. What wonder then that some of them who had followed *Jupiter* in this expedition, and delighted otherwise in a kind of ascetic life, should be induced to make those forests their abode? But we shall have occasion by-and-by to say something further concerning them, which may convince one of the probability of there being men of that name and profession in those parts of *Spain*.

(S) This name is not unlikely to be of *Celtic* extraction, and to be derived from *Ghain*, which signifies fair white, and, by way of excellence, beautiful, such as *Juno* is said to have been to a great degree. Hence perhaps it is, that the antient *Glossaries* call her also *Jolinta*, a jolly or fine woman.

Thus *Jupiter* had some other names among the *Greeks*, which seem to flow from the same fountain, as Ζευς, from which they irregularly made their Διος διϊ δια, &c. in the oblique cases. Now the *Zeus*, from which the *Latins* made *Deus*, seems more plainly derived from the *Celtic Dheow*, God, and the *Dis* and *Dia* from *Di*, bright. He was likewise surnamed Πικος and *Picus*, from the bird of that name, which *Pliny* tells us was then much used in auguries (24), which bird seems to be so called from his being continually pecking of walls and trees, and is known among us by the name of *Woodpecker*. *Pliny* indeed pretends that he was called *Picus*, from a king of *Latium* of that name; but it seems more probable, that both he and many other princes were, like *Jupiter*, so surnamed from the bird, from which they received their auguries; for the *Celtic* word peck or beak, signifies a bird's bill; and hence it is likely our verb to *peck* is derived.

(T) Hence the last quoted father observes, that after his apotheosis, the place of his residence came to be called by his superstitious worshippers heaven, or to be synonymous to it (25).

* *Vid. sup. Vol. I. p.* 133. *& seq.* † *Ibid. p.* 139. *Not.* B. *& alib.* (23) *lib.* xliv. *c.* 4. (24) *Pliny's Nat. Hist. l.* x. *c.* 18. (25) *Pezron. c.* xii.

his

a his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*, surnamed also *Agesilaus* (U), whilst himself kept the *Asiatic* or eastern part of it [d]. We observed also before, that he gave some part of *Africa* to his nephew *Atlas*, but having afterwards either conceived jealousy of him, or detected him in some criminal design against him, he is reported to have caused him to be put to death.

This *Atlas* (W) had a daughter named *Maia*, or *Flowry*, whose beauty *Jupiter* was not proof against, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition, than that of marriage. From her he had a son named *Theutat*, since *Mercury*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage *Juno*, who was ever plotting something against him. We cannot guess whether *Atlas* had been unfor-
b tunately drawn into some rebellion by the jealous queen, but *Jupiter* is by some accused to have degenerated into a kind of tyrant, through the continual seditions which she raised against him, which yet he did find means to discover in good time [e].

On the other hand the *Cretan* historians extolled his vertues up to the skies. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Ennius*, upon their authority, bestow the greatest encomiums on him for his strength, valour, prudence, justice, for his encouraging learning and vertue, and punishing injuries, violence and robberies, and for his many wholesome laws and regulations for the publick good [f]. He lived 120 years, of which having reigned 62 [g], this great, and since deified hero, resigned his breath
c like other men, and was buried by the *Curetes* in the isle of *Crete*, and in the city of *Gnossus*, where his sons erected a stately monument, which was shewn many ages after by the inhabitants [h]. The same author adds, that he divided his kingdom among his relations and friends. His son *Cres* or *Cret* (from whom that island of *Crete* is supposed to have had its name, *Cret* in *Celtic* signifying bold, and daring,) was then at the head of the *Curetes*, and performed the last devoirs to his father, after which he took the government of that island [i] (X). How the rest of his kingdom was divided among the rest of his successors, is not to be guessed at, only we find that his son *Theutat* or *Mercury*, of whom we are going to speak, had the western part assigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto* [k].

d *Mercury* is allowed, by all antiquity, to have been the son of *Jupiter* by *Maia*, as we have seen above. We have given already, in a former note, the etymon of those two names †. The *Greeks* did likewise call him Ἑρμῆς, *Hermes* (Y), and the *Latins Faunus* (Z). He was famed for his learning and wisdom, and especially for *Mercury*.

[d] Id. ibid. [e] Pezron. & auct. ab eo citat. [f] Sicul. lib. v. Enn. ubi supra. Callim. Hymn. in Jov. [g] Suid. sub voce Πλουτ. vid. & Chron. Alexand. ap. Pezron. cap. xii. [h] Cicer. Euemer. ap. Lactant. lib. i. c. 11. [i] Vid. Pezron. ibid. [k] Suid. sub voc. Πλουτ. Chronic. Alexand. ubi sup. † Vol. II. p. 255. Note.

(U) This last name, which signifies a leader of the people, or *Agesander*, as it is found in other writers (26), and signifies a leader of men, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into *Europe*, and perhaps as far as *Spain*, where we observed a little above, there had been both *Titans* and *Curetes* in the neighbourhood of the antient city of *Tartesa*. Here likewise he is supposed to have found out some rich mines of gold and silver (27), by which he grew so rich, that he got the name of *Pluto*, in *Greek* Πλουτω, which signifies rich, and was afterwards made the god of riches, upon his being deified; and this probably induced *Strabo* to believe, that the *Tartara*, of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, came from the above-named *Tartesa*, a country situate in the utmost parts of *Spain* westward (28).

Hence likewise, *Jupiter* having the dominion of the east, or sun-rising, and *Pluto* of the west, or sun-setting, came also probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions. Perhaps, likewise, might the mythologists of those fables think it very reasonable to assign the government of riches, and of the infernal regions to the same deity, to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

(W) He was also called by the *Greeks Talamon*, from the *Celtic Tell-mon*, or *Man*, on account of his high stature, and as he was also a great astronomer, thence came all the fables which the poets have since made of him.

(X) This is at least intimated by *Lactantius*'s words, out of *Ennius*, *Curetes filii sui (Jovis) eum curaverunt*, for *Cres* was then a *Curete*, and probably the head or principal of that society. *Eusebius* seems also to confirm his having succeeded his father in the government of that isle, when he makes him the first king of *Crete* (29); that is, as we understand him after *Pezron*, he was the first who reigned in that only island, whereas his father's kingdom is said to have reached from *Euphrates* to *Spain*, besides some parts of *Afric*, which he had given to *Atlas*, as we have seen elsewhere.

(Y) Which name comes probably from the *Celtic Armes*, which signifies divination. For *Mercury* seems to have out-done all his ancestors in the knowledge and constant practice of that art, as we shall see by-and-by.

(Z) This is the only name for which no proper etymon can be found in the *Celtic*; nor can we guess upon what account it was given. But the chronicle above quoted calls him by both names of *Faunus* and

(26) *Æschil. Callimach. Athen. Hesych. ap. Pezron. ibid.* (27) *Vid. Strab. Geograph. l. v.* (28) *Ibid.* (29) *Eusib. ap. Pezron. cap. xii.*

for his skill in auguries, magick and philosophy. He was active, couragious and eloquent; and so prudent that he always kept close to his father's interest. For all these good qualities he became his chief favourite and counsellor, and was also by the fabulous writers affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An antient father tells us that he went down into *Egypt* to penetrate further into their mysterious arts and sciences, and that at his return he assumed the name of *Teutat* [1] (A). It was probably from the *Egyptians* that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working of metals, which art he is said to have first brought into *Europe*, whence it again dimanated itself into *Asia*, as was shewn under another head.

He not only taught them the metallick trades, but how to make an advantagious traffick of them into other countries, for which he had the surname of *Merk-ur* b
or *Mercury*. This great improvement, which could not but endear him to his subjects, gave him an opportunity of polishing that rude and cruel nation, which till then seems to have made the trade of war, and plunder their chief study and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, and caressed the foreigners, who flocked into his dominions, especially those who brought any curious arts with them. Thus by his address and powerful eloquence he did so civilize and improve his subjects, that his merit was still dear to them in *Cæsar*'s time, who tells us that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had statues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village [a].

Some attribute the invention of the olympick games to him, others to *Hercules*, c
but if *Pausanius* be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* had wrestled together at them [b]. They may however be supposed to have made some considerable improvement to them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipsed the memory of their first inventor. He reigned, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, 34 years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, is not easy to say. *Suidas* [c] and the above-mentioned chronicle say, that his brothers being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he found himself under a necessity of packing up all his treasure, and to retire into *Egypt*, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand *Livy* acquaints us [d] that there d
was a large tomb near *New Carthage*, in the time of *Scipio* and *Hanibal*, which was called the tomb of *Mercury Teutat*; and this would incline one to believe that he died in his own dominions. We are no less in the dark, about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conquest by the *Romans*, except that the unweildiness of so vast an empire, did probably cause it to split itself into many petty kingdoms, under some of his successors. This was at least the case in which the *Roman* conqueror found them, when he invaded the *Celtic* territories, as we have hinted before. As for the changes which it received after it became a part of the *Roman* empire, this is not a proper place to speak of them; they will be the subject of another volume, in which the history of the *European* kingdoms will be e
resumed.

[1] Cyril. Alexand. lib. cont. Julian. [a] De Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 16. [b] lib. viii. qui est Arcadicor. [c] Sub voc. [illegible]. [d] Hist. lib. xxii. c. 44.

and *Mercury*; so that this *Faunus* must not be confounded with another of the name, who reigned many ages afterwards in *Italy*, especially with *Faunus*, the father of *Latinus*, in whose time *Æneas* came into that kingdom. Whereas our *Mercury*, according to this chronology of *Titanic* princes, must have lived at furthest about the time of *Joseph*'s being in *Egypt* (30).

(A) That father adds that he took up that name in imitation of the antient *Egyptian Mercury* or *Thout*, who, as we have seen in the former volume[a], was worshipped by the *Egyptians* for his great learning, wisdom, and eloquence. So that by only altering the name by a letter or two, he made himself a more honourable one in the *Celtic*, *Then-tat*, as we observed before, signifying the father of his people, such as he really was, if what we read of him be true.

This is not a proper place to enquire how these Gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations. Such a curious subject doth well deserve to be treated of in a treatise by itself, and we hope, if we have not quite cleared that point thro' the former parts of this history, we have at least furnished the world with some considerable materials towards such an enquiry, which is all that could be expected from such a design as this.

(30) *Idem, cap.* xiv.

[a] *Vol. I. p.* 242. *c. d.*

a THESE inteſtine diviſions having once weakened the ſtrength of this large empire, not only the maritime parts did eaſily become a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewiſe. Among the firſt, *Iberia* or *Spain* was diſmembered from it by the *Carthaginians*, from whom it paſſed to the *Romans*, together with the ſouthern provinces, ſince called *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and the provinces on the other ſide the *Alps*. The *Scythians*, it is likely, did alſo incroach upon them on the north ſide, and very probably ſeized upon that part of their territories, which was afterwards called *Scythia* in *Europe*, and drove them quite to the hither ſide of the *Danube*. For it ſeems moſt natural, that in their firſt migrations, the ſame boundaries which parted *Europe* from *Aſia*, did alſo part the *Celtic*
b and *Scythian* dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering ſword of their neighbours *, or through their inteſtine wars, or want of elbow-room, or whatever other motive might occaſion it; ſure it is, that ſeveral powerful colonies of theſe *Celtes* or *Gauls* returned into leſſer *Aſia*, where finding almoſt every where ſome antient monuments of their progenitors, they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of it by main force, and gave ſome of their new-gotten names to them; ſuch as that of *Galatia*, *Parthia*, and ſome others, without which it would be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh theſe latter excurſions and exploits, from thoſe by which they had ſignalized themſelves before their migrations into *Europe*. The firſt of thoſe, as far as it can be diſentangled from the latter, will be beſt ſeen in ſome of the
c following hiſtories, either of thoſe nations, whom they there conquered, or of thoſe by whom they were driven out of their conqueſts.

As for thoſe whom we have ſeen in *Europe*, we hope our readers are ſatisfied by this time, that if we have choſen to follow a new guide through thoſe dark and remote ages, he has at leaſt conducted us not only more agreeably, but with greater appearance of truth than any other we could have followed, and that the proofs he has taken the pains to extract out of all that we have left of antient records, concerning that populous and warlike nation, joined to ſuch a vaſt number of *Celtic* etymologies, do at leaſt carry a much greater degree of probability, than we could meet with any where elſe; and we may add, than we ourſelves could ever have attained,
d by all the antient monuments extant of that nation, without the help of the *Celtic* language. Theſe etymologies, which ſeem to ſtrike a light to every paſſage quoted from antient authors, and which we can aſſure our readers we did not take upon truſt, will, we hope, ſufficiently juſtify likewiſe our preferring our learned author's genealogy of the heathen gods to that of *Sanchoniatho*, which is at beſt but a confuſed medly of ſome dark and imperfect hints ſtolen out of the writings of *Moſes*, and jumbled with the hiſtory and fables of other nations, in honour of his own (B).

WE ſubmit however to our reader's judgment, whether this genealogy of the heathen deities be not more probable, and more agreeable to the teſtimony of antient authors, than that which our learned biſhop *Cumberland* has endeavoured to give us
e out of his *Phœnician* hiſtorian. As for ourſelves, we wiſh we could meet with ſuch another guide to conduct us through the next, but more dark and intricate hiſtory, that of the *Scythians*. But here we muſt be contented to grope in the dark, as all have done before us, who have written of that antient and remote nation, and to make the beſt of thoſe few fragments which antiquity has left us concerning them.

* See before, Vol. II. p. 16. d.

(B) Though we cannot by any means give into the notion of many learned men, who have ſuppoſed his hiſtory to have been a forgery writ on purpoſe to invalidate the authority of *Moſes*, as if he had ſtolen his account of the creation out of the *Phœnician* records *, yet we cannot but think it manifeſt that he has copied that ſacred hiſtorian, and that very bunglingly too, beſides his blending and adjuſting his cosmogony and theology, with the hiſtory and fables of his time.

What elſe can we think of his dark and univerſal *Chaos*? his vehement wind-engendering *Mot* or *Motion* (for that is the *Hebrew* meaning of the word) which produced the ſeeds of all things animate and inanimate? the ſun, moon, ſtars, and *Sophoſemmim*, or ſpeculators of the heavens? what means his *Colpias*, but the Almighty word, which ſpoke all things into being, his *Baau* or *Baut*, but the *Tohu* and *Bohu* of *Moſes*?

Whoever compares alſo the hiſtory he gives us of the ſecond and third line, with what we read in *Geneſis*, and with what has been quoted in the laſt ſection out of antient authors, concerning *Elion*, *Chronos*, &c. will eaſily ſee that it is a meer confuſed mixture of ſacred and profane hiſtory, interlarded with fable, and that if *Jerumbaal*, prieſt of *Jahvah*, from whom *Porphyry* pretends he received his information, be the *Gideon* of the *Jews*, who was ſurnamed *Jerubaal* (31), and might have been miſtaken for a prieſt of *Jahvah*, becauſe he is recorded to have ſet up an altar and an ephod to him (32); it is plain that he made no other uſe of thoſe *Jewiſh* memoirs, than to put them in a phantaſtical *Phœnician* dreſs, ſuch as beſt ſuited the theology of the heathen world, and was moſt likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the *Phœnician* records beyond all others, even beyond thoſe of the ſacred penmen, from whom he had his materials

* *Vid. int. al. Dodwell's diſſertat. de Sanchoniath.*

(31) *Judg.* vi. 32. (32) *Ibid.* xxiv. & viii. 27.

## SECT. V.

### *The Geography of* Scythia.

HOW this prodigious tract of land came at first by the name of *Scythia*, is not easy to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer concerning it, besides that monstrous one, which *Herodotus* gives us from the fabulous *Greeks*, and which we shall for that reason throw into the margin (A). The first is that which derives that name from the *Greek* σκυζεσθαι, which expresses the fierceness of their countenance, and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the *Teutonic* word *Scheten* or *Schuten*, to schoot, at which art this nation is affirmed by *Herodotus*, *Lucian*, and others[a], to have been so singularly expert, that this name is supposed to have been emphatically given them on that account; so that according to this supposition the word *Scythian* did properly signify a great *Shooter* or *Archer*. We have however observed heretofore, that the *Tartars* and *Muscovites* called themselves *Mogli*, which we suppose only an abbreviation of *Magogly*, the sons of *Magog*. That of *Scythian* might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the *Celtes*, whose language, as was before observed, did not originally differ much either from the *Scythian* or *Teutonic*.

THIS vast territory which extended itself from the *Ister* or *Danube* the boundary of the *Celtes*, that is from about the 25th to almost the 110th degree of east longitude, was therefore divided into *Scythia* in *Europe*, and *Scythia* in *Asia*, including however the two *Sarmatias*, or, as they are called by the *Greeks*, *Sauromatias*, now the *Circassian Tartary*, which did lie between, and sever the two *Scythias* from each other. *Sauromatia* was also distinguished into *European* and *Asiatic*, and was divided from the *European Scythia* by the river *Don* or *Tanais*, which falls into the *Palus Meotis*, and from the *Asiatic* by the *Rha*, now *Volga*, which empties itself into the *Caspian* sea[b]. But the *Sarmatians* differed so little from the *Scythians* in their language, religion and customs, if we may believe *Herodotus*[c], that we may reasonably suppose them to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very descendants by the *Amazons*, with whom that author tells us, they having intermarried, they begot the *Sarmatian* offspring. But the former seems to us the most probable, when we consider how easy, short, and regular, their migration into that country was, from the place of their first setting out, and that we find in the very center between *Armenia* and *Sarmatia*, a large province called *Iberia*, which is much more likely to be that which *Josephus* tells us was peopled by *Tubal*, the brother of *Gomer* and *Magog*, than the *Celtiberia* of *Spain*. We shall not repeat here what we have so lately urged against this last opinion †.

UPON the whole then we may safely venture to say, that the two *Scythias* were only parted by the boundaries of *Europe* and *Asia*, that is by the river *Tanais*, descending, as is supposed, from the *Riphean* mountains (B) into the *Palus Meotis*. For

[a] Vid. GOROP. BECAN. HEYLIN. PEZRON. [b] PTOLOM. MEL. STRAB. CLUVER. &al. [c] HERODOT. l. iv. † See before, p. 244. Note E.

(A) That author tells, upon the credit of the pontic *Greeks*, that *Hercules* being got into *Scythia*, then uninhabited, and the mares which drew his chariot, having straggled out of the way, whilst he refreshed himself with sleep, as he was in search of them, he met with a monster, half woman, and half serpent, who promised to help him to them upon condition he would lie with her. The hero having performed the bargain, and staid with her till she was tired, she asked him at parting how he would have her dispose of the three sons she had now got by him; whereupon he left her one of his bows, and his belt, which had a golden cup hanging at the lowest seam, and bid her, when the boys were come to age, to retain him with her, that could draw his bow, and send the other two away. She followed his orders, and *Scytha*, who was the youngest, and proved the strongest of the three, became the first monarch of that country. And from him all the kings of *Scythia* bore that name, and wore a cup hanging at their belt (1).

(B) Some modern geographers (2), who prove plainly enough that these could not be those of *Siberia*, which are at the distance of near ten degrees from the *Tanais*, are therefore of opinion that they were imaginary, and supplied by the fertile fancy of the antients to furnish a head to that river. The case is hardly worth disputing: and yet since we find that *Riphath* was *Gomer*'s second son (3), whose migration may have been probably through this region, and along this river; it seems more reasonable to think, he might leave his name to those mountains S. E. of *Moscow*, from which the *Don* takes its source, as most other geographers have supposed he

(1) *Herodot. lib.* iii. (2) *Wells's Geogr. ch.* ii. *note* 1. & *Bochart. ubi sup. lib.* iii. *c.* 10. (3) *Gen.* x. 3.

a For beyond these mountains northward, we find not that the *Scythians* advanced into any of those remote regions, so that these were the proper confines of the *Asiatic Scythia* on the west. The northern ones reached to the *Hyperborean* or *Frozen* sea, called also by the antients, the *Scythian* sea, the *Cronian*, *Amalchian*, or *Almachian*, the *Dead Sea*, and by some other names which expressed its extreme coldness and frozenness. On the east they are supposed to have extended to the promontory of *Tabis*, and to have been bounded by the *Cassian* mountains, which parted *Scythia* from the kingdom of *Seres*, now *Cattai* or northern *China*; and on the south by the *Eoum* or *Indian* sea, and by mount *Caucasus*, and the *Caspian* sea[d].

As to the modern parts of *Scythia*, its extreme coldness made it uninhabitable,
b by any but wolves, bears, and other such-like northern wild-beasts; and this is probably the reason why they seem to have been unknown to the antients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther than this was called *terra incognita*, and their notion of its being surrounded by the *Hyperborean*, or northern ocean, they seem rather to have had from conjecture, than from experience. But the southern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts; namely *Scythia* within, and *Scythia* without, or beyond *Imaus*, and *Sarmatia*, which lay between the former, and the *European Scythia*, which, as we observed before, was either a branch of the *Scythian* nation, or had been by some means so blended with it, that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name.

c The *Asiatic Scythia* did therefore comprehend in general great *Tartary*, and *Russia* in *Asia*, and in particular the *Scythia* beyond, or without *Imaus*, contained the regions of *Bogdoi* or *Ostiacoi*, and *Tanguti*. That within or on this side *Imaus* had *Turkestan* and *Mongal*, the *Usbek*, or *Zagatai*, *Kalmuc* and *Nagaian Tartars*, besides *Siberia*, the land of the *Samoiedes*, and the *Nova Zembla*. These three last being then inhabited, as we supposed, were wholly unknown to the antients, and the former were peopled by the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandari*, *Sacks* and *Massagetes*. As for *Sarmatia*, it contained *Albania*, *Iberia*, and *Colchis*, which make now the *Circassian Tartary*, and the province of *Georgia*.

Other seas, besides the *Frozen* and *Indian* ocean, were the *Caspian* (C), and the
d *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, and the *Palus Meotis*. Mountains of note were *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: the first, beginning in the province of *Asia Minor*, called *Pamphilia*, runs eastward through *Asia*, and divides it into two parts, the northern and southern. The second lies in *Scythia*, or the greater *Tartary*: and the third is between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* sea[e]. Its rivers, besides those we have occasionally mentioned, namely the *Rha* or *Volga*, and *Tanais* or *Don*, are the *Oby*, *Lena*, *Amur*, and *Helum*; the latter of which is supposed to be the *Quentung* or *Shengal*; all these are in great *Tartary*. To these we may add the *Jaxartes*, now *Jacick*, and the *Oxus*, these empty themselves into the *Caspian* sea: in this sea there were likewise some islands, not distinguished by any particular names, but commonly called by that of the *Scythian*
e islands.

Natural rarities we cannot expect in this country, if we except what *Herodotus* tells us, that those northern regions are altogether invisible and impassable by reason of the vast quantity of feathers which fill the air, and cover the ground, as he was informed by those who inhabited the more southern parts of it, who, as he tells us in another place, did doubtless mistake the large flakes of snow, which fall in abundance in those cold and mountainous climates, for feathers. It were still more absurd to seek for artificial rarities here among a people who were strangers to every thing but the art of war, and of feeding their cattle, as we shall shew in its proper place.

f 2. *Scythia* in *Europe*, whose confines we have already fixed eastward from the *Tanais*, reached towards the south-west to the *Po* and the *Alps*, by which it was divided from the *Celtes*, or *Celto-Gallia*, and by the *Rhine* northward. It was bounded on the south by the *Ister* or *Danube*, and the *Euxine* sea. As to its northern limits, though it is not easy to guess at them, they have been supposed to stretch to the

[d] Ptolom. ubi supra. Mela, lib i. c. 2, 3, 4 Cellar. Cluver. Well & al. [e] Vid. ibid. vid. & Wells, ubi supra, c. xii. [f] lib. iv.

he did, than to believe that those antients, who could know nothing either of *Riphath* or his migrations, should yet so luckily hit upon this fictitious name.

(C) Mistaken by some antients for a gulph; but as it has no visible communication with the ocean, it may be rather called a great lake, if sea be thought too big a name for it *

* *See before, Vol. II. p. 4. c.*

spring

spring heads of the *Borysthenes* or *Nieper*, and the *Rha* or *Volga*, and so to that of a
the *Tanais* (D)[s].

The antients divided this country into *Scythia Arimaspæa*, which lay eastward, joining to *Scythia* in *Asia*, and *Sarmatia Europæana*, on the west; these two were contiguous to each other, and stretched some length from north to south, but what divided them asunder is not easy to find out. In *Scythia*, properly so called, were the *Arimaspæi* on the north, the *Gettæ*, or *Dacians* along the *Danube*, on the south, and the *Neuri* between those two. So that it contained the *European Russia*, or *Muscovy*, and the lesser *Crim Tartary* eastward, and on the west *Lithuania*, *Poland*, part of *Hungary*, *Transilvania*, *Valachia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Moldavia*. *Sarmatia* is supposed to have reached northward, to that part of *Swedeland*, called *Fennia*, b
now *Finland*, in which they placed the *Oænes*, *Panoti*, and *Hippopodes* (E), this part they divided from northern *Germany*, now the west part of *Sweden* and *Norway*, by the *Mare Sarmaticum* or *Scythicum*, which they supposed ran up into the northern ocean, and divided *Lapland* into two parts, made the western part of *Sweden*, with *Norway*, into an island, and *Finland* into another; supposing this also to be cut off from the continent, by the *Gulph* of that name.

This *Scythia* had no other Sea than the *Sarmatian* mentioned before, now called the *Baltic*, with the *Gulphs* of *Bothnia* and *Finland*, and the white sea joining to the northern ocean, all unknown to the antients, if we except the *Euxine*, and *Palus Meotis*, which bounded it on the South. Lakes of any consideration we c
find not, except those of *Ladoga*, and *Onega*, in *Finland*, which were therefore unknown to the antient *Sarmatians*. Their chief rivers were on the south, the *Donetz*, or little *Tanais*, *Boristhenes*, or *Nieper*, *Bog*, *Tyras*, or *Niester*, and the *Ister* or *Danube*, all which emptied themselves into the *Euxine*, and on the north east the great and little *Dwina* which empty themselves, the first into the white sea, and the other into the *Gulph* of *Finland*, and therefore not known to the antients; and the *Vistula* on the west, which runs into the *Scythian* sea, and divided *Sarmatia* from *Germany* (F).

The whole extent therefore of both *Scythias*, including the two *Sarmatias*, reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree, or even beyond, and from d
the *Alps* to the promontory of *Tabis*, and streight of *Anian*, and in latitude from *Caucasus* to the artic circle, above 28 degrees. *Herodotus* indeed tells us, that the

[s] Vid. Mel. lib. ii. c. 1. Cluver. Cellar. & al.

(D) This is upon the supposition, hinted before, that the first planters of the world did spread themselves along the rivers for the sake of pasturage and correspondence; but it is plain all these northern parts were so unknown to the antients, that all we can say concerning these boundaries, is merely conjecture. It even appears by what we quoted a little above out of *Herodotus*, that they could not be inhabited very far north, since they were so afraid of, and so little acquainted with snow.

*Mela* adds, that about the *Riphean* mountains, which are placed but between 52 and 55 degrees of north-latitude; the snows fell in such abundance, that those parts were uninhabited, and unpassable by any but wild beasts (4).

(E) These *Oænians*, were so called for living mostly upon the eggs of their sea fowl, which they eat with oaten cakes. The *Hippopodes*, were supposed to be so called from their having feet like horses, or from their going barefoot, and hardening their feet like horses hoofs. The *Panoti* were so called from the largeness of their ears, which was such that they could cover their whole body with them instead of other raiment (5). Some other monstrous people and creatures are also mentioned by *Herodotus*: of the first sort are the *Arimaspæans*, so called from the *Scythian Arima*, one, and *Spon*, eye; not because they had but one eye, as was absurdly believed by some of the antients, but rather, as *Bochart* justly conjectures, because they were such excellent archers, at which exercise it is necessary to shut one eye, that the nick-name of one-eyed was given them upon that account. To these we may add the mountaineers, who are affirmed to have been bald from their infancy; and another sort which had goats feet, not unlike the fabulous satyrs, besides some monstrous animals, among which were reckoned the griffins, who digged up, and guarded the golden oar or dust (6), all which shews how little was known of these regions at that time d

(F) The same author mentions several other rivers, of which he gives a curious description, as well as of those southern ones which we have mentioned above; but we shall refer the reader to our author for those particulars, as well as for the rivers we have omitted, because they are either not taken notice of by our modern geographers, or at least are not reckoned of such great note and usefulness.

We shall however take notice of what he says of the *Borysthenes*, which he compares to the *Nile* in *Egypt*, and the next in greatness to the *Danube*. This noble river, says he, besides the beauty and fertility which it gives to the adjoining lands, abounds with variety of excellent fish, and pleasant water, and doth breed a sort of whale, without spinous bones, which the *Scythians* used to salt for food. They called it *Antachæus*; he adds that towards the mouth of it, that river yields abundance of salt, which is incessantly made by the hand of nature.

(4) *lib.* ii. *c.* 1. (5) *Vid. Mel. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. (6) *Herodot. lib.* iv.

*Hyper-*

a *Hyperboreans* were not of *Scythian* race, but another kind of people, one sort of which were *Androphagi*, or Men-eaters, fierce and cruel, and another, namely the *Baldheads* or *Argippeans*, a wise and peaceable people, esteemed sacred by all their neighbours [h], but he speaks of all those remote nations only by report, and with such diffidence, that he rather confirms what we said before, that those regions were most likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

CITIES we find none in neither *Scythia*, no not even a metropolis, though *Herodotus* mentions a branch of *Scythians*, called royal *Scythians*, whom he places along the banks of *Tanais*, which river divides them, he says, from the *Asiatic Sarmatians* [i]. These, as should seem from the sequel of that author, were the only ones who had b real kings among them, as we shall see in the next section, but such was their ways of living, that they never chose to dwell in cities, or fortified places, but to range about as their convenience or safety required. So that we have not much further to add concerning their natural or artificial curiosities. Two things however are worth taking notice of under this head, the one was a large stone lying by the river *Tyres*, in which was to be seen the print of *Hercules*'s foot, said to have been two cubits long. The other was a brazen bowl of an extraordinary capacity, being six inches thick, and containing full six hundred amphoras, or fifty hogsheads [k]. The occasion of casting this monstrous vessel we shall have occasion to mention in its proper place.

[h] lib. iv. p. 356. & seq. LITTLEBUR. Edit. 2. vid. & MEL. lib. iii. c. 9. [i] HEROD. ubi supra. p. 372. [k] Id. ibid. p. 384.

## SECT. VI.

### *The antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning, arts, and trades of the ancient* Scythians.

c ALL that can be met with concerning the antiquity and origine of this nation, hath been already mentioned in the first section of this chapter. How soon they began to settle themselves into a regular government, is as impossible to guess, as of what kind it was. It appears however from what we have already hinted out of *Herodotus*, that one or two tribes at least, that is the royal and free *Scythians* were under a monarchical one, and that these two made a much greater figure than all the rest. But whether the former was the eldest branch, whether it governed immediately over all the rest, whether it appointed viceroys over the other provinces of that vast country, or whether every tribe had their own princes, as the *Philistines*, whether their succession was hereditary or elective, whether despotic, or subject to the laws, we are wholly in the dark. What seems most probable to us from the little d remains we have left of their history is, that the royal dignity, which was confined to one tribe, might still have a kind of authority over some of the rest, whilst those, who were most remote from the center, had lords, laws and customs of their own, especially those who inhabited the farther parts of it eastward and northward; and this may be the reason of that variety of names and characters, which we find in those few ancient writings we have left concerning them. Thus *Herodotus* tells us, that in process of time, when the *Scythians* were like to be invaded by *Darius*, the king finding himself unable to make head against the invader, invited all the *Scythian* princes, namely those of the *Taurians*, *Agathyrsians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlænians*, *Budians* and *Sarmatians*, to come to his assistance; all these seem to have been different branches of the same stock, and only degenerated from the royal one by distance of time and place. So that by this time they differed much in their manners and customs, as the same author there tells us †. The result of this summons was, that the three last named nations joined with the king of *Scythia*, but the others refused to assist him, under pretence that he was the first aggressor. Hence we conclude, that they had shaken off the yoke of the royal *Scythians* some considerable time before, though they might all have been originally under it. We shall speak more particularly of these eight tribes or nations in another place; at present

*Governm*

† lib. iv.

we confine ourselves to the two most considerable, the royal and free *Scythians*, as being the most considerable, and the best known of all the rest. a

*Laws.* WHAT their laws were, we can only guess from the excellent character that is given to that nation by ancient historians. Such indeed seems to have been their justice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and so simple and primitive their way of living, that they could not stand in need of a great number of them. *Justin*[a] sums up their character in words to this effect: The *Scythians* were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious strength, yet could so well master their affections, that they made no other use of their victories, than to increase their fame. Theft among them was reckoned so great a crime, and was so severely punished, that they could let their numerous flocks wander b from place to place without danger of losing them. These they esteemed their greatest wealth, living upon their milk, and cloathing themselves with their skins. Instead of houses, they used to convey their wives and children about in covered waggons, drawn either by horses or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture for bedding, and for the kitchen. Gold and silver were as much despised by them, as they were esteemed by other nations, so that they could not covet that which was of no use to them. Did the same moderation and disinterestedness reign among other nations, it would soon put an end to our destructive wars. What is still more wonderful, these virtues which the *Greeks* did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them, and they c reaped those advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not from their knowledge of virtue (A). A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to secure their property, some others they had with relation to religion, customs, and polity, which forbad, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either, which excluded their women the benefit of marriage, and the men that of assisting at their royal feast, till they had killed an enemy (B). Some other of their laws we omit here, because we shall have occasion to mention them in the course of this history; upon the whole, what appears of them seems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetousness, and to cherish that martial spirit, for which they are so justly famed in history. d

IT ought not to be objected here, that some of the *Scythian* tribes bear a quite different character, some of them being of such fierce and cruel disposition, as even to eat the flesh of their enemies. Those as was hinted before, were, if under the same government, at such great distance from the center of it, as to be out of the reach of its laws. Add to it, that as the inclemency of the air in those remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty; so the distance and barrenness of their country might make them less heeded, and probably more incapable of being restrained by the common laws. However, it must be owned, with respect to the warlike temper even of the true *Scythians*, that it was not without mixture of cruelty, if the *Greek* historians have not wilfully misrepresented them, as we shall see by-and-by. e

[a] lib. ii. c. 2.

(A) This excellent character of the *Scythians*, how exaggerated soever it may seem in their praise, is nevertheless confirmed by several ancient historians and poets; and if a late author (1) had but read the testimonies which the learned *Bochart* has brought to confirm it (2), he would not have so lightly accused *Justin* of flattering that noble nation at the expence of truth.

(B) With respect to the former, *Herodotus* tells us (3) that *Anacharsis*, a *Scythian* of no small consideration, having in his travels assisted at a festival, which the *Cizicians* celebrated to the mother of the gods, made a vow that if he got safe back to *Scythia*, he would introduce the same worship there. Accordingly after his return, he retired privately into some woody part of the country, where he performed his vow; but he could not do it so secretly, but a *Scythian*, who saw him at it, acquainted the king with it, who came immediately, and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. And even one of their kings lost his crown and life for barely attempting to introduce some of the *Grecian* rites and dress, as we shall see in its proper place.

With respect to the second particular, the same author tells us, that it often happened that some women, not having the good fortune to kill an enemy were forced to pine away in a shameful celibacy (4). As to the men, he tells us, that every governor of a province, was obliged to make a yearly wine-feast to all those who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouse in cups made of the sculls of the slain, and in proportion to the number of them; whilst those, who had not as yet signalized themselves like them, were forced to stand at a distance, beholding the feast, and excluded from tasting of it.

(1) *Annotat. in Justin. Delphin. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *Note* 8. (2) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 9. (3) *lib.* iv. (4) *Id. ibid. vid. & Diod. lib.* iii. *c.* 9. *D. Sicul. Strab. & al.*

a If we may guess by some few successions we find mentioned in history, it seems their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not so despotic as not to be deposed, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws. This is plain from the instance we hinted at in the last note, where *Scyles* having been found celebrating the *Bacchanalia* of the *Greeks*; his subjects revolted from him, and elected his brother *Octomasades*, who soon after took off his head. In all other cases their kings seem to have been in high esteem with the people, as we may guess from the following circumstance out of *Herodotus*.

When any of their monarchs fell sick, they sent immediately for three of their most famous prophets (C), who commonly told him that some *Scythian* whom they b named had perjured himself by swearing by the royal throne, which it seems was their most solemn oath. The accused person was thereupon seized, and accused before the king of having brought this distemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were sent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three first accusers. But if they acquitted him, a new supply of them was to be sent for; and if the majority of them did absolve him, then the first accusers were tied hand and feet, and set in a cart loaded with faggots, and drawn by oxen. And after they had stopt the false prophets mouths, as they then called him, they set fire to the wood, which consumed the cart and man, and seldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our c author adds, that the male-children of those whom the king condemned to death seldom escaped the same fate.

Another instance of their great respect to their monarchs is the pompous solemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows: the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleansed the belly, and having filled it with bruised cypress, incense, parsley and anise-seeds; they sewed it up again, and placed the corpse on a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of his kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral procession, was obliged to imitate the royal *Scythians* in their mournful ceremonies, which consisted in cutting off one part of their ear, shaving their heads, wounding d themselves in their forehead, nose and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow; and in this guise, they accompanied the hearse to the next province, till it came at length to that of the *Gerrians*, which was the remotest in the kingdom, and was situate along that part of the *Borysthenes*, where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpse was deposited into a large square hole made in the earth, upon a bed incompassed round with spears, which they covered with timber; and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it, they placed one of his concubines, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, and a number of necessary utensils, and among others some golden cups. This being done they threw the earth upon it, endeavouring to raise the mound as high as e they could. As soon as the year was expired, they chose fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be *Scythians*, those monarchs having the power of chusing whom they pleased to their service, and never being attended by slaves. These young men, with an equal number of horses, were strangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies stuffed with straw. The bodies of the young men were set astride upon the horses, and fastened to them by an iron stake. The horses thus mounted were set upon semicircular boards supported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient distance from each other round the monument, the horses having a loose rein fastened to another post set up for that purpose [b].

[b] Herodot. l. iv.

(C) These were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who consulted certain omens, and divined or made a shew of divining, by willow sticks, gathered up into bundles, which they loosened and spread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttering all the while some conjuring words. It was by this art that they pretended to dive into hidden causes, and to pry into futurity. The *Scythians* seem to have been very much addicted to this kind of superstition by the great number of these sham diviners, which they had amongst them. Nor was this trade confined to the men: the women had much the larger share of it; and as they did not pretend to prognosticate by means of those wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inspiration from some of their deities, they were held in the greatest veneration, and their oracles, which were consulted upon all emergencies, were received as the infallible answers or commands of the gods, and obeyed with the same readiness †.

† *Vid. Keysser. antiq. Septentr. Dissert. V.*

The

*Religion.*

The *Scythians* worshipped a plurality of gods and goddesses, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was *Vesta*, whom they called *Tabiti*. The two next were *Jupiter*, whom they called *Papeus*, and *Apia*, or the earth, which they esteemed his wife. *Jupiter*, it seems, they challenged as their progenitor, and *Vesta* for their queen, as appears by the answer which one of their kings sent to *Darius*, when he came to subdue them to his empire *; besides these they worshipped *Apollo*, the celestial *Venus* and *Neptune*, under the names *Œtosyrus*, *Artimpasa* and *Thamimasades*. But their favourite god seems to have been that of war, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, which *Herodotus* speaks of, he doth not tell us: neither is it easy for us to guess. It doth not even appear from any other ancient authors, or from any other monuments, that ever they built any properly so called. Groves indeed, and very sumptuous ones too, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In these they affected to have one or more oaks of a monstrous size, which were accounted so sacred, that it was sacrilege, and was punished with the severest death, to lop so much as a branch or sprig, or even to wound the bark. These they never failed to sprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, insomuch that the rind of some of the oldest of them was covered, or even incrustate with it †. We are therefore inclined to believe, that *Herodotus*, who learned these things by word of mouth, and had never seen them himself, might, for want of a good interpreter, mistake them for temples, and suppose them to be but like those of other nations.

*Deities.*

*Mars.*

How spacious these groves must have been, may be seen in the last quoted antiquarian, or be guessed at by the vast extent of the altars, which *Herodotus* tells us they erected in them to that favourite deity, one of which at least they were obliged to have in every precinct. It was to be made of small wood tied up into bundles, and to cover three stades of land in length and breadth, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three sides perpendicular, and the fourth had a gradual declivity, to render the top of it easy of access. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to supply those which had been putrified by the inclemency of the winter. On the top of each of these heaps was erected an old iron scymetar, which stood there as the image, or rather emblem of the deity. To him, besides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they sacrificed horses, which were a martial creature; and what was more shocking, every hundredth man they took prisoner from their enemies. This last bloody offering was made by pouring a libation of wine upon the captive's head, after which they cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which ascending to the top of the altar, they went and washed the deity's sword. As to the victim, they only cut off his right arm close to the shoulder, and throwing it up into the air, they left it exposed in the place where it fell, and the rest of the body in that where it was killed.

*Altars.*

*Human sacrifices.*

As to their other victims, which they sacrificed either to *Mars* or to any other deity, they observed the same rites every where, without variation; they brought the beast and tied its four feet together with a slip knot, and he who officiated as priest came behind, and at once loosed the cord, and knocked the victim down. Whilst it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then strangled it with a cord, which he twisted with a stick; and as soon as it was dead, he set about flaying and dressing it without any previous libation or ceremony. The flesh was put into pots, and whenever these were not ready at hand, into the paunch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones instead of it. When the flesh was sufficiently boiled, the priest made an offering of part of the meat and intestines to the deity, by throwing it before its altar, and the rest was, we may suppose, bestowed to feast the priest and votaries. Thus in cases of necessity, as when they went out to war, and the like, they made the victim furnish them with all things necessary for the sacrifice. Of all beasts the horse was esteemed the noblest, and consequently the most acceptable victim. As for swine, they detested it, not only as unfit to eat, but even to be suffered to live among them. They took care also to offer to their gods the first-fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the spoil they took in war. Some considerable part of the latter they were wont to send to the delphic

* Id. ibid. See before, Vol. II. p. 56. Note L. † Vid. Keysler. antiq. Septentr. Differt. 3. & alib. pass.

*Apollo:*

a *Apollo*: it was usually conveyed thither by a number of their most honourable virgins, and under a sufficient escort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obstacles of the journey, our author tells us † obliged them to discontinue it. This is all that we find remarkable concerning their religion.

But before we come to speak of their manners, customs, and such other particulars, it will be necessary to caution our readers once for all, that as we receive a great part of our intelligence from *Herodotus*, *Homer*, and other *Greek* authors, who cannot be supposed to have been well affected to the *Scythians*, by whom their country had been so often invaded, plundered, ravaged, and sometimes almost b destroyed; we must not give too implicate a credit to many things which they relate, very much to the dishonour of that ancient and warlike nation. Some of them we shall have occasion to confute in the sequel of this history, and others are of so horrid a nature as to exceed our belief, especially when we compare them with the character which *Justin* gives of them, and as it has been learnedly vindicated by *Bochart*, as we have lately shewn; this caution once premised, we hope our readers will the better judge of what we are now going to give out of those authors concerning the customs of this nation which are not to be found in any of them without some mixture of barbarity.

*Contracts.*

THUS we are told that their alliances and contracts were ratified with the follow- c ing ceremonies: they poured some wine into an earthen vessel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle some of their own blood, which they drew by a slight incision made in some part of their body. They then dipped into the mixture the prints of some warlike weapons, such as a simitar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then uttered some dire imprecations on the first breaker of the covenant, and having took each of them a draught of the liquor, they desired some of the most considerable among the by-standers to pledge them, and to be witnesses of the contract, which being usually complied with by them, the bargain was reckoned so sacred, that they thought no punishment severe enough either in this life or in the next for the breaker of it.

*Valour.*

d THEIR warlike temper and exploits were sufficiently known to the ancients; scarce is there any nation to be met with in history so famous for conquering where-ever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themselves remaining still unconquered. Their frugal and simple manner of life may indeed be supposed to have been a great preservative against such invasions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were exposed to. But 'tis plain, this was not always the case, since we find they were once invaded by the king of *Persia* at the head of a most puissant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them: but of this in its proper place, as well as of their conquest of greater *Asia*, which could not be wrested out of their hands, but by the blackest treachery. But e upon the whole, such was their strength and courage whenever they entered into an offensive or defensive war, that as *Thucidides* himself tells us, no nation either in *Europe* or *Asia* could equal them either for strength, valour, or conduct; nor indeed any thing resist their power, provided they were but unanimous among themselves [b].

SUCH care they took to cultivate this martial genius among them, that even their women were inured to it betimes, insomuch that they could not be admitted into matrimony till they had killed at least one enemy with their own hands [c], as we have hinted already. As for their youth, they were not without some considerable encouragements to inspire them with martial valour, or indeed rather ferocity, f if *Herodotus* doth not bely them: for he tells us that they were wont to drink the blood of the first prisoner they took, and to present the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch; these were either returned or registered, and intitled the person to several privileges, such as being present at some publick feasts, sharing the spoil of their enemies, and such like; to which no man was to pretend to till he had killed at least one enemy. As therefore the worth and merit of a man did rise in proportion to the number of heads he had knocked off, they used to take the skins of the slain, to stretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang

† HERODOT. lib. iv. [b] lib. ii. sect. 97. [c] Vid. HERODOT. ubi supra. PLAT. de leg. lib. vii. HIPPOCRAT. N. DAMASCEN. JUSTIN. & al.

them at their horses bridles, where they served both for trophies and napkins to the owner; he being always most esteemed, who wore the greatest number of them. Their pride, or rather barbarity, if we may believe our author, went so far with some of them, that they took off and dressed the whole skins of the slain, and covered both their quivers and horses, and sometimes decked their own bodies with them *. a

Had they only exercised this kind of savage pride against those who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of some mitigation, as it would have been done not only in defence of their country, and in determent to all invaders of it; but as they might naturally enough think such men deserved no better fate, who attempted the conquest of a country, which had nothing to tempt or satisfy the avarice or ambition of the conqueror (E). But it doth not appear from our author, that they gave much better quarters to those whose territories they did invade. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce some such trophies of their martial prowess, if they were not to be gained in any but a defensive war, which their poverty joined to their known valour will not permit us to suppose to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely from what we quoted above out of *Theucidides*, that as they are affirmed to have lived mostly upon plunder, instead of going out of their vast territories, they made mutual incursions one tribe against another, which they again retaliated upon the first opportunity, without forgetting however their affinity so far, as not to joyn their forces against a common enemy or invader, whenever necessity required it. b c

How populous the *Scythians* were is not agreed. If it be allowed that they made such frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but suppose that it must have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand if we consider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, constant exercise, hardiness and other such-like advantageous circumstances, which rendered them lusty and strong, prolific and long-lived, one can hardly conceive they could be other than a populous nation: for we are told that very few died of sickness, but all in general lived to a good old age, insomuch that many of them being weary of the world, before death took them out of it; it was usual with such to hasten their exit by throwing themselves from some eminence into the sea, or into some river [d]. *Herodotus* however, who seems in doubt whether they were indeed so populous as some, or so thin as other reports represent them, gives us an authentic instance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows: they had it seems a custom not uncommon to other nations *; at their first taking of the field to muster their fighting men, and to make every man cast an arrow, and according to our author, the head or point of one, into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this they could easily compute not only the number of their men, but also that of their slain, or of those who either ran away, or absented themselves from the war. It was at some such muster as this that one of their kings, whom *Herodotus* names *Ariantes* *, being present, and observing these heads of arrows to amount to an immense bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and cast, or made into that large capacious vessel we have lately spoken of, and which our author tells us was still extant in his time, and though full six inches thick, yet was large enough to hold 600 amphoras, that is about 50 hogsheads, and remained still a monument of this prodigious army. There is indeed no making an exact estimate from this story, supposing it d e f

* Herodot. ubi supra. [d] Mela, lib. iii. c. 5. Herodot. & al. * See before, Vol. II. p. 64. a. * lib. iv.

(E) This was the argument which *Justin* tells us (5), they made use of to dissuade the king of *Egypt* from attempting a war against them, for said they to his heralds, it were madness for the opulent *Egyptians* to invade so poor a nation as ours, where they could get nothing but death and wounds; whereas the *Scythians* would fall upon them with utmost fierceness at the sight of so rich plunder as victory would intitle them to. Such a message they sent afterwards to *Darius* when he had entered *Scythia*, that as they had neither cities, houses, fields, vineyards, nor indeed any other valuable treasures in their country, except their families, and the sepulchres of their ancestors, for which however they were always known to fight with uncommon bravery; the invader ran a much greater risk than they (6).

(5) *lib.* ii. c. 2. (6) *Vid. & Herodot. l.* iv.

literally

a literally true: but might not this unwieldy vessel have been at first designed only to keep the arrows which every soldier threw in, and the other part of the story have been foisted in, in process of time. However supposing the fact as related, and that it must have been a prodigious army that could furnish metal enough for such a monstrous vessel, yet might it not therefore necessarily follow that the *Scythian* nation was more populous than its neighbours, considering the vast extent of it. But what seems to be a stronger argument for it, is, the colonies which they were continually sending out, chiefly towards the southern parts of the world, of which we shall have further occasion to speak in the sequel.

b As they cultivated no arts nor sciences except that of war, nor scarcely any trade or commerce except pasturage, the reader must expect us to be very barren on these two heads. *Theucidides* in the place above quoted seems indeed to commend their industry and sagacity in procuring all things necessary for life, in such a manner, as would incline one to believe them to have been great encouragers of industry and manufacture: and another *Greek* author speaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the sea-coasts of the *Hellespont* *. But as to the latter we are much inclined to believe that, like some of his predecessors, he has mistook them for the *Celtes*, who as we have observed in a former section, were become great merchants both by sea and land under their king *Mercury*. For as for the *Scy-*
c *thians*, their way of living was altogether incompatible with it, as will appear by and by. They do not so much as seem to to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from *Asia*, after their twenty-eight years invasion of it: neither do we find any footsteps of their having had such poetic historians as were the *Curetes* among the *Celtes* or the *Bards* and *Druids* among the *Gauls*. *Herodotus*, who has wrote so much concerning them, doth not so much as hint his having received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition; and that is one reason why we omit many fabulous things he has said of them from the common report of their neighbours; since it is hardly to be expected they either could or would give a true character of a nation, with whom they had no commerce
d except in a hostile way. *Arts and sciences.*

THEIR language is still more unknown to us, whatever discoveries some modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vast extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but cause it to split itself into a vast number of dialects, from which most probably have sprung the *Muscovitish*, *Slavonick*, *Polish*, *Danish*, *Sweedish*, *Saxon*, and many others; between which, one can but barely discover affinity enough to make us believe them sprung from the same mother. This we may however venture to affirm, as more than a probable conjecture from a visible vein of the *Celtic* still preserved, as we have seen to this day among us, and which runs through all those various languages; that
e they did not anciently differ much more from it, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. Neither is it so much to be wondered at that they should have branched out into such a vast variety, as that they should still preserve so much of their pristine affinity as we find they do. We have in a former section endeavoured to account for the great number of words and phrases that are found not only in those northern languages, but also in the *Latin*, *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Persic*, which shew them to have been so many dialects of the old *Celtic*; if those few relicks of the *Scythian* which we have left in the names of their kings, tribes, and districts, do not so plainly appear to be of
f *Celtic* extraction, we must remember they have past through so many different hands, and have so often changed their dress, especially among the *Greeks*, that they may be easily supposed to have quite lost their ancient form. We may add that some of them are perfectly *Greek*, or translated from the *Scythian* into that language (F). *Language.*

THEIR chief manufactures seem to have consisted mostly in building their waggons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the skins of beasts, they must have had some notion of tanning of them, as well as those with which they covered their own bodies. We may likewise reasonably suppose that they fabricated *Manufactures.*

* DICTYS CRET. de bell. Troj. l. ii. c. 8.

(F) Of this kind is the name of the *Gerrhi*, a *Scythian* tribe, so called in *Herodotus* from their living upon the eggs of wild foul, and comes from the *Greek* [illegible] The *Nomades* were so called from [illegible] pasture. Of the same extraction, were the *Hippedes*, *Androphagi*, and several others, which we need not point out to the reader.

their

their own weapons, which were simitars, javelins, axes, but especially bows and arrows, at which they are said to have been so expert, that their very children were trained to shoot at a mark even as they rode on horseback; insomuch that it became a common proverb, *That the* Scythians *were as dextrous at their bows as the* Greeks *were at their lyre.* Hence *Cyaxares*, king of *Media*, is reported to have sent his son to be brought up under them, to learn the use of the bow. They were no less expert horsemen [f] (G), insomuch that we find them called ἱπποτοξόται by *Herodotus* and *Lucian.* And their very women are affirmed to have been so well inured to riding and shooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men [g]. The ancients observe that they had neither mules nor asses; and the reason they give is that the country was too cold for those creatures. Experience has since shewn the contary, at least with respect to the latter; but the true reason seems to be that the horses, which they bred in great quantities, could answer all the purposes of the other two, and at the same time be more swift and expeditious than they, whenever occasion required it.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. *Herodotus* indeed tells us of one province of them, whose inhabitants called themselves *Olbiopolitans*, and the *Greeks Borysthenians*, as they lived on the north side of that river; and these he likewise called husbandmen, because they sowed grain, not for food, but for sale [h]. But the rest of the *Scythians* wholly neglected it, chusing rather to roam where they found the best pasture for their cattle, and contenting themselves with the spontaneous product of the earth, without being at the trouble of manuring it. And this is in all likelihood the cause why we read of so many desarts, vast forests, and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of ancient historians and geographers. What they did with the wool of their flocks we read not, but by their cloathing themselves with the skins of wild or tame beasts [i], as we are told they did, one may conclude they did not manufacture it. And as those skins were of their own dressing, they wanted still less the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths they must have had, both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other necessary tools; and as to their arrows, darts, javelins, and such like weapons, if their heads were made of copper, as it is probable they were, if the story we have related above of a large copper vessel that was made of them be literally true, there was still less art required in making them, since they might easily cast them in a mould. Their bows might also be made of the same metal like those of other ancient nations, though it is not improbable they might also have some smiths to forge iron and steel weapons, besides those they might take from their enemies. It is indeed hardly to be supposed they could make their waggons without the help of such artists, though upon the whole it doth appear that they wanted as few trades as any nation, and used none they could possibly do without.

Their chief riches and food consisting in their numerous herds, they entrusted the care of them to *Shepherds*, who were a lower rank of *Scythians* below the martial men, and had slaves and captives under them. They used to move from pasture to pasture, with the persons and families, which were unfit to go to the wars. These did chiefly live upon honey and milk, especially that of their mares, from which creature, if *Herodotus* was rightly informed, they had a strange way of forcing plenty of it by blowing wind into their privities. What provisions the warlike sort made, when they were absent from their flocks, we cannot guess, and it is likely when they came into an enemies country, they took care to seize upon all the cattle they could meet with.

*Shepherds and martial men.*

*Poligamy.*

From an instance or two we read of their kings, it seems as if they allowed of poligamy, and were not over strict in their marriages. Some we find took wives

[f] Herodot. lib. i. [g] Id. lib. iv. Lucian. in Toxar. & Hermot. Mela, lib. i. c. 21. iii, iv. Bochart. ubi supra, & al. [h] Herodot. ubi supra. Justin. l. ii. c. 2. Mela & al. [i] Id. ibid.

(G) This the learned *Bochart* observes, the words of the prophet (7) to allude to, where speaking of the army of *Magog* or *Scythia*, he calls their horse סוסים ופרשים לבושי מיכלול, *Sussim uparashim lebushe Miklol*, horses and horsemen cloathed with perfection, or compleatly disciplined and armed, or as *Kimchi* renders it, expert in all kinds of weapons, and our *English* version cloathed with all kind of *Armour*; for such it appears the *Scythian* horse were.

(7) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 3.

from

a from other nations, and one of them we read of who married his own father's widow, but whether the same liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reason the *Scythians* gave for abhorring the bacchanalian feasts of the *Greeks*, namely, that it was unreasonable to suppose that a god should drive men into all the violent transports of madness, seems to shew that drunkenness was not common among them. And indeed we do not find that they were much given to feasting. *Feastings.* One wine feast they had however once a year in every district, for those who, as we hinted before, had signalized themselves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of which was used at funerals, and with which we shall close this article, since we have no more to say concerning their other customs.

b We have already spoken of the funeral obsequies which they paid to their monarchs. When any other person died, his nearest relations caused his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from house to house among his friends and acquaintance, who received and feasted them in their turn, setting part of the same things before the deceased, which they did to their guests. This was continued forty days, *Funeral obsequies.* after which the person was buried, and his attendants went and purified themselves, not by any ablution, but by the smoke of some hemp-seed peculiar to the country, which being thrown upon some burning stones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincense used in *Greece*, and so transported the company as to set them a howling aloud. This served instead of washing, which the *Scythians*, our c author tells us, never practised. Not even the women, who used, instead of it, to *How their women preserve their beauty.* anoint their bodies and face with a paste, which they made with cypress, cedar, and frankincense, ground upon a rough stone, and soaked in water, which paste being taken off the next day, rendered their skins clean, shining and sweet[1].

There remains that we should say a word or two of those other petty kingdoms of *Scythia*, and of some particularities, wherein they differed from the royal *Scythians*. For whether they were all really descended from the same stock, as we supposed it in the beginning, or whether they did spring from some other of *Magog*'s brethren, yet since they inhabited so considerable a part of *Scythia*, and made such figure in the history of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot d well omit, at least those of the greatest note.

The *Sarmatians* we have already hinted, are affirmed by *Herodotus* to have been Sarmatians. the offspring of the *Scythians* (H) and *Amazons*. These warlike women, or, as their *Scythian* name *Aior Patta* imports, *Man-slayers*, in their flight from the *Grecians*, having landed near the precipices of the *Palus Meotis* belonging to the free *Scythians*, and having been persuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of *Scythia*, where they pretended they could not conveniently live with them, and to pass into the province of *Sarmatia* on the other side the *Tanais*. Hence our author says the *Sarmatian* women retained still the *Amazonian* temper and way of life, being more warlike than the rest of the *Scythian* females, and the e language of the country became a corrupt *Scythian*, because the *Amazons* never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offspring, corrupt as themselves spake it. Here it chiefly was that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had dispatched an enemy in the field[k].

The *Taurians* had this inhuman custom, that they sacrificed to a virgin all that Taurians. were shipwrecked, and all the *Grecians* which they caught upon their coasts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the person on the head with a club,

[1] Herodot. ubi supra. [k] Id. ibid. Mela, ubi supra.

(H) Some authors however, from a passage in *Pliny* (8), where he tells us, that *they were reported to be descended from the* Medes; and another out of *Justin*, who tells us that the language of the *Parthians* was a mixture of *Scythic* and *Medish* (9), have supposed that the *Sarmatians*, who most resemble the *Parthians*, were the offspring of the *Medes*; and that the name of *Sarmatian* was only a corruption of the *Chalde* שׁאר מדי *Sheer Madai* (10), a relidue or sprout of the *Medes*. We can affirm nothing certain about it, but yet we think *Herodotus* may be more relied upon than the other two, who spoke at a much greater distance of time and place than he. However, if what they say be true, it proves what we observed before, that the descendants of *Gomer*, and his brothers, did make their migrations as it were in columns, and only separated by degrees from each other.

As to the *Parthians*, though their name in the *Scythic* and *Celtic* signifies separated, it seems probable that they were rather *Cimerians* or *Celtes* driven out by their own countrymen, who having forced themselves into a country of the *Medes*, were by them called *Parthians*, or banished (11).

(8) *lib.* vi. *c.* 7. (9) *lib.* xli. (10) *Vid. Mela, lib.* iii. *c.* 4. *& alib. Bochart. lib.* iii. *c.* 14.
(11) *Vid. Pezron. Ant. Nat. ch.* iv.

after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcass down the hill on which their temple was built, or as others told our author, by burying the body, and reserving only the head to be stuck on a pole. These *Taurians* pretended that the virgin *Demon* whom they thus worshipped was *Iphigenia Agamemnon*'s daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to those that fell into their hands. a

Agathyrsians. The *Agathyrsians* are said to have had their women in common in order to link the men more strictly together, and to prevent jealousies and other ill effects of matrimony.

Neurians. The *Neurian* province being infested with dangerous serpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the *Budians*. They observed the customs of *Scythia* in most particulars, only pretended to greater skill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for a few days, after which they resumed their own shape[l]. b

Budians or Androphagi. The worst of all were the *Androphagi* or men-eaters, who observed neither law nor justice, and had nothing in common with the rest, but their dress, and breeding of cattle. The *Melanchænians* were so called for affecting to go always in black: they followed the *Scythian* customs, except that they fed upon human flesh, which the free *Scythians* did not, nor indeed any other tribes, at least as common food, but only on some particular occasions, such as we shall have occasion to mention by-and-by. The *Budians* were a populous nation famed for blue eyes and red hair: in this province above all the rest did they build them a city, and called it *Gelonus*, whose houses and high walls were of timber, and each side of the walls was three hundred stades in length: it had temples and chapels dedicated to the *Grecian* gods; and here they celebrated the *Bacchanalia* triennially. The people of the province differed from that of the city, in that the former applied themselves to the keeping of cattle, and these to till their land, plant gardens, and live upon the product of them and of their corn fields; in a word, these *Gelonians* had so much better minds than the *Budians*, that they seemed, and in our author's opinion really were, another people. This province yielded otters, beavers, and other such animals: their skins sewed together were used for garments, and the testicles against hysteric diseases. The *Oænones Panoti Arimaspei* in *Scythia Europæana* we have spoken of in a former note, and have nothing more to add to it here, except that they did more resemble the royal *Scythians* than any others, in most particulars, especially in their warlike genius, and simplicity of living. c d

Gelonians.

The last two nations or tribes of *Scythians* worth our notice were the *Scythian Nomades*, inhabiting as we have seen upon the north-west of the *Caspian* sea, and the *Massagetes* on the east. As for the *Amazons*, as they are accounted somewhat fabulous, we shall speak of them in a separate note (I). The *Nomades* differed so little

Scythian Nomades.

[l] Id. ibid. [m] Id. ibid.

(I) Concerning these so famed, and so much questioned female warriors, it were endless to trouble ourselves with all that has been written on either side; those seem to come nearest the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been said of them by the ancients, nor altogether credit all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the *Scythian* women in general, and more particularly that of the *Sarmatians*, in whose neighbourhood lived these *Amazons*, if they were not originally of the same blood; with the occasion which gave birth to this strange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their husbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers, and in a strange country; if, I say, we consider all these circumstances, there will be nothing so improbable in the brave and masculine method they took to save themselves from slavery, and to revenge the slaughter of their husbands. We may add, that the *Scythian* as well as *Celtic* women, were anciently held in great authority and veneration for their skill in divination above the men, insomuch that the latter are even upbraided by ancient authors (12) for suffering them to assist at and steer their councils as they pleased, and to have even presided in all courts of judicature, and other assemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned decisive, because they were supposed to be divinely inspired (13). Being therefore thus inured to council, execution, and warlike exploits, exasperated by the treacherous butchery of their husbands, and become, as it were, desperate at the prospect of their impending slavery; we need not wonder that they so soon fell upon the most effectual means of making a noble defence, and, like so many heroines, having chosen one or two of the wisest and fleetest among them, to lead them to an offensive war against their enemies, they carried it on with such courage and constancy, and with such surprising success. And if their warlike temper, their government, customs, valour, conduct, and atchievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than has been done with respect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it were nevertheless absurd to treat as fabulous upon that account. It is certainly more equitable to make the same allowance in both cases, than to suppose that so many historians, who have written of either of

(12) *Vid. Tacit. de Mor. German. cap.* viii. *& alib. Pomp. in Strabon. l.* vii. *Plutarch. lib. de virt. Mulier. Cæs. Commen. l.* i. *c.* 50. *Strab. Geograph. lib.* vii. (13) *Vid. Kopter. antiq. Septentr. dissert.* 5.

a little from the royal *Scythians*, except in this appellative, that we shall need say no more about them, than that they did, like them, follow a wandering life, living no longer in one place than they found plenty of pasture for their cattle; after which they removed to fresh grounds, and when called to the wars, left their families and flocks with their shepherds till their return [p].

THE

[p] MELA, lib. iii. c. 6.

of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (14).

The occasion of this new female government was as follows: Two noble *Scythian* youths, whom our author calls *Hylinos* and *Scolopitus* (15), having been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the first irruptions of the *Scythians* into *Asia*, and in the reign of *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, retired into part of *Cappadocia*, with their wives and families. They brought with them also a very considerable number of warlike youths, by whose assistance they got possession of the region of *Thermoscyria* on the river *Thermodon*, from which they used to make frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries for several years, till they were at length all treacherously murdered by those nations. Their wives were no sooner apprised of it, than, partly through fear of slavery, and partly through desire of revenge, they put themselves under the conduct of some of their greatest heroines, and prepared for a bloody war against the murderers. That nothing might obstruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of slavery, and destroyed the residue of their husbands, who had escaped the slaughter, that so being all upon the same foot, they might pursue their designs with equal ardour and courage. The consequence was, that they fell upon the conquerors with such bravery and success, that they totally overthrew them, greatly enlarged their own dominions, and made their neighbours sue to them for peace. One of their conditions was, that they should yearly have a month's intercourse with each other, in order to keep up the breed, after which they brought up all their girls in their own way, cutting off their right breasts, that they might be no obstruction to their shooting, whence they came to be called *Amazons*; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author, or sent them back to their fathers according to *Herodotus* (15).

These surprising exploits were atchieved under the government and conduct of two famous queens *Lampeda* or *Lampeto*, and *Marthesia* or *Marpheſia*, who boasted themselves to be the daughters of *Mars*; and having carried their conquests into *Asia*, and built some cities there, this last, who had been left there with an army to secure their conquest, whilst the former returned home loaden with spoils, was afterwards surprised, and cut off with the rest of her female warriors by some bands of barbarians.

She was succeeded by her daughter *Ortara* or *Orthya*, whose valour, added to her living in perpetual virginity, did not a little raise the glory of the *Amazonian* name. To this succeeded *Antiopa*, whose sisters *Hypolite* and *Menalippe*, are reported to have challenged *Hercules* and *Thesius*, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by those two heroes. 4. *Penthesilea* was another famous *Amazonian* queen, who is said to have come at the head of an army of her viragos to the assistance of *Priamus* king of *Troy*. 'Tis added, that she was the inventress of the battle-ax, and was at length killed by *Pyrrhus*, the son of *Achilles*. Some other particulars related of those heroines smell so much of the fable, that we shall dwell no longer upon them (16).

The bloody re-encounter between *Tomyris*, another of their warlike queens, and *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, has been taken notice of in another chapter †; and the amorous one between *Alexander the Great*, and the famous queen *Thalestris*, shall be spoken of in its proper place. It is under this last that the *Amazonian* race and kingdom is said to have received its final period.

We must not omit some other memorable occurrences concerning a colony of these female worthies, which happened in the reign of some of the foregoing queens; it is not easy to guess which; and which are mentioned by another author (17) in his history of the *Scythians*.

The *Greeians*, who had obtained a signal victory over the *Amazons*, near the river *Thermodon*, were carrying off the residue that had escaped the slaughter, in three ships, to their own country. While they were at sea, the *Amazons* conspired against them, and killed all the men they had on board with them; but being altogether unacquainted with navigation, even with the use of the rudder, sails, and oars, they were driven by the wind and tide, to the precincts of the *Palus Mœotis*, in the territories of the free *Scythians*. Here they got ashore, and marching up into the country, they seized upon the first herds of horses they could come at, and began to plunder the inhabitants. The *Scythians*, unacquainted with their language, sex, and dress, could not tell what to make of these invaders: they took them at first to be youths, but after a skirmish or two, in which some of them were taken prisoners, had convinced them of the contrary; they resolved not to kill them, but to send a party of youths to watch their motions, with orders, that if they were attacked by them, they should flee from them; and as soon as they ceased their pursuit, encamp at the nearest distance they could, resolved if possible to have some children by these brave women. These observing that the *Scythian* youths did not come with any hostile design, suffered them to continue in their neighbouring station, whilst they, having nothing but their horse and arms, lived in their old manner by hunting and plunder. It was their custom to withdraw themselves from the rest about noon, either single or by couples to comply with the necessities of nature, which when the *Scythian* youths observed, they did so likewise: by this means one of these walking alone met with a single *Amazon*, and though they could not speak to each other, yet she found a way to let him understand that if he would meet her there on the next day, accompanied with another *Scythian*, she would be ready bring a companion with her. The upshot was, that both the camps were presently joined into one, and every *Scythian* took to wife the *Amazon*, whom chance threw in his way. The women had no sooner got a smattering of the *Scythian* language, than they were given to understand by their new husbands, that they had their parents and possessions in that neighbourhood, to whom it could be no dishonour to return, inviting the women to follow them thither. But these replied, that as they had ever been used to draw the bow, dart a javelin, mount a horse, and all such warlike exercises, to which they supposed the *Scythian* women altogether unaccustomed; they could

(14) *Vid. S. W. Raval. hist. lib.* iv. *c.* 2. *sect.* xv. (15) *Justin. ex Trog. l.* ii. *c.* 4. (15) *Vid. Just. ubi supra & Pausan in Attic. c.* ii. † *Vid. supra. Vol. II. p.* 87. (17) *Herodot. l.* iv.

Massagetes.

The *Massagetes* did likewise imitate the free *Scythians* in their habit, manner of living, arms and warlike genius; but they used, besides bows and arrows, for which those were so famed, javelins and scymeters. Brass served them instead of steel for making their offensive weapons, and as to their defensive ones, they added some ornaments made of gold, especially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horses were likewise fenced with a breast-plate of brass, whilst their bridles, and other furniture, was adorned with gold; for silver and iron were not used by them, because their country did not produce them. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common; so that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her without any further ceremony, than the hanging up of his quiver at the head of it. This custom, *Herodotus* tells us, was unjustly attributed to all the *Scythians* by the *Greeks*, whereas it was peculiar to the *Massagetes* only [q]. A more inhuman custom than this the same author tells us they had, that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not so much limited by law as inferred from concurring symptoms; all his relations met, and sacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of several kinds, and having boiled the flesh all together, they sat down to it as to a feast. This kind of death was accounted by them the most happy, as that of dying by sickness was reckoned unfortunate, because these last were to be buried, instead of coming to the honour of being sacrificed to their gods, and feasted upon by their nearest relations, and intimate friends. The sun was the only deity they worshipped, and to him they sacrificed horses, which being reckoned the noblest and swiftest of all creatures, they thought most proper to be offered to the noblest and swiftest of all the gods. They neither sowed nor planted, but contented themselves with the milk and flesh of their cattle, and with fish, of which the *Iaxartes* did yield them a very great plenty [r]. In a word, the two forementioned customs excepted, they were esteemed the noblest of all the *Scythians* [s], being equal to the royal tribe in valour and prowess, and exceeding them in opulence.

*Some barbarous customs.*

*Their worth.*

## SECT. VII.

### *The history of the* Scythian *kings.*

Scythian *chronology not to be attained.*

What has been observed in some of the foregoing sections concerning the barrenness of *Scythian* records, and of other historians concerning that nation, will easily convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to give any light to the chronology of it, or even to a regular history of their kings, whose names and exploits lie occasionally scattered in *Herodotus*, and other more recent historians without any order of time, or any indice, whereby one may give the least guess into it, at least till their invasion of *Asia*, and engaging into wars with some of the *Asiatic* monarchs. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conquests to *Europe*, and made their incursions only against their neighbours, which though perhaps originally descended from the same stock, yet, like a great many other nations, such as the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, *Edomites* and *Israelites*, and many more, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardless of their former affinity. And this

[q] Herodot. lib. i. ad finem. [r] Mela, Cluver. & al. [s] Vid. Strab. l. xi. pass. Diod. Sicul. Mela, Cluver. & al.

could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for their indolent one. They therefore exhorted them, if they retained still the same conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their several portions of wealth from their parents, and to return to them, which they readily complied with. At their return, their wives acquainted them farther, that since they had deprived them of their parents, and committed several depredations in that country, they thought it much safer to go and fix their habitation on the other side the *Tanais*. This was likewise agreed to, and having crossed that river, after three days march eastward of that river, and three more northward from the lake *Meotis*, they arrived and settled in the country of *Sarmatia*, where they continued still in our author's time. Hence it is that the *Sarmatian* women are by far the greatest warriors of all the *Scythians*; and hence proceeds the corruption of their language; for the *Amazons* not having been able to learn, and consequently to teach their children the true *Scythic*, the *Sarmatian* became a mixture of that and of the *Amazonic*. Thus came the fame of those female warriors to spread itself into *Europe* and *Asia*; as for those of *America*, they shall be spoken of in their proper place.

seems

a seems to have been most probably their case, because they cultivated no arts, but that of war and plunder, without troubling themselves about recording their acts and genealogies. The *Celtes* indeed had their *Curetes*; and other *European* nations their *Bards* and *Druids*, who celebrated their exploits in verse, as we have shewn in a former section; but we do not find any footsteps of the *Scythians* having had any such persons among them; so that tradition, such as it could be got, seems to have been the only fountain from which our antient historians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation, and which they have been forced to convey to us in as confused and irregular a manner as they had received it.

The following is a list of *Scythian* kings, as we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Justin*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Mela*; but without any note of time, either
b about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns. Neither can we affirm, that they succeeded one another in the order we have set them down, or even whether they all reigned over the same nations, or some of them over one or more tribes, and others over other tribes. However we shall to the list of their names subjoin such particular facts as we have recorded of any of them, and with which we shall be forced to close this history.

Kings of *Scythia*:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 *Scythes.* | 9 *Targitaus.* | 14 *Saulius.* |
| 2 *Napis.* | 10 *Calaxais.* | 15 *Spargapises.* |
| c 3 *Phithra.* | 11 *Scholypethes,* | 16 *Aripithes.* |
| 4 *Sagillus* or *Protothyas.* | or perhaps | 17 *Scyles.* |
| 5 *Madyes.* | rather | 18 *Octamasades.* |
| 6 *Thomyris.* | *Scythopetes.* | 19 *Ariantes.* |
| 7 *Jancirus.* | 12 *Panaxagoras.* | 20 *Atheas.* |
| 8 *Indatyrsus.* | 13 *Tanais.* | 21 *Lambinus.* |

*Scythes* is that fabulous son of *Hercules*, begotten on a monster, of whom we have spoken in a former note, and from whom the *Scythian* nation was affirmed by the
d fabulous *Greeks* to have taken their name, if not to be descended [a]. This history seems to have been invented by the *Greeks* for no other end than to sully the origin of the noble and warlike *Scythians*, to whom they were no doubt vastly inferior in power, courage, virtue, and other accomplishments, as the reader will easily see by comparing the history of these, with what we shall relate in a subsequent chapter of the more obscure and barbarous beginnings of the *Grecian* nation. Scythes.

*Sagillus* is said to have sent his son *Panasagorus*, who is perhaps the same with *Protothyas*, the father of *Madyes*, with an army of horse, to the assistance of *Orithya*, queen of the *Amazons*, against *Theseus* king of *Athens*. To persuade him to it, she let him know that the *Amazons* were of *Scythian* race, that it was mere
e necessity that had obliged them to dispatch their surviving husbands, and to erect themselves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, she used all the arguments that could induce the *Scythian* king to her assistance: his son came accordingly with a large army of horse, but presently after his arrival, upon some disgust which that prince took at those brave heroines, he left them to the mercy of their enemies, who soon after gained the victory over them [b]. Sagillus.

*Madyes*, of whom we have spoken in a former chapter [*], and supposed to be the same with the *Indathrysus* of *Strabo*, though different from that of *Herodotus*, was the son of *Protothyas*, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct it was that the *Scythians*, having drove the *Cymmerians* or northern *Celtes* out of *Europe*, and pursued
f them in *Asia*, invaded the country of the *Medes*, and held the greater part of upper *Asia* in subjection twenty-eight years. The occasion of their quarrel with the *Cymmerians*, and of this *Asiatic* irruption, is indeed no where to be found; but may however be easily guessed at. *Scythia*, we observed, was more fruitful of men than of food and sustenance: it was hemmed on the north by intolerable frosts and snows: where should they then discharge their over-swelling multitudes, but towards the more inviting regions of the south, where the inhabitants being probably as much accustomed to an easy and delicate life, as those were to a hardy and warlike one, were most likely to yield them if not their country, yet at least a free passage Madyes.

[a] Herodot. l. iv. [b] Justin. ex Trog. l. ii c. 4. [*] Vol. II. p. 16.

 through

through it, and assist them with all necessaries of life, that they might be the sooner a
rid of them: hence it is that they so swiftly passed into *Asia*, and led their victorious army even into *Egypt*. But here we are told they were prevailed upon by their king *Sammiticus*, either by presents or intreaties, to proceed no farther. They made likewise some incursions into the land of the *Philistines*; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of *Bethsheam* from the half tribe of *Menasseh* on this side *Jordan*, and called it by their name the city of the *Scythians* or *Scythopolis*, as we have hinted in the history of the *Medes* *. In their return into *Syria* some of their stragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*, and for their sacrilege were punished with hemorrhoides, or, as others say, with that kind of it, which is only common to the other sex; which did also cleave to their posterity as a brand of infamy. b

They might probably have held their dominion in *Asia* much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactions on the one hand, and the treachery of *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes* on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in that history. What became of the rest that survived the slaughter we can only guess at; many of them might submit themselves to the *Medes*, and continue there; but a much greater number went, as is supposed, and served *Nebuchadnezzar*, part of whose army is said to have consisted of all the families of the north; but the greatest part, according to *Herodotus*, marched towards *Scythia* [c], where they met with an unexspected reception from their servants and slaves. This story is somewhat differently reported, as well as that of their *Asiatic* expedition, and the time c
they spent in it: *Justin*, who calls this their third expedition, says, it lasted but eight years [d], during which their wives having given them over for lost, on account of the great distance between them, had married their servants and slaves; to whom, as we have observed, their masters used upon all such excursions, to commit the care of their families and cattle. As soon therefore as the *Scythians* were entered into the confines of their own territories, this upstart race of slaves sent to forbid their masters to approach nearer at their peril.

But *Herodotus*, who speaks of this expedition as their first into *Asia*, and affirms it to have lasted twenty-eight years, adds [e], that their wives, unused to be so long
idle, had taken their servants and slaves to their beds, from whom this new generation was sprung, which obstructed their masters return into *Scythia*, after they had suffered themselves to be driven out of their *Asiatic* conquests by the *Medes*. This last is the more probable of the two in many respects, and agrees better with those other authors, who affirm, as was observed before, that the *Scythians* held the dominion of *Asia* twenty-eight years. However that be, this slavish offspring having timely notice of their masters returning home, had so well fortified and intrenched themselves against them, that they would in all probability have kept them out, had not some of the wiser *Scythians* bethought themselves of a stratagem, which quite discomfited that rebellious rout.

They had already had several skirmishes with equal success on both sides, when e
one of the *Scythian* lords told the rest, that it was a shameful thing for them to fight with their slaves, as with their equals, and that if they designed to force them into submission, they must fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and scourges, such as they were formerly wont to chastise them with. This advice was followed with surprizing success, and the slavish rebels were taken with such a pannic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms and fled with the utmost precipitation. As many of them as could be caught, were put to the most cruel deaths, whilst their mistresses, conscious of their guilt, sought to avoid their husbands resentment, by hanging, or some other speedy death (K).

After

* Ib. p. 17. [c] Herodot. lib. i. [d] lib. ii. c. 5. [e] lib. iv.

(K) It is plain by these *Scythians* leaving their wives, servants, and baggage behind, that they designed to return again from *Asia*; for it is scarce probable that their design was to conquer some spacious country there, and then to come back to fetch them thither. And therefore we conclude, as we observed above, that they only went to assist those new colonies, which they were obliged to discharge from time to time for want of room, to make a good settlement there, after which they designed to return to their own homes, as usual.

However that be, this adventure seems plainly to contradict a story which *Herodotus* tells of the *Scythians*, that they used to put out the eyes of their slaves: for it can hardly be supposed that this slavish army that opposed their return, was wholly a new offspring, unless we can believe that their wives took their blind slaves into their beds almost as soon as their husbands backs were turned from them.

As for the war itself between the masters and slaves, it is so far from being a fiction, or so much as doubted of in those parts, even at this day, that we are

a After this signal victory over their rebellious slaves, the *Scythians*, according to *Justin*, enjoyed a long and unmolested peace till the days of *Jancyrus*, of whom we shall speak by-and-by. We must however except the invasion which happened under the next reign we are going to mention.

*Thomyris*, *Tomyris*, or *Tamyris*, was that heroine whom we are told * *Cyrus* the great did, or at least pretended to, court in marriage, and was sending an embassy to treat about it. But she supposing that her kingdom, rather than her person, was the object of his wishes, sent express orders to the embassadors not to proceed further. *Cyrus*, provoked either at her refusal, or at her suspecting his artifice, advanced with his army against the *Massagetes*, who were then under her dominion. Tomyris.

b What the issue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the story of his tragical end, and the revenge, which that exasperated princess took of him, we have already seen in another chapter †, and shall not repeat it.

*Jancyrus* a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble answer which he sent to *Darius* king of *Persia*, when he sent to demand of him the usual presents of earth and water in token of subjection, and for the total defeat which he gave to that assuming monarch's army; and as such seems to be the same with *Herodotus*'s *Indathyrsus* ‡, or to have been his immediate successor. The occasion of this war with the *Persians* is variously related by *Justin* §, and the last quoted author: the former tells us that the *Scythian* monarch had exasperated *Darius* by refusing to Jancyrus.

c give him his daughter in marriage; and the latter introduces some *Scythian* princes, accusing him with being the first aggressor, and having invaded the *Persian* territories, whilst *Darius* himself pretended only to revenge the ravages which the *Scythians* had committed in *Asia* 120 years before, when they held it in subjection 28 years. There is therefore no other way of reconciling these accounts, and the two different names of the *Scythian* monarch, but by supposing the *Jancyrus* of *Justin* to have been the father of *Indathyrsus*, and that finding that the refusal of his daughter had provoked the *Persian* king to a war, he resolved to be before-hand with him, and to send his son *Indathyrsus* to invade his territories; and that dying soon after, he intailed that war upon his son, from which he afterwards reaped so

d much glory. *Herodotus* might not think fit to transmit a circumstance so much to the honour of the barbarous *Scythians*, as that of the great *Darius*'s seeking to contract an affinity with one of their monarchs. And it is perhaps for the same reason that he makes the *Persian* army to have been rather harrassed and starved out of *Scythia*, than repulsed by the known bravery of that prince and nation. As for *Darius*, if he really received such an affront from the king of *Scythia*, as the refusal of his daughter, it was too dishonourable a pretence to ground his invasion upon; and a more glorious motive must be sought out, though at so great a distance of time, to cover the true and real one.

HOWEVER that be, *Indathyrsus* having received the proud challenge from the

e *Persian* king, implied in the demand of earth and water, which we have elsewhere shewn to signify, not a supply of provisions for his army, but an acknowledgment of subjection †, sent him this haughty reply; that as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor *Jupiter*, and *Vesta* queen of the *Scythians*, he would shortly send him a more suitable present, and such a one as might perhaps make him repent him of his arrogance. This present accordingly was dispatched to him soon after: it was a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, without any farther application; these arrows might perhaps allude to the number of *Scythian* tribes, which were joined with his own, of which we shall speak by-and-by. These and the living creatures *Darius* immediately interpreted in his own favour, and to have been sent in token of sub-

* HERODOT. lib. i. ad fin. † Vol. II. p. 87. ‡ L. iv. § l. ii. c. 5. † See before, Vol. II. p. 105. F.

are told, that the *Novogradians*, whose city stands in the *Sarmatian Scythia*, did cause a coin, which they call a *Dingoe Novogradskoi*, to be stamp'd in memory of it, which had a man on horseback, shaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever since throughout all *Russia* †.

It is probable likewise, that it was from this breach of conjugal faith in the *Scythian* wives, that the custom has been since established among the *Muscovite* women, of presenting their future spouse, even in the time of their courtship with a *Pudker*, or whip, wrought with their own hands, in token both of a greater subjection and fidelity than their *Scythian* ancestries, or most probably to put them in mind of their fault, and of their own duty, whenever they chance to forget it.

† *Vid. Fletch. Russ. Commonwealth*, c. iv. *ap. Kowl. l.* ii. *c.* 28. *sect.* iv.

mission.

mission. But *Gobrias*, who knew the *Scythians* perhaps better than his master, and a compared the message and the present together, gave quite another sense to the latter, namely, that the *Persians* must not hope to avoid the effects of the *Scythian* valour, unless they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themselves in the earth like mice: Whether or no this was the real meaning of the present, the preparations which he made against him, sufficiently shew, that it was designed to signify an open defiance to the *Persian* army (L).

Accordingly the king of *Scythia* summoned up all the princes of the other tribes to come to his assistance, against the common enemy and invader of their country. These were the kings of the *Gelonians*, *Budians* and *Sarmatians*; the *Agathyrsians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlænians*, and *Taurians*. These being assem- b bled in council, and having debated the occasion of the war, were divided in their opinions; and the three first were the only ones who esteemed it a common cause, and resolved to join *Indathyrsus* in the defence of it. As for the other five, they sent him word, that as he had been the first and only aggressor, by invading the *Persian* territories without their participation, so they did not think themselves at all concerned in the retaliation which *Darius* was preparing against him. That they would therefore sit quiet at home, till some hostilities had convinced them that the *Persians* designs were equally levelled at them, in which case they would soon convince them that it was not their design to sit idle, and suffer their own territories to be invaded.

*Indathyrsus* was so exasperated at this unexpected message, that he resolved, at the c same time that he made the best defence he could with his royal and free *Scythians*, and his three allied princes; to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations, by drawing, if possible, the enemy into their country. To this end he resolved to fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the frontiers, and to fill up all the wells and springs, and to destroy all the grass and provision as they went. He divided his army into two columns, the one, under the command of *Taxacis*, was to act in conjunction with the *Gelonians* and *Budæans*; the other, which was by far the greater, was commanded by the king himself; whilst the *Sarmatians* were ordered to advance to the territories of king *Scopasis*, that in case the *Persians* should come by that way, they might retire by the lake *Mœotis* to d the river *Tanais*; and upon their retiring, harrass them as much as they could. *Taxacis* was ordered to keep still a day's march before the *Persians*, and to tire them with frequent skirmishes, in order to draw them into the territories of some of these five nations that had refused to join with them: and if that did not succeed, they were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or to attempt any other means their discretion should suggest to them.

These orders being thus fixed, they sent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could spare; after which *Indathyrsus* commanded the best of his horse to march towards the enemy, whilst the rest followed them by private ways. This detachment, finding the *Per-* e *sian* army advanced about three days march from the *Ister*, destroyed all the product of the ground, and fled away. This caused the *Persians* to pursue after them as fast as the others retired still further back, till they had drawn them through *Sarmatia* into the territories of the *Budæans*, where they burnt and laid waste all that came in their way. They continued their pursuit till they came to a great desart of about seven days march; and here *Darius* not thinking it proper to proceed further, set himself about building of some spacious cities at equal distances from each other. These however he left unfinished, to go in pursuit of the flying *Scythians*, who by degrees drew him through the territories of the *Melanchlænians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*, who had cowardly left them to the mercy of the *Scythians*, who failed not f to lay all waste as they went through, that the *Persian* army might find nothing there to subsist on. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a

(L) We have given this story somewhat in a different order than we find it in *Herodotus*, who tells us that these reciprocal messages were not sent till the *Scythians* had drawn the *Persian* army into the furthest parts of their country, and, as it were, intrapped them in the wild countries of the *Melanchlænians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*. Had this been the case, there had been no great bravery in their sending such a haughty answer to an enemy so harrassed and entangled as *Darius* then was; neither will those circumstances he then found himself in, permit us to suppose that a proper time for his arrogant challenge to the *Scythians*. We think it therefore more probable, as it is indeed more consonant to the known customs of other kingdoms, that these messages were interchanged at the beginning of the war, or before he invaded the *Scythian* territories.

former

a former section *: the result of which was, that the *Persian* monarch was forced to retire with the loss of the greatest part of his numerous army (M), glad to escape with his own life, and at the expence of his glory. How much dearer still, this invasion would have cost the *Persians*, had the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge which he had laid over the *Ister*, kept their promise to the *Scythians*, and left them to destroy it, may be easily guessed; but they only deceived them with a promise that they would demolish it, and made a shew as if they were going about it in good earnest, by taking off so much of it on the *Scythian* side as an arrow might reach, to prevent the *Scythians* passing and demolishing it, which however they soon rejoined again, when the flying *Persians* appeared; by which means *Darius* once b more escaped the fury of the pursuing *Scythians*, who failed not ever after to load the *Ionians* with the worst of epithets for their treachery and cowardice. As soon as they found that *Darius* was gone beyond their reach, they resolved to be avenged of him some other way, and to make themselves amends for the ravage they had been forced to make in their own country. *Thrace*, so lately conquered by the *Persian* king, became the unhappy victim of their fury: they laid it all waste as far as the *Hellespont*, and repassing the *Ister*, returned into *Scythia* loaden with the immense spoils of that province.

*Saulius*, This was he of whom we took notice before, for killing *Anacharsis*, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the c mother of the gods into *Scythia*, which he had seen used among the *Grecians*. For though *Anacharsis* had chosen a private place, covered with a great wood, to perform this new worship in, yet he was discovered in the midst of it by a *Scythian*, who went immediately to acquaint the king with it. *Saulius* hasted to the place, and found him playing on a tymbal before the images he had hung upon the trees, and shot him dead upon the spot. Our author gives us here the names of three of *Saulius*'s predecessors, in a lineal descent, viz. *Spargapythes*, *Cyrus* and *Gnarus*, and of one of his successors, viz. *Indathyrsus* [l]. Saulius.

*Aripithes* had a numerous issue, but particularly one son named *Scythes*, not by a *Scythian*, but by an *Istrian* woman, who therefore brought him up in all the d *Grecian* customs and learning. *Aripethes* being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the *Agathyrsians*, this son found means to possess himself of his father's kingdom [k]. Aripithes.

*Scythes*, though now king of *Scythia*, and married to one of his father's wives, who was also a *Scythian*, yet preferred the *Grecian* customs, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to those of his own country. To indulge himself in them, and avoid giving offence of his subjects, he bethought himself of the following stratagem; he led his *Scythians* to the metropolis of the *Borysthenians*, which is reported to be a colony of the *Milesians*, and leaving his army before the place, he entered alone into it, and causing the gates to be shut, and centinels to be placed at e each of them, put off his *Scythian* dress, cloathed himself after the *Grecian* manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendance. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the *Grecian* worship, customs and dress, after which he resumed his *Scythian* habit, and departed. Not content with often repeating the same practice, he built a palace in that city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of *Bacchus*, and had prepared all things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his sumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble statues representing *Sphynxes* and griffins, was demolished by thunder. This did not however deter him from accomplishing his initiation; but whilst he was in the midst of it, a *Borysthenian* went and acquainted the *Scythians* with it in

* Vol. II. p. 105. & seq. [l] Id. ibid. [k] Id. ibid.

(M) If *Herodotus*'s account of this transaction may be credited, *Darius* was not so much repulsed by the arms of the *Scythians*, as affronted at an unaccountable instance of contempt which they occasionally shewed to him, just as the two armies were going to engage: he tells us they were both drawn in order of battle, when a hare accidentally starting in the interval between them, the *Scythians* immediately quitted their ranks with loud outcries, and in the utmost confusion, pursued after it. One would expect that the *Persians* would have took the opportunity of falling upon them, whilst they were in this hurly-burly; but, it seems, *Darius* judged quite otherwise of an enemy that shewed so little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; so that he thought it high time to take *Gobrias*'s advice, and to secure his retreat as soon as he could, which he accordingly did that very night.

words to this effect: you upbraid us with celebrating our *Bacchanals*, because when a possessed with the god, we lose, you say, the use of our reason; come now and behold your king celebrating those rites with a divine fury, and be yourselves eye-witnesses how that God has taken possession of him. Some of the principal *Scythians* were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince from one of the towers, performing the *Bacchanalian* rites with a numerous choir.

At their return they acquainted the army with what they had seen, which did so enrage the *Scythians*, that as soon as he was got home they revolted from him, and chose his brother *Octamasades* in his room. *Scythes* being informed of the occasion of this revolt fled into *Thrace*, and as soon as his brother had notice of it, he pursued b him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the *Ister*, where he found *Sitalces* king of *Thrace* advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, *Octomasades* received a message from the *Thracian* king, to this effect; why should we try the fortune of war, thou art my sister's son, and hast my brother with thee, deliver him up to me, and I will send *Scythes* to thee, so shall we avoid the hazard of a defeat. *Octomasades* agreed to the proposal, and surrendered his uncle to *Sitalces*, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of *Scythia* having received his brother from him, caused his head to be immediately taken off[l].

Octamasades.

Ariantes.

*Ariantes* was that prince of whom we have lately spoken upon another occasion; and who being desirous to know the number of his fighting-men, ordered them all to c appear at a set time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he caused it to be cast into a large capacious bowl as a monument of the thing, and dedicated it to *Exampæus*[m].

The last king we shall mention in this history (M), and under whom the *Scythians* are said to have received a considerable overthrow[n] was *Atheas*, or as he is called by others *Matheas* and *Macheas*. This prince being ingaged in a war with the *Istrians*, a people of *Mysia* on the south banks of the mouth of the river *Ister*, sent to *Philip* king of *Macedon* to desire his assistance, and upon his complying, promised to make him his heir to the crown of *Scythia*. But the *Istrians* having, at the news of this powerful succour, delivered him of his fears by their sudden departure, he d sent another message to *Philip*, in which he told him flatly that he had neither sent for

[l] Id. ibid. [m] Id. ibid. [n] Justin, l. ix. c. 2.

(N) We have omitted several of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or something too fabulous and ridiculous to deserve a place in this work, or at best so vague and uncertain, especially in point of time, that it is impossible to fix it to any epocha.

Of this nature is that story we are going to give out of *Herodotus*, not so much for its incredible singularity, as because, fabulous as it is, it must have been founded upon some facts, which give no small countenance to some conjectures we have ventured to advance in this history, it being not of *Greek*, but *Scythian* extraction. It is as follows:

He tells us of a part of *Scythia*, whose inhabitants he nevertheless doth indiscriminately call *Scythians*, who, though they owned themselves to be of much recenter date than the rest, yet pretended to have been 1000 years before *Darius*'s expedition. The account they give of themselves is, that their country was at first peopled by *Targitaus* the son of *Jupiter*, by a daughter of the river *Borysthenes*; that this prince had three sons, *viz. Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Colaxais*, in whose reign, a plow with a yoke, an ax and a bowl, all of gold, fell from heaven into their country; that the two elder brothers drew near the place, and one after another tried to take them up, and found them burning-hot; but the youngest coming presently after, found them cool enough to take and carry them off, whereupon the other two yielded their share of the kingdom to him. They add that the *Auchatian Scythians* were descended from the eldest, the *Catiarians* from *Apoxais*, and the race of their kings, whom they called *Paralates*, from the youngest brother. All these gave themselves the general name of *Scholotes*, which our author tells us, was also the surname of their kings, but were called *Scythians* by all the *Greeks*. The miraculous golden utensils we are told were preserved with utmost care, and that their kings did assist at the annual sacrifices which were offered to them with great magnificence.

*Colaxais*, who had likewise three sons, perceiving the vast extent of his territories, divided them between them, allowing however the biggest share to that portion into which the miraculous golden vessels were fallen. According to this tradition there must have started at least three new kingdoms or principalities, and by what our author adds immediately after, of the vast quantities of feathers or snow, with which the adjoining regions towards the north are covered; we may reasonably suppose these three tribes to have sprung from a colony of the antient *Scythians*, and to have been forced to seek for a new habitation in those more inclement regions, especially considering that they pretend to be of much recenter original than any others, meaning doubtless than any other *Scythians*, though older by 1000 years than the time of *Darius*. As for the pretended divine extraction of their founder, and the miraculous fall of the golden utensils, they only imitated their own and other nations in it, there being nothing more common in those early days than these pretences of something supernatural accompanying the foundations of most kingdoms, and the divine original of their first founders. Hence we would further observe, that it is most likely that the kings of *Scythia*, which we have given in the above list, did not all belong to the royal *Scythians*, but

a for his assistance, nor promised him his crown; that the *Scythians* neither wanted the help of the *Macedonians*, nor their king an heir, whilst he had a son alive. *Philip*, who was then besieging *Byzantium*, sent to desire him at least to remit him some money to defray part of the expences of the siege, especially considering that he had paid nothing either towards the subsistance of, or by way of reward to the auxiliaries which he had sent to him.

*Atheas* had no way to elude so reasonable a demand, but by excusing himself upon the inclemency of their climate, and barrenness of their soil, which he said was so far from contributing to their inrichment, that it scarcely afforded them sufficient sustenance. *Philip* vexed at heart to see himself thus baffled, resolved to reta-
b liate trick for trick, and whilst he was raising the siege in order to enter into a war with them, he sent the *Scythians* word that he had vowed to erect a statue to *Hercules* at the mouth of the *Ister*, which he desired liberty to come and set up there, as he was a known friend to the *Scythians*. *Atheas*, who smelt his design, sent him word, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but send the statue, and he would take upon himself the care both of the erecting of it, and of its remaining safe there; but that he would by no means suffer him to bring his army into his territories: he added, that if he persisted in spight of him, to come and set up such a statue, they would soon melt and cast it into arrows against him. *Philip* not minding his threatening refusal, and both monarchs being highly exasperated against each other,
c a bloody battle ensued, in which our author tells us, the *Scythians*, though superior in strength and courage, were overcome by the craftiness of the *Macedonian* king; twenty-thousand women and children were carried off prisoners, besides a vast quantity of cattle, and twenty-thousand of their finest mares which they sent into *Macedonia* for breeding. As for gold and silver they found none among them, and this, our author observes, was the first proof which the *Scythians* gave of their poverty in that respect.

However, this overthrow is not so universally agreed among antient authors as the war is, neither doth it consist well with what our author has in another place; where he introduces *Mithridates* haranging his army, part of which consisted of *Scy-*
d *thians*, and complimenting their known valour with the relation of the two kings, *Darius* and *Philip*, who having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a shameful flight [o]. But be that as it will, 'tis plain their overthrow was not so considerable as to hinder them from signalizing themselves upon many occasions, both against the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, and against several other nations; and during a considerable time, as the sequel of this work will sufficiently shew.

*Lambinus* is supposed, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the last king of *Scythia* [p].

[o] l. xxxviii. c. 7.

[p] Vid. Heyl. lib. iii. p. 172.

but that some of them reigned over other tribes or branches which time and necessity had divided for them, especially as they were ever warring and elbowing one another out of the most pleasant parts of the country.

With respect to this pretended daughter of the *Borysthenes*, it will not be amiss here to observe once for all, that it was a common custom in those early and ignorant times for the first planters of kingdoms or colonies to give their names, not only to their new territories, and capital cities, but also to the most considerable rivers. Hence therefore it is more than probable, that their posterity, who every-where affected to boast of something miraculous in their origin, chose rather to derive it from the river itself than from their real parent, who gave name to it. We shall meet in the history of the fabulous and heroic times with instances more than enough of these sons and daughters of rivers, to justify the truth, and show the necessity of this previous observation.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XIII.

## *The History of the antient* Phrygians, Trojans, Lycians, Lydians, &c.

### SECT. I.

### *A brief account of* Asia Proper.

As the several small kingdoms, which we are to treat of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the name of *Asia Minor*, we shall premise a general description of that country for the better understanding of the particular accounts which we shall have occasion to join as we come to treat of the several regions contained therein.

Asia Proper. The different and various acceptations of the word *Asia*, even in its strictest sense, has created a great deal of confusion among writers, and often led the unwary readers into considerable mistakes. To obviate these inconveniencies the incomparable bishop *Usher* [a] advises those who are to give any account of *Asia* to begin by explaining the various acceptations of the word, without which it is impossible to understand the antient historians or geographers. He looks upon this as one of the most difficult points in history, there being a seeming contradiction between the sacred and profane writers as to the provinces comprehended under the name of *Asia*, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful distinction of times and places. In reading the antient historians or geographers we frequently meet with the following terms, viz. *The Greater* and *Lesser Asia*, *Asia Proper*, or *Asia properly so called*, *the Lydian Asia*, the *Proconsular Asia*, the *Asiatic Diocess*. That vast continent, which was known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Asia*, was divided by the antient geographers first into the *Greater* and *Lesser Asia*. The lesser, commonly termed *Asia Minor*, comprehended a great many provinces, but that which included *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Caria*, and *Lydia*, was named *Asia Proper*, or *Asia, properly so called*, as is plain from *Tully* [b]. Where it is to be observed that *Tully*, in enumerating the regions contained in *Asia Proper*, makes no mention of *Æolis* or *Ionia*, though undoubtedly parts of *Asia Proper*, because they were comprehended partly in *Lydia* and partly in *Mysia*. *Lydia*, beside the inland country, commonly known by that name, contained also the adjoining countries both of *Ionia*, lying on the sea-side between the rivers *Hermus* and *Meander*, and of *Æolis*, extending from *Hermus* to the river *Caicus*, according to *Ptolomy* [c], or according to *Strabo* [d] to the promontory *Lectum*, the antient boundary between *Troas* and the sea-coast of the *Greater Mysia* (A). The remaining parts of *Æolis* and *Ionia* are by *Pliny* [e], *Strabo* [f], *Hellanicus* [g], and *Scylan* [h], placed in *Mysia*; nay *Mysia* itself, after the *Æolians* possessed themselves of it, was commonly called *Æolis* [i]; which *Stephanus* not being aware of, makes *Assos* of *Æolis* a different city from *Assos* of *Mysia* near *Antandrus*. From what we have said, it is plain that *Asia Proper* comprehended *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Æolis* and *Ionia*. This tract was bounded, accord-

[a] In his geographical and historical disquisition touching *Asia*, properly so called. [b] Cic. in Orat. pro Flacco. [c] lib. v. cap. 2. [d] lib. xii. [e] lib. v. cap. 30. [f] lib. xv. [g] Id. lib. xiii. [h] Scylax. in Periplo. [i] Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 18. Plin. lib. v. c. 30.

(A) That *Mysia* reached to the mouth of the river *Caicus*, is acknowledged not only by *Ptolomy* (1), but also by *Strabo* (2); and yet because it was possessed in his time by the *Æolians*, he tells us, that *Æolis*, properly so called, extended from *Hermus* to *Lectum* (3). In like manner *Pliny* (4) makes the promontary *Lectum* the boundary betwixt *Æolis* and *Troas*; tho' elsewhere, following other authors, he places *Assos* in *Troas* (5). But *Hellanicus* (6), *Strabo* and *Stephanus* (7) make it a city of *Æolis* near the *Hellespont*.

(1) *lib.* v *c.* 2. (2) *lib.* xii. (3) *lib.* xiii. (4) *lib.* v. *c.* 30. (5) *Id. lib.* ii. *c.* 96. & *l.* xxxvi. *c.* 17. (6) *Strab. l.* xiii. (7) *Id. l.* xv.

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a ing to *Ptolomy*, on the north by *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, extending from *Galatia* to *Propontis*, on the east by *Galatia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Lycia*, on the south by part of *Lycia* and the *Rhodian* sea, on the west by the *Hellespont*, by the *Ægean*, *Icarian*, and *Myrtoan* seas. It lies between the thirty-fifth and forty-first degree of north latitude, and extends in longitude from fifty-five to sixty-two degrees.

As *Asia Proper* is but a part of *Asia Minor*, so the *Lydian Asia* is only a part of *Asia Proper* (B). *Asia* in this acceptation comprehends *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, according to the description we have already given of it, and is that *Asia* whereof mention is made in the *Acts* and St. *John*'s revelation. In the former we read the following account of St. *Paul*'s journey [k]. *When they had gone throughout* Phrygia b *and the region of* Galatia, *and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in* Asia; *after they were come to* Mysia, *they essayed to go into* Bithynia; *but the spirit suffered them not. And they passing by* Mysia, *came down to* Troas. Where it is to be observed, that the *Greater Phrygia*, through which they passed into *Galatia*, *Mysia*, *Olympena* bordering upon *Bithynia* and *Hellespont*, where *Troas* was situate, though provinces of *Asia* properly so called, are yet in express terms distinguished from the *Proper Asia* of the *Romans*; as is likewise *Caria*, by what we read elsewhere in the same book [l]. As these cities and countries did not belong to the *Lydian Asia*, so what remains of *Asia Proper*, together with the *seven Churches* mentioned in the *Revelations*, were properly *Lydia*, or the *Lydian Asia*. In the first place *Pergamus* is c placed by *Xenophon* [m] in *Lydia*, and also by *Aristotle* [n]. The same *Aristotle* [o] tells us that *Smyrna* was at first possessed by the *Lydians*, and *Scylax Coryandensis* reckons it among the cities of *Lydia*, as also *Ephesus*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus* [p]. *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Thyatyra*, are reckoned by *Ptolomy* among the cities of *Lydia*, as is *Laodicea* by *Stephanus* [q] (C).

*The Lydian Asia.*

THE *Proconsular Asia* (so called because it was governed by a proconsul) according to the distribution of the provinces of the empire made by *Augustus*, comprehended the following countries, viz. *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, *Mysia*, *Phrygia*, and the proconsular *Hellespont*. And this is *Ptolemy*'s *Asia Proper* [r]. By the same emperor *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were made a *Prætorian* province [s], and *Asia* a consular, contain- d ing all that part of *Asia* which lay on this side the river *Halys* and mount *Taurus*. In the time of *Constantine the Great* the *Proconsular Asia* was much abridged, and a distinction brought in between the *Proconsular Asia*, and the *Asiatic* diocess; the one being governed by the proconsul of *Asia*, and the other by the *Vicarius* or *Lieutenant* of *Asia* (D). The *Proconsular Asia*, according to the description which *Eunapius* gives us of it [t], seems to have been much the same with the *Lydian Asia* abovementioned. In the reign of *Theodosius the elder*, who succeeded *Valens*, the consular *Hellespont* was taken from the *Vicarius* of *Asia*, and added to the *Procon-*

*The Proconsular Asia.*

[k] Acts xvi. [l] Acts xx. 16, 17. [m] XENOPH. de exped. Cyr. lib. 7. [n] lib. de Poetica, p. 97. [o] ARISTOT. lib de Poetica apud. PLUTARCH in lib. de vita & poesi Homeri. [p] HERODOT. lib. i. [q] STEPH. de urbib. [r] PTOLEM. l. v. c. 2. [s] STRAB. l. xvii. [t] EUNAP. in vita Maximi.

(B) That in antient times *Lydia* was called *Mœonia*, and the *Lydians Mœonians*, is manifest from *Herodotus* (8), *Diodorus Siculus* (9) *Dionysius Afer* (10), *Strabo* (11) *Pliny* (12), *Stephanus*, and others; and that *Mœonia* was called *Asia*, is no less plain from *Callinus*, who flourished before *Archilocus* (13), from *Demetrius Scepsius* cotemporary with *Crates* and *Aristarchus* the *Grammarian* (14), from *Euripides* (15), *Suidas* (16), the great etymologist, *&c.* Nay, that *Lydia* was formerly called *Asia*, is expressly affirmed by the antient scholiast of *Apollonius Rhodius* (17). From whence *Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia* is altogether uncertain; some deriving it from a city of *Lydia*, seated on mount *Tmolus*, others from one *Asias* king of *Lydia*, who according to the *Lydians* communicated his name to the whole continent (18). But be that as it will, it is certain that *Lydia* has a better claim to the name of *Asia*, than any other part of that continent.

(C) *Laodicea* is placed by *Ptolomy* in *Caria*, by others in *Phrygia*, and by some in *Lydia*, the confines of those countries having been so often altered, that it was not possible, as *Strabo* witnesses (19), to ascertain their exact boundaries; and hence it is that the same city is oftentimes placed by one of the antient geographers in *Phrygia*, by another in *Lydia*, and by a third in *Caria*.

(D) We find in the Imperial Constitutions two rescripts of the emperor *Valens*, the one dated the 27th of *January* 365. (that is, towards the latter end of the first year of his reign) and directed to *Clearchus*, *Vicarius Asia*; the other dated the 6th of the *October* following, and directed to *Auxonius*, *Vicarius Diœcesis Asianæ* (20). This distinction was brought in by *Constantine*, and continued under the christian emperors that succeeded him.

(8) *Herodot. l.* vii. (9) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iv. (10) *Dionys. in Periegesi.* (11) *Strab. l.* xiii. (12) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 29. (13) *Strab. l.* xiv. (14) *Id. l.* xii. (15) *In Bacch.* (16) *In Asia.* (17) *Scholiast. Apollon. Argonaut. l.* ii. (18) *Herod. l.* iv. (19) *Strab. l.* xiii. (20) *Cod. Theodos. tit.* v. *tit.* 11. *De colon. infsio dom.*

*sular Asia*; but under *Arcadius* the *Proconsular Asia* was abridged of all the inland part of *Lydia*. And this is the reason, why *Palladius*[u] makes a distinction between the bishops of *Lydia* and those of *Asia*. However, the southern part of *Lydia*, lying between the *Mæander* and *Cayster*, and the maritime provinces from *Ephesus* to *Assos* and the promontory *Lectum*, were left to the *Proconsular Asia*[w]. a

*The Asiatic diocess.*

The *Asiatic* diocess (E) is sometimes taken in a more strict sense as distinct from the *Proconsular Asia*, and the provinces under the jurisdiction of the proconsul, and sometimes in a more extensive sense, as comprehending also the *Proconsular Asia*. According to this acceptation all *Asia* in the reign of *Theodosius the Younger* consisted of eleven provinces, three whereof were under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of *Asia*, *viz.* the *Proconsular Proper*, which he governed by himself, the consular *Hellespont*, and that of *Rhodes*, with the other islands called *Cyclades*, which were first made a province by *Vespasian*, and placed under a *President*[x]; eight were under the vicarius or lieutenant of *Asia*, viz. *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia* and *Pisidia*; these eight made up what was properly called the *Asiatic diocess*[y] (F). These are the terms we most commonly meet with in reading the ancient historians and geographers, for the explanation of which we are chiefly indebted to the learned bishop *Usher*, who thought it well worth his while to examine the various acceptations of *Asia Proper* in a particular treatise[z]. b

*The name of Asia.*

As to the common name of *Asia* there is a great variety of opinions among the learned, some deriving it from *Asia* the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, wife of *Iapetus*, and by him mother to *Prometheus*; others from *Asius* son of *Atys*, king of *Lydia*, from whom that kingdom first, and in length of time the whole continent was named *Asia*. *Bochart*[a] is of opinion that it took its name from the *Phœnician* word *Asi*, signifying the middle, because *Asia Minor*, which, says he, communicated its name to *Asia the Greater*, lies, as it were, in the middle, between *Europe* and *Afric*. This opinion he endeavours to support with the authority of *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela*[b]. But as all that can be said on this head is grounded on bare conjectures, it is scarce worth our while to dwell on enquiries of this nature. c

*Climate and fertility.*

This country is justly counted among the finest and most fruitful of the earth, and mightily extolled by antient writers, chiefly by the *Romans*, who were well acquainted with it, for the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of the seasons, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits; in all which respects it was preferred by *Tully*[c] to all the countries of the then known world. The common epithet, whereby the *Latin* poets distinguish this from other regions is that of rich, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may easily judge of from the immense sums that some of the *Roman* governors are said to have extorted from them, namely *Marc Anthony*, who, as we are told by *Plutarch*[d], squeezed from the inhabitants of *Asia Minor* in the space of one year the sum of twenty thousand talents. d

*Its present division.*

This country is at present divided into four parts, viz. *Natolia*, properly so called, the western part; *Caramania*, the southern part; *Aladulia* the eastern, and *Amasia* the northmost part. By the *Turks* the whole country, called by them *Nadalu*, is divided into five parts under the government of five *Beglerbegs*, who reside at *Cotyæum*, *Tocat*, *Trabezond*, *Marosch*, and *Iconium*. These are subdivided into lesser governments denominated from the city or town where the governor resides. But it is now time to proceed to the particular histories of the various kingdoms antiently comprehended under the common name of *Asia Minor*. e

[u] Pallad. in vita Chrysost. [w] Hierocles, notitia imp. in Append. Geograph. sacra. p. 27. Photius, de ordine Metropolitar. p. 43. & in tomo i. juris Græco Romani, p. 90. Subscript. Concil. Chalced. Act. vi. Concil. Constantinop. vi. Act. xviii. &c. [x] Sextus Rufus, in Breviario. [y] Alciat. Parerg. l. v. c. 13. [z] Usher in his geographical and historical disquisition of *Asia*, properly so called, &c. [a] Phaleg. l. iv. c. 36. [b] Plin. in Prefat. lib. iii. & Pomp. Mela, de Asia, l. i. c. 2. [c] Cic. pro. Q. Ligario. [d] Plutarch. in Lucull. & Antonio.

(E) The word diocess, in the dialect of the times we are here speaking of, imports a tract of country comprehending several provinces under the jurisdiction of one chief ruler.

(F) In the *Notitia Imperii* which was compiled in the reign of *Theodosius* the younger, the *Asiatic* diocess is said to consist of ten provinces only, the first and chief province of all, viz. *Asia* itself, being, we know not how, omitted (21). On the other hand *Isidorus Mercator* reckons twelve provinces belonging to this diocess, and among them *Galatia*, which was without all doubt a province of the diocess of *Pontus* (22).

(21) *Notit. utriusque Imperii.* (22) *Vid. Salmasii Eucharistic. de Eccles. sub urbicar. p.* 347.

The

# *The* HISTORY *of the* PHRYGIANS.

## SECT. II.

### *The description of* PHRYGIA.

a AS we can scarce offer any thing touching *Phrygia*, but what we have either at second hand, or from mutilated pieces of antiquity, we shall not dwell long on so dark and perplexed a subject, not to pretend to supply the defect of better authorities with such precarious conjectures as every writer may, and the most ordinary usually do vent on such occasions (G).

WHENCE the small country before us borrowed the name of *Phrygia* is not determined. Some derive it from the river *Phryx* (now *Sarabat*) which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and empties itself into the *Hermus*[a], others from *Phrygia* the daughter of *Asopus* and *Europa*. The *Greek* writers tell us[f] that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and these from the town of *Brygium* in *Macedonia*, from whence b they first passed into *Asia*, and gave the name of *Phrygia* or *Brigia* to the country which they settled in; but we shall have occasion to examine this opinion hereafter. *Bochart* is of opinion[g] that this tract was called *Phrygia* from a *Greek* verb, signifying to burn or dry, which according to him is a translation of its *Hebrew* name derived from a verb of the same signification (H).

*Its divisions.* NO less various are the opinions of authors as to the exact boundaries of this country, which gave rise to the proverb related by *Strabo*[z], viz. that the *Phrygians* and *Mysians* had distinct boundaries, but that it was scarce possible to ascertain them. The same writer adds[h] that the *Trojans*, *Mysians* and *Lydians*, are by the poets all blended under the common name of *Phrygians*, which *Claudian*[i] extends c to the *Pisidians*, *Bithynians*, and *Ionians*. Again *Pliny*[k] places *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, which together with *Dardania* is reckoned by *Strabo*[l] among the provinces of *Mysia*. *Phrygia Proper*, according to *Ptolemy*, whom we chuse to follow, was bounded on the north by *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, on the west by *Mysia*, *Troas*, the *Ægean* sea, *Lydia Maonia*, and *Caria*; on the south by *Lycia*; on the east by *Pamphylia* and *Galatia*. It lies between the 37th and 41st degree of north-latitude,

[a] PLIN. lib v. c. 29. [f] MESSAL. CORVIN. de progen. Aug. [g] Phaleg. lib. iii. c 8. STRAB. l. xii. & l. xiv. [h] STRAB. ubi supra. [i] CLAUD. l. ii. in Eutrop. [k] PLIN. lib. v. [l] STRAB. ubi supra.

(G) The names of the authors that have wrote the *Phrygian* history are *Democritus*, *Hermesianactes*, *Timolaus*, *Asctazes*, and *Cornelius Alexander* (23); but as their works have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark as to some of the most material points of that history.

(H) The *Greek* word Φρυγία seems to be derived from the verb Φρύγειν, to burn or parch; and hence that place on mount *OEta* where *Hercules* was burnt took the name of Φρυγία, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ κέφρυχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. Now as that part of *Phrygia* which was washed by the rivers *Caystet* and *Maeander*, was distinguished by the epithet of Κατακεκαυμένη as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* witness (24); it is not improbable but that the name of *Phrygia*, which was at first peculiar to one part might in length of time become common to the whole country. How this part came to be called Κατακεκαυμένη, burnt, is variously reported. *Diodorus* (25) speaks of a fiery monster called *Ægis* which appearing there consumed all that tract; but was afterwards killed by *Pallas*. Others recur to the fable of *Typhon* (26), who, say they, was in that place thunder-struck by *Jupiter*. But without having recourse to fables, it will be no hard matter to account for this denomination, if we but consider that this part of *Phrygia* we are speaking of is described both by *Diodorus* and *Strabo* (27) as a dry soil, impregnated with sulphur, bitumen, and other combustible substances, which in all likelihood gave rise to this appellation. We are not ignorant that the tract we are speaking of is by some of the antients reckoned a province of *Mysia*, by others of *Maeonia*; but *Hesychius* (28), *Diodorus* (29), and most of the other historians and geographers place it in *Phrygia*. *Bochart* is of opinion (30) that by *Gomer* in scripture is meant *Phrygia*, and that the *Greek* word *Phrygia* is a translation of the *Hebrew* גומר *Gomer*, which he derives from the verb גמר *Gamar*, importing, among other significations, to burn or consume, in which signification he shews it to have been frequently used both by the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians*.

(23) *Plutarch. de fluviis & Laert. in Democrito.* (24) *Strab. l.* xiii. *& Diod. Sicul. l.* iii. (25) *Dioder. Sicul. l.* iii. *p.* 147. (26) *Strab. l.* xiii. (27) *ubi supra.* (28) *Hesych. l.* 12. (29) *Dioder. ubi supra.* (30) *Phaleg. l.* iii. *c.* 8.

extending

extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country a
mentioned by *Ptolemy* are the *Lycaones*, and *Anthemisenii* towards *Lycia*, and *Moceadelis* or *Moceadine*, the *Cyddeses* or *Cydisses* towards *Bithynia*, and between these the *Peltini* or *Speltini*, the *Moxiani*, *Phylacensis*, and *Hierapolitæ*. To these we may add the *Berecyntes* and *Cerbesis* mentioned by *Strabo* [m].

*Phrygia* is commonly divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser Phrygia* called also *Troas*. But this division did not take place till *Troas* was subdued by the *Phrygians*; and hence it is more considered by some *Roman* writers as a part of *Phrygia*, than *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, or any other of the adjacent provinces. In after-ages, that is, in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, the *Greater Phrygia* was divided into two districts or governments, the one called *Phrygia Pacatiana*, from *Pacatianus*, who b
under *Constantine* bore the great office of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the east; the other *Phrygia Salutaris* from some miraculous cures supposed to have been performed there by the archangel *Michael*.

*Its soil and climate.*

This country, and indeed all *Asia Minor* as lying in the fifth and six northern climates, was in antient times greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grains, being for the most part a plain country covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. It was in some parts productive of bitumen and other combustible substances. It was well stocked with cattle, having large plains and pasture grounds. The air was antiently deemed most pure and wholesome, though it is now in some parts thought extremely gross, great part of the c
country lying uncultivated, a thing too common in such regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. In short, whatever desirable things, nature has frugally bestowed here and there on other countries, were found in this, while well manured, as in their original seminary.

The cities of note in *Phrygia Major* were, 1. *Apamea* or *Apamia*, a famous mart, and the metropolis of all *Phrygia* till the above mentioned division of *Constantine* took place. It was seated at the confluence of the *Marsya* and *Mæander*. *Pliny* [n] places it at the foot of the hill *Signia*, surrounded by the rivers *Marsya*, *Obrima*, and *Orga*, which empty themselves into the *Mæander*; wherein he seems to confound the situation of the antient *Celæne* with that of the new city called *Apamea*. *Celæne* d
indeed stood at the foot of the hill, on which the *Marsya* has its spring; but *Antiochus Soter* son to *Antiochus Seleucus* who built *Apamea* of *Syria*, carried the inhabitants from thence to the new city which he built about ten miles from thence, where the *Marsya* and *Mæander* begin to flow in one channel; this city he named *Apamea* from his mother *Apamea*, wife to *Seleucus Nicanor* [o]. As there are many other cities bearing the same name, this for distinction sake is commonly called *Apamea Cibotos*; but as to the original of this appellation there is a great discrepancy among authors (I).

*Laodicea*, now *Eskibissar*, seated on the banks of the river *Lycus*, not far from *Apamea*. It was first called *Diospolis*, afterwards *Rheas*, and at last *Diocæsarea* and *Laodicea*. We are told by *Stephanus* that *Jupiter* appearing to *Antiochus* the son of e
*Stratonice* in his sleep commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it *Diospolis* from *Jupiter*, and *Laodicea* from his wife *Laodice*. It was afterwards greatly increased by *Hiero*, by *Zeno* the *Rhetorician*, and his son *Polemon* [p], who being honoured by *Cæsar Augustus* with the title of king, might perhaps out of complaisance to that prince add his name to that of *Jupiter*, calling the city *Diocæsarea*, the city of *Jupiter* and *Cæsar*. However the name of *Laodicea*, which *Strabo* derives from the river *Lycus* [q], prevailed. This city was famous for its wool, which was universally preferred on account of its softness, as the same author witnesses [r] even

[m] Strab. l. xii. [n] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [o] Strab. l. xii. Liv. lib. xxxviii. Marcianus, lib. vi.
[p] Strab. lib. xii. [q] Id. ibid. [r] Ibid.

(I) As the word Κιβωτός signifies *Ark* or *Coffer*, some have supposed that it was so called, because the ark rested on the hill from which the river *Marsya* springs. But these writers confound the situation of *Celæne* with that of *Apamea*; the former, which never bore the name of *Cibotos*, was situate at the foot of the hill *Signia*, but *Apamea Cibotos* at ten miles distance. As those who traded from *Italy* and *Greece* to *Asia Minor*, used to convey their wares to this city as a place of general resort (30), *Salmasius* thinks it was called *Cibotos* from its being, as it were, the common treasury of those countries (31). It is worth observing, that there are no fewer than seven cities bearing the same name, *viz.* *Apamea* of *Bithynia*, *Apamea* of *Media*, *Apamea* on the *Tigris*, *Apamea* on the *Euphrates*, one in *Persia*, one in *Syria*, and one in *Phrygia*; and all situate between two rivers, which made *Bochart* (32) conclude that they were so called from the *Hebrew* verb signifying to surround, whereof the import is plainly expressed in *Jonas* (33) אפפוני מים *aphaphuni majim*.

(30) *lib.* xvii. (31) *Salmas. Plinianæ Exercitation. c.* xl. *p.* 380. (32) *Phaleg. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (33) *c.* ii. *v.* 6.

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a to that of *Miletus* so much cried up by the antients, and besides was of a very extraordinary blackness. With this the inhabitants carried on a very considerable trade, and were accounted the most wealthy people of all *Asia Minor*. *Ptolemy* makes *Laodicea* and *Diocæsarea* two different cities, wherein he is certainly mistaken. At *Laodicea* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the apocalypse, but at present not so much as the ruins of it are any where to be seen, that prophetical threat being fully accomplished; *I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot—because thou art luke-warm—I will spue thee out of my mouth* [t] (K).

*Hierapolis* famous for its mineral waters, which, according to *Strabo*'s account [t], when exposed to the air petrified in the space of a year, and yet were endued with b such a virtue as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a present remedy against innumerable distempers to such as used them [u]. Near this city was to be seen an opening on the edge of a hill of an extraordinary depth, always overspread with a thick fog, and exhaling such a pestilent steam, that no living creature could come within the reach of it without being immediately stifled. *Strabo* and *Pliny* [w], except the *Galli* or eunuchs of *Cybele*, *Ammianus* and *Dio Nicæus* all eunuchs (L) [x],

*Gordium*, the seat of *Gordius*, king of *Phrygia*, and famous for the *Gordian* knot which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. This town was situated on the borders of *Phrygia* towards *Cappadocia*, and not between the two *Phrygia's*, where c *Justin* places it [y]. Not long after the death of *Gordius* it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as *Strabo* calls it, and continued in this despicable condition till the triumvirate of *Augustus*, when it was again made a city and called *Juliopolis* by one *Cleo*, a famous robber, native of that place (M).

*Colosse*, now *Chonos*, on the south side of the *Mæander*, to the people whereof St. *Paul* wrote that epistle which is part of our canon.

*Sipylus* the residence of king *Tantalus*, and therefore called also *Tantalis*. Some place this city in *Mæonia*, supposing *Tantalus* to have reigned there. 'Tis observable that four cities, viz. *Sipylus*, *Archæopolis*, *Colpe*, and *Lebade*, were successively built on the same spot, and destroyed by earthquakes.

d *Synnada*, *Synada*, or *Synnade*, noted for its marble quarries. This city was by *Constantine the Great* declared the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*, after his division of *Phrygia* into *Pacatiana* and *Salutaris* took place (N). Besides these and several

[t] Revel. c. iii. ver. 15, 16. [t] lib. xiii. [u] Strab. ubi supra. Vitruvius, l. viii. c. 3. Ulpianus lege prima, sect. xiii. [w] lib iv. [x] Ammian. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. Dio. Nicæ. in vita Trajan, p. 252. ed. H. Steph. 1592. [y] lib. xi. c. 7.

(K) *Terrari* in his dictionary tells us that *Laodicea* is still called *Laudichia*, and by the *Turks Nove-Lefche*, that it is one of the archbishopricks of *Asia Minor*, &c. But he is either mistaken, or the town was not quite demolished in his time; at present it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beasts. Several travellers misled by the similitude of names have taken the village *Laotik* near *Angoura* for *Laodicea*. At *Eskibissar*, as it is now called, there are still to be seen four threatres of white marble, as entire as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inscription in honour of the emperor *Titus*, which the reader will find in *Spon*'s account of the *seven churches* (34).

(L) *Strabo*, an eye-witness (35) says, that in his time this *Plutonium* or opening was inclosed with bailiffs taking up about half an acre of ground in compass, that the pestilent steam kept within that inclosure, so that one might approach the bailiff without the least danger; but whoever advanced one step further was immediately stifled. What *Strabo* affirms is vouched by *Ammianus*, *Dio Nicæus*, both eye-witnesses, *Apuleius*, and many others (36). The city of *Hierapolis* is now called *Bamboakkale*, and some foot-steps of what it once was, are to be seen in the many heaps of ruins and fine pillars in the fields where it stood; insomuch that Dr. *Smith* after viewing them could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(M) This *Cleo* having with a band of robbers possessed himself of a strong hold on mount *Olympus* called *Collydium*, by frequent excursions from thence prevented the officers of *Labienus* prefect of *Asia* from gathering the annual tributes, on which consideration he was by *Marc Antony* rewarded with large territories. But in the *Actiac* war revolting from *Antony* he sided with *Augustus*, who added great part of *Morena* to what *Antony* had bestowed on him, created him priest of *Jupiter Abrettenus* worshipped by the *Mysians*, and high-priest of *Bellona*, adored in *Commana* of *Pontus*, a dignity no ways inferior to that of king (37).

(N) In the fifth general council held at *Constantinople*, *Severus* subscribes as bishop of *Synnada the metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris* (38); and yet *Socrates* in his *ecclesiastical history* (39), and *Nicephorus* blindly following him place this city in *Phrygia Pacatiana* (40). And here we may observe, by the way, that in the fourth general council held at *Chalcedon*, *Abercius* subscribes as bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Salutaris* (41), which some have looked upon as a mistake crept into the acts of that council, not reflecting that besides the more known city of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Pacatiana*, there was another of less note in *Phrygia Salutaris*. They are both mentioned by *Pliny* (42), and the one said to be under the jurisdiction of *Laodicea*, the other under that of *Pergamus*.

(34) *Spon. lib.* iii. (35) *lib.* xiii. (36) *ubi supra & Apuleius de Mundo.* (37) *Strab. lib.* xii. (38) *Concil. v. Collat* viii. (39) *lib.* vii. *cap.* 3. (40) *Nicephor. Callist. histor. lib.* xiv. *c.* 11. (41) *Concil. Chalced. Act.* xvi. (42) *lib.* v. *c.* 29, & 30.

other cities of less note mentioned by the antients, there were in latter times some of no small account, such as *Saqua* the habitation of *Etrogul* father of *Ottoman* the first king of the *Turks*, *Chara-chisar*, by the *Greeks* called *Melampyrgus*, or the *Black-tower*, *Cillexuga*, *Eincgiol*, &c. taken by the said *Ottoman* from the christian princes at the first rise of the *Ottoman* empire. a

The rivers of this country which we shall take notice of are, the *Meander*, now *Madre* and *Mindre*, a river so celebrated by the antients for its windings and turnings, that all obliquities are from thence called *Meanders*. It rises on the hill *Celæne*, the same as *Aulocrene* mentioned by *Pliny*[z], at the foot of which stood antiently a famous city of the same name. *Pliny*[a] and *Strabo*[b] derive it from a lake on the top of the said hill. It passes through *Phrygia*, divides *Caria* from *Lydia*, and after 600 windings[c], by which it seems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties itself into the *Archipelago* between *Priene* and *Miletus* (O). b

The river *Marsya*, so named from *Marsyas*, a celebrated musician, who challenging *Apollo*, was by him overcome, and flead for his presumption. Most of the antients tell us that this river hath its spring near that of the *Meander*; but *Maximus Tyrius*[d], who was upon the spot, derives them both from the same source, and so does *Strabo*[e]. It rushes down from a considerable height between rugged rocks and precipices with great noise, on which account it was called by *Herodotus*[f] *Cataracta*. It has not only the same spring with the *Meander*, but flows in the same channel through the town of *Celæne* standing at the foot of the river on which it rises. In leaving the town the main stream divides itself into two branches, and forms these two rivers, the one the most winding river in the world, the other without so much as one turning during its whole course, and therefore flowing with an incredible rapidity. Near *Apamea*, that is after a course of ten miles only, the *Marsyas* is again received within the banks of the *Meander*, which is left at *Celæne*; so that in reality these two rivers are but two branches of the same original stream. *Q. Curtius* gives us a noble description of it[g], and adds, that while it flows within the walls of *Cælene*, it is named *Marsyas*, which name, on its leaving that city, it changes for that of *Lycus*; but with this author's leave, *Marsyas* and *Lycus* are quite different rivers; the *Lycus* springs from mount *Olympus*, and discharges itself into the *Meander* not far from *Laodicea*, which was therefore called *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*; this is a quite different course from that of the *Marsyas*, which we have already described[h] (P). c d

*Sangarius Sangaris*, or *Sangurus*, is numbered by *Pliny* among the rivers of note[i]; it springs from the hill *Dindymus*, washes *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and empties itself into the *Black-Sea*. *Phryx*, which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and disembogues itself into the *Hermus*, now *Sarabat*. *Hermus*, much celebrated by the poets for its gold sands, takes its rise near *Dorylaum*, and falls into the *Archipelago* near *Smyrna*. *Mysias*, *Orgos*, *Obrima*, &c.

[z] l. xxxviii. [a] ubi supra. [b] Strab. l. xii. [c] Dio. Prusæus, lib. i. [d] Serm. xxxviii. [e] lib. xii. [f] lib. vii. [g] lib. iii. [h] Vid. Salmas. Plinianæ Exercitat. cap. xxxviii. p. 582. [i] Plin. l.

(O) The *Cayster*, now *Minderscare*, bears such a resemblance to the *Meander*, that many of our modern travellers, and among them the incomparable *Pietro della valle*, *du Loir*, and *Monconis*, have mistaken the one for the other (42). The *Turks* call the *Cayster Coutchouk-mindre* and *Minderscare*, that is, the *little Meander*, or the *black Meander*; and the *Meander* itself *Bojouc-Mindre*, the *great Meander*. Some have observed that it forms in its course the following *Greek* characters, ξ, ζ, τ, ω, ι, some pretend that *Dædalus* formed his labyrinth on this plan. *Seneca* (43) calls it *poetarum omnium exercitatio & ludus*; but *Ovid*'s description of it (44) is, in our opinion, an inimitable piece, and far preferable to any other.

(P) The poets feign that *Marsyas* having challenged *Apollo*, who flead him for his pride and arrogance, his death was so bemoaned by the nymphs and satyrs, that from their tears sprung a river called after him *Marsyas*. This *Marsyas* is said to have been the son of *Olympus*, and one of the most ingenious men of his age. He was the inventor of the pipe called *Syrinx*, and the first that brought in the playing on two pipes at a time. He was born, put to death, and buried near the spring of the river that bears his name. *Pliny* (45) gravely writes, that in his time was still to be seen the plane-tree, on which this unhappy musician ended his days. Others say, with the same appearance of truth, that it was a pine-tree. *Maximus Tyrius* (46) informs us that the rivers *Meander* and *Marsyas* were both worshipped by the inhabitants of *Celæne*; and adds, that the victims and offerings, though thrown into the common stream, never failed being carried by the waters at their parting, into the channel of that river for which the pious votaries had designed them. The river *Lycus*, which *Q. Curtius*, and with him Mr. *Spon*, mistakes for the *Marsyas* (47), runs a few miles under-ground, but appears again before it loses itself in the *Meander*, which *Ovid* seems to have been ignorant of when he said (48).

*Sic, ubi terreno Lycus est epotus hiatu,*
*Existit procul hinc, alioque renascitur orbe.*

(42) *Spon. Voyag. d'Italie, &c. tom.* i. *p.* 244. (43) *Epist.* 105. (44) *Metamorph. l.* viii. (45) *lib.* (46) *Sermons* 38. (47) *Voyage d'Italie, &c. tom.* i. *lib.* iii. (48) *Metamorph. lib.* xv.

SECT.

## SECT. III.

### *Of the antiquity, government, religion, customs, arts, learning, &c. of the antient* Phrygians.

*Their antiquity.*

a THE *Phrygians* deemed themselves the most antient people of the world, which opinion seems to have prevailed even among the *Egyptians*, at least in the time of *Psammyticus*, who in point of antiquity looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. For we are told [k], that after the experiment, which we have mentioned elsewhere [l], those great boasters of antiquity acknowledged the *Phrygians* to be more antient, challenging only the second rank to themselves. And hence it is that *Apuleius* [m] distinguishes them with the epithet of *first-born*.

*Origin.*

As to their origin, some suppose them descended from *Togarmah*, one of the *Gomer*'s sons; and of this opinion are *Josephus* and S. *Hierome* [n], who adds that they were known to the *Hebrews* under the name of *Tigrammanes*. *Herodotus* [o], *Strabo* [p],
b *Pliny* [q], and *Eustathius* [r], led by the similitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the *Brigians*, a people of *Macedonia*, who passing into *Asia Minor*, were, with a small alteration, called *Phrygians*, and the country, which they settled in, named *Phrygia*. We are not unwilling to allow, that as the *Phrygians* and *Brigians*, bore antiently the same name, so they were originally one and the same people; but how it can be deduced from thence, that the *Brigians* passed out of *Europe* into *Asia* rather than the *Phrygians* out of *Asia* into *Europe*, is what we do not comprehend. All that can be concluded from this similitude, or, if you please, identity of names, is, that they were both derived from the same origin; but in order to
c prove that the *Phrygians* were a colony of the *Brigians*, rather than the *Brigians* a colony from *Phrygia*, recourse must be had to some other argument. All we can say is, that if the *Phrygians* had been descended from the *Macedonians*, it is not likely they would have piqued themselves so much on their antiquity; at least other nations, namely the *Egyptians*, would not so readily have yielded to them the priority. *Bochart* [s] is of opinion, that the *Phrygians* were the offspring of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, the word *Phrygia* being, as we have observed elsewhere, the *Greek* translation of his name. *Josephus* makes *Gomer* the father of the *Galatians*, but he by the *Galatians* must necessarily mean the *Phrygians* inhabiting that part of *Phrygia*, which the *Galatians* had made themselves masters of; the descendants of
d *Gomer* being placed by *Ezekiel* [t] northward of *Judea*, near *Togarmah* (which *Bochart* takes to be *Cappadocia*) long after the *Gauls* passed over into *Asia*. Most of the modern writers will have the *Cimmerii* to be the offspring of *Gomer*, understanding their country by the country of *Gomer* mentioned in the scripture. But as the *Cimmerians* lay beyond the *Euxine* sea, at a vast distance from *Judea*, we can hardly think that the *Jews* had any knowledge of a nation so remote from them. The *Chaldee* paraphrasts place *Gomer* in *Afric*, wherein they must certainly be mistaken, since it is plain from *Ezekiel* [u], that his country lay northward of *Judea*. We are therefore willing to let *Gomer* enjoy the fine country which *Bochart* is pleased to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the *Phrygians*, since we have
e no body else to bestow it on.

*Their character.*

THE antient *Phrygians* are described as a superstitious, voluptuous, and effeminate race, without any prudence or forecast, and of such a servile temper, that nothing but stripes and ill-usage could make them comply with their duty, which gave rise to several trite and well-known proverbs (Q). They are said to have been the

[k] DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. p. 9. [l] PHALEG. lib. iii. [m] de Asino aur. l. xi. [n] JOSEPH. Ant. l. i. c. 7. HIERON. in quæst. Hebraicis. [o] lib. vii. [p] lib. vii. x. xii. [q] lib. v. c. 37. [r] EUSTATH. in HOMER. & DIONYS. [s] PHALEG. lib. iii. cap. 8. [t] Ezek. xlviii. 6. [u] ubi supra.

(Q) *Phryges sero sapiunt, Phryx verberatus melior, Phryx non minus quam spynthurus*, &c. which proverbs intimate their servile temper, and shew that they were more fit to bewail misfortunes in an unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper measures. Their music too was suited to their effeminate temper. The *Doric* mood was a kind of grave and solid music; the *Lydian* a doleful and lamentable harmony; but the *Phrygian* chiefly calculated to effeminate and enervate the mind. But this is contradicted by others.

first

first inventors of divination by the singing, flying and feeding of birds. Their music, commonly called the *Phrygian mood*, is alledged by some as an argument of their effeminacy. a

*Their government.* Concerning their government thus much may be said, that it was monarchical, and that all *Phrygia* was, during the reigns of some kings, subject to one prince. *Ninnacus*, *Midas*, *Manis*, *Gordius*, and his descendants, were certainly lords of all *Phrygia*. But some time before the *Trojan* war we find this country divided into several petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the same time. *Appollodorus* [w] mentions a king of *Phrygia* contemporary with *Ilus* king of *Troy*. *Cedrenus* [x] and others speak of one *Teuthrans* king of a small country in *Phrygia*, whose territories were ravaged by *Ajax*, himself slain in a single combat, his royal seat laid in ashes, and his daughter, by name *Tecmessa*, carried away captive by the conqueror. *Homer* [y] makes mention of *Phorcys* and *Ascanius*, both princes, and leaders of the *Phrygian* auxiliaries, that came to the relief of *Troy*. *Tantalus* was king of *Sipylus* only and its district, a prince no less famous for his great wealth, than infamous for his covetousness, and other detestable vices. Whether *Phrygia* was ever subdued by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, or by the *Amazons*, as we read in *Suidas* [z], is much questioned by the learned. Most authors, that speak of *Gordius*, tell us that the *Phrygians* having sent to consult an oracle in order to know how they might put an end to the intestine broils, which rent their country into many factions and parties, received for answer, that the most effectual means to deliver themselves and their country from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the government to a king, which they did accordingly, placing *Gordius* on the throne. Whence we may conclude that some time before his accession to the crown, an aristocratical or democratical form of government had been introduced. b c

*Their trade, laws, learning.* As to their trade, all we can say is, that *Apamea* was the chief emporium of all *Asia Minor*. Thither resorted merchants and traders from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and the neighbouring islands. Besides, we know from *Syncellus* that the *Phrygians* were for some time masters of the sea (he says 25 years) and none but trading nations ever prevailed on that element. The country was stocked with many choice and useful commodities, and well able to afford considerable exports. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. But as most of the *Phrygian* records are lost, we will not dwell on conjectures so hard to be ascertained. d

We have no set form of their laws; and as to their learning, since we are told that for some time they enjoyed the sovereignity of the sea, we may, at least, allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy, and add to these, from what we have said above, a more than ordinary knowledge of music.

*Their language.* Some have been of opinion that the *Phrygian* language bore a great resemblance to the *Greek*; but the contrary is manifest from the few *Phrygian* words which have been transmitted to us, and carefully collected by *Bochart* [a] and *Rudbechius* [b]. To these we may add the authority of *Strabo* [c], who after attempting to derive the name of a *Phrygian* city from the *Greek*, concludes that it is a difficult matter to discover any similitude between the barbarous words of the *Phrygian* language and the *Greek*. The *Phrygian* tongue after the experiment made by *Psammyticus* king of *Egypt*, as we have mentioned elsewhere [d], was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as the most antient language of the world. But other nations, namely the *Scythians*, refused to submit to their opinion as founded on an argument of no real weight. As the two children, say they, had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word *Bec* or *Bekkos*, the first they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had suckled them, and happened to be a *Phrygian* word signifying bread (R). A late writer [e] after observing that *Homer* in several passages distinguishes the language of the gods from that of men, endeavours to shew that the poet by the language of the gods meant the *Greek*, and by that of men the *Phrygian* (S). e f

As

[w] lib. iii. [x] Cedrenus, p. 104. Sophocl. in Ajace. Calaber. lib. iii. [y] Homer. Iliad B. [z] Suid. vit. Ὀρφεύς. [a] Bochart. Quæst. num Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia. [b] Rudbec. in Atlant. tom. i. cap. 36. [c] Strab. lib. xii. [d] Universal History, Vol. I. p. 198. [e] Lakemacherus. obser. Philol.

(R) *Goropius Becanus* makes use of the same argument to prove that the *High-Dutch* is the orginal or mother-tongue of the world, because the word *Becker* in that language signifies a baker.

(S) *Gothofredus Lakemacherus* in order to prove this chuses the two following verses (49):

Αυτὰρ ἐπ' Ἡφαίστοιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης,
Ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον,

(49) *Iliad.* 20. *ver.* 73.

where

a As to the religion of the antient *Phrygians*, we have already observed that they were greatly addicted to superstition. They had many idols, but the goddess *Cybele* seems to have been their principal deity. She was called *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Dindymene*, from *Cybelus Berecynthus*, *Dindymenus*, all hills of *Phrygia*, and *Idæa* from mount *Ida* in *Troas*, because on these hills she was worshiped in a particular manner (T). She was also named *Cubebe*, because her priests, when seized with their frentic fits, used to throw themselves on their heads, that name being derived from a *Phœnician* verb of that import. *Arnobius* [1] gives us the following account of *Cybele* from the mythology of the Gentiles. There was a vast rock on the borders of *Phrygia* called in the language of that country *Agdus*, from whence *Deucalion* and b *Pyrrah*, by the direction of *Themis*, took the stones, which they made use of to repair mankind after the deluge. From one of these sprung *Cybele the great mother of the gods*. The same rock conceived by *Jupiter*, and brought forth *Acdestis*, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite, of invincible strength, of a most cruel and intractable temper, and, above all, a most outragious enemy of the gods, who were in no small fear of him, till *Bacchus* by a cunning contrivance found means to deprive him of his manhood, and thereby rendered him somewhat more tractable. From the blood he shed on this occasion sprung up a pomegranate-tree loaded with fruit in full perfection and maturity, which *Nana* daughter to king *Sangarius* being wonderfully taken with, gathered one, and, as it was of a most beautiful appearance, c put it in her bosom. This cost her dear, for soon after proving with child, notwithstanding all her protestations of innocence, she was by her father shut up and condemned to starve. But being maintained alive with fruit conveyed to her by *Cybele*, she was in due time delivered of a son, who being exposed by his grandfather's order, was privately taken up by one *Phorbus*, and nursed with goats milk; whence he was called *Attis*, the word *Attagos* in the *Phrygian* dialect signifying a goat. As he grew up he proved a most beautiful youth, and was on that score greatly favoured both by *Cybele* and *Acdestis*; nay *Midas* king of *Phrygia* then residing at *Pessinus*, was so taken with him, that he designed to bestow on him his only daughter, by name *Ia*. The day appointed for the nuptials being come, *Midas*, to prevent any d disturbance that other suitors might create, caused the gates of the city to be shut and well guarded. But no gates or guards could keep out *the great mother of the gods*, who being stung with jealousy, presented herself at the gate of the royal palace, with the walls of the city, and all their turrets on her head; whence she was ever afterwards pictured with a crown of towers on her head. At the same time came *Acdestis*, who inspiring with an enthusiastic frensy all who assisted at the fatal nuptials, changed the genial banquet into a scene of horror and confusion. The unhappy bridegroom in the height of his fury emasculating himself under a pine-tree, soon after died of the wound; the bride laying violent hands on herself accompanied her spouse to the shades. *Acdestis* and *Cybele* drenched in tears long bewailed the untimely and

*Their religion.*

[1] Arnobius contra Gentes, lib. viii.

where *Homer* tells us that the river here mentioned is by the gods named *Xanthus*, and by men *Scamander*. He shews, that as *Xanthos* is a *Greek* word signifying *yellow*, the abovementioned river had very probably its name from the *Greeks*, who gave the same name, as *Strabo* (50) witnesses, to another river in *Lycia* on account of its yellow sands. From hence he infers that *Homer*, by the language of the gods, can mean no other than the *Greek*. As to the word *Scamander*, he thinks that this name was communicated to the river from one *Scamandrius*, son of *Hector*, and king of the *Phrygians*, whose territories were watered by this river, it being a common custom among the antients to call the rivers after the names of the princes through whose countries they had their course. Now as *Scamandrius*, says he, was a *Phrygian*, his name was undoubtedly taken from that language; from whence he concludes that the name of the river *Scamander* is originally *Phrygian*, and that *Homer* by the language of men means the *Phrygian*. This author concludes the same of all other passages in *Homer*, where such a distinction is made; the more because two other words attributed by *Homer* to men, viz. *Batia* and *Kumindis* are without doubt *Phrygian*; the one being the name of a hill in *Phrygia*, and the other of a bird mostly frequenting mount *Ida* in *Troas*.

(T) *Philostephanus* is of opinion that the hill *Dindymene* was so called, because it had διδύμας κορυφάς, two tops; but *Strabo* says in express terms that it has but one. *Bochart* (51) thinks that a cymbal was in the *Phrygian* language called *Dindum*, as it is in the *Syrian Zinnum*; and from thence he derives the name of the hill *Dindymus*; the more because the invention of cymbals is generally ascribed to the *Phrygians*, and in particular to this goddess (52), whose festival was on that account solemnized on mount *Dindyme* with great noise of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and other instruments.

(50) *lib.* xiv. *p.* 665. (51) *Bochart. de Quæst. Utrum Æneas fuerit unquam in Italia?* (52) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii.

cruel death of their beloved *Attis*, and *Jupiter* having, at their joint entreaties, a exempted his body from corruption, a magnificent temple was erected to his memory in *Pessinus*, ceremonies instituted, priests appointed, *&c.* Thus far *Arnobius*.

*Eusebius* [h] gives us a very different account of *Cybele* and *Attis* or *Atys*, copied, as he informs us, from the antient *Phrygian* mythologists. According to these, the first king of *Phrygia*, by name *Meon*, was father to *Cybele*, who being smitten with the charms of *Attis*, proved with child by him; whereupon *Meon* caused *Attis* to be put to death, at which *Cybele* being unspeakably grieved, wandered long up and down *Phrygia* seeking in the mountains and woods some allay to her grief. Her sorrow being in length of time somewhat assuaged, she admitted *Apollo* into an b intimacy with her, and with him wandered to the *Hyperboreans*. By his order the body of *Attis* was interred, and *Cybele* after her death ranked among the gods. From these two accounts of *Cybele*, which come both from very good hands, we may conlude that the *Phrygians* had different genealogies for, and traditions of, this their chief deity (U).

THIS goddess was pictured sitting in a chariot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment seeded with flowers of different colours. The mythologists by *Cybele* mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key she holds in her hand intimates that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a certain c manner locked up, begins to open in the spring, and the seeds to shoot up; her garment variegated with flowers of divers colours is a symbol of the earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all sorts of animals, which she both produces and nourishes; finally *Saturn*, that is Time, is feigned to be her husband, to signify that the earth produces nothing but in time. *Eusebius* and others are of opinion that *Cybele* was a woman famous for remedies against such distempers as young children are subject to, and that on this skill or knowledge are grounded all the stories that are related of her.

*Cybele* had her peculiar priests, ceremonies and sacrifices. Her priests were called in the *Phrygian* language *Cubeboi* for the reason we have alledged above. The d *Greeks* and *Latins* named them *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, which is the *Greek* translation of the word *Cubeboi*, and *Galli* from the river *Gallus* flowing through *Pessinus*, where this goddess had a magnificent temple. They were also stiled *Idæi dactyli*; but it is no easy matter to account for this appellation. *Sophocles* quoted by *Strabo* [k] informs us that they were called *Idæi* because they inhabited mount *Ida*, and *Dactyli* from the *Greek* word *Dactylus*, signifying a finger, they being at first ten, which is the number of a man's fingers. *Strabo* indeed numbers five brothers [l], viz. *Hercules*, *Pæon*, *Epimides*, *Jasias*, and *Idas*, adding that they had as many sisters. But in other writers we find three only mentioned, and quite different from those *Strabo* speaks of, viz. *Kelmis*, *Damnameneus*, and *Acmon*. *Apollonius* [m] acknowledges but e two, *Fitia* and *Cyllenus*. Some derive the name of *Corybantes* from the word *Cherub*, signifying in the *Phœnician* language *valiant*, and add that they were the guards of the first kings of *Phrygia* [n] (W).

THE

[h] EUSEB. Præpar. Evangelic. l. ii. iv. [i] DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii EUSEB. de Præpar. Evang. [k] STRAB. lib. x. p. 473. [l] ubi supra. [m] APOLLON. in Argonaut. [n] Fr. Not. in Scholiast. Luciani. tom. ii. PITISCUS. Lexicon Antiquitat. NATALIS COMES. l. ix. Myth. c. vii.

(U) The *Roman* writers differ widely from those we have quoted, and frequently among themselves. *Cybele* according to them was the daughter of heaven and earth, wife of *Saturn*, and the same with *Ops*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, and the *Bona dea*. She was exposed immediately after her birth on mount *Cybelus*, nursed there first by wild beasts, and after by the wife of a shepherd, who found her by chance, *&c.* The *Romans* having learnt from the books of the sibyls that they would never be able to drive the *Carthaginians* out of *Italy* till the *Idean mother* was brought to *Rome*, sent thereupon embassadors to king *Attalus*, who delivered to them a stone, which the inhabitants of *Pessinus* called the *great mother of the gods*. This happened in the year of *Rome* 550 (53). 'Tis to be observed that the *Romans* made *Cybele* to be the same with *Vesta*, but acknowledged two goddesses bearing the same appellation, which their poets frequently confound; *Cybele* was that *Vesta* they called the earth, and wife to *Saturn*, she was called *Vesta* because *Stat vi terra sua*, as *Ovid* says, *vi stando Vesta vocatur*. The other was daughter to *Saturn*, and the goddess of fire, or rather fire itself, according to that verse of the same poet, *Nec tu aliud Vesta quam vivam intelligo flammam*.

(W) *Diodorus* tells us (54) that *Cybele* was daughter to *Meon* king of *Phrygia*, that she married *Jasius* a *Samothracian*, the brother of *Dardanus*, and had by him a son called *Corybas*; that after the death of her husband she went with *Dardanus* and *Corybas*

(53) *Liv. Decad.* iii. *l.* 9 (54) *Diodor. p.* 223.

a THE ceremonies performed by these priests in honour of this goddess were 1st, At stated times they used to carry her statue about the streets dancing and skipping round it, and after having with violent gesticulations worked themselves up to the height of frensy, they began to cut and flash their bodies with knives and lancets, appearing seized with a divine fury. This ceremony was performed in commemoration of the grief wherewith *Cybele* was transported at the death of her beloved *Attis*: 2dly, A pine-tree was yearly wrapp'd up in wool, and with great solemnity carried by the priests into the temple of the goddess, in commemoration of her wrapping up after the same manner the dead body of *Attis*, and carrying it to her cave; on these occasions the priests were crowned with violets, which were b supposed to have sprung from the blood of *Attis*, when he laid violent hands on himself. The victims immolated in honour of the *Phrygian* goddess were a bull or a she-goat, whence the sacrifice was called *Taurobolium* or *Criobolium*. At *Rome* a sow was yearly sacrificed to her, and the ceremony performed by a priest and priestess sent for out of *Phrygia* on that occasion. Her priests, (those at least who were known under the name of *Galli*) were all eunuchs; this the great goddess required of them in memory of *Attis*; the waters of the river *Gallus*, when plentifully drunk, were believed to inspire them with such a frentic enthusiasm as to perform the operation on themselves without the least reluctancy. They were not allowed to drink wine, because *Attis*, overcome with that liquor, disclosed his amours c with *Acdestis*, which he had ever before concealed with the utmost care. They abstained from bread, in commemoration of the long fast which *Cybele* kept after the death of the same *Attis*. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occasions, which tenet, some tell us, was common to all the *Phrygians*. The priests were placed after their death on a stone ten cubits high*. Though the *Romans* professed a great veneration for *Cybele*, yet we find that they looked upon her priests as the very refuse of mankind; of which we have a signal instance in *Valerius Maximus* †, who tells us that one *Genucius*, a *Gallus* or eunuch of *Cybele*, having by a decree of the *Prætor* been admitted to the possession of an estate that had been bequeathed him, *Mamer-*

* ARNOB. lib v. HIERONY. Epist. ad Lætam. † NAN. MAX. l. vii. c. 7. NATALIS COMES lib. ix. Myth. PITISCUS. Lexicon. Antiquit. &c.

*bas* into *Phrygia*, and introduced into that country the mysteries of the mother of the gods, calling the goddess after her own name *Cybele*, and her priests *Corybantes* from her son *Corybas*. Thus *Diodorus*; but *Dionysius* (55) informs us, that *Dardanus* instituted the *Samothracian* mysteries, that his wife *Chryse* learnt them in *Arcadia*, and that *Idæus* the son of *Dardanus* instituted afterwards the mysteries of the mother of the gods in *Phrygia*. *Herodotus* brings the *Curetes* out of *Phœnicia* with *Cadmus*; and Sir *Isaac Newton* (56) thinks that having followed *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, some of them settled in *Phrygia*, where they were called *Corybantes*, some in *Crete*, where they were named *Idæi dactyli*, others in *Rhodes*, where they were stiled *Telchines*; others in *Samothrace*, where they were known under the name of *Cabiri*; some in *Eubœa*, where, as they were well skilled in arts and sciences, they wrought in copper (iron not being yet invented) in a city thence called *Calchis*; some in *Lemnos*, where they assisted *Vulcan*; some in *Imbrus*; and a very considerable number of them in *Ætolia*, which was thence called the country of the *Curetes*, till *Ætolus* the son of *Endymion* possessing himself of it, called it *Ætolia*. These *Curetes* making themselves armour used to dance in it at the sacrifices with great noise of pipes, and drums, and swords, which they struck upon one another's armour, keeping time, and forming some kind of harmony. And this is reckoned the origin of music in *Greece* both by *Solinus* and *Isidorus* (57). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (58) ascribes to the *Curetes* the invention of musical rhymes, and of the letters called *Ephesian*. And Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion (59), that when the *Phœnician* letters were by *Cadmus* brought into *Greece*, they were at the same time introduced into *Phrygia* and *Crete* by the *Curetes*, who called them *Ephesian* from the city of *Ephesus*, where they were first taught. These *Curetes* were no less esteemed for their skill and knowledge in religious matters, and mystical practices, than for their arts and sciences (60). In *Phrygia* they attended the mysteries of *Cybele*; in *Crete* and the *Terra Curetum* those of *Jupiter*, who had been brought up under their care and tuition in a cave of mount *Ida*, where they danced about him in their armour with great noise to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father *Saturn* who sought his destruction. *Bochart* (61) brings them from *Palestine*, and thinks they had the name of *Curetes* from a people among the *Philistines* called *Crethim* or *Cerethites*. We must not forget that *Cybele* or the *Great Mother* was sometimes represented with a key, and sometimes with a drum in her hand; which has made some think that she was the same with the *Syrian* goddess *Astarte*, whose chariot was also drawn by lions. *Lucian* tells us (62), that she was the *Cretan Rhea*, that is, according to some, *Europa* the sister of *Cadmus*; and thus the *Phœnicians* first introduced, as Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, among the *Greeks* and *Phrygians* the practice of deifying their dead; for we meet with no instance of any such practice before the departure of *Cadmus* and *Europa* from *Sidon*.

(55) *Dionys. l.* i. *p.* 38, 42. (56) *The chronology of ancient kingdoms, &c. c.* ii. *p.* 146. (57) *Solin. Polyhist. c.* xi. *Isidor. orig. l.* xi. *c.* 6. (58) *Clem. Strom. l.* i. (59) *ubi supra.* (60) *Strab. l.* x. *p.* 472, 473. *Diodor. l.* v. *c.* 4. (61) *Boch. in Canaan, l.* i. *c.* 15. (62) *Lucian. de Saltatione.*

CUS

*cus Æmilius Lepidus*, at that time consul, being appealed to, reversed the decree a of the prætor, adding thereunto, that an eunuch, as being neither man nor woman, could not enjoy any privileges of that nature. This judgment *Valerius Maximus* extolls as a decree worthy of *Mamercus*, worthy of one that was at the head of the senate, since it put a stop to the appearing of eunuchs in the courts of judicature, and defiling the tribunals with their unhallowed presence, under pretence of suing for justice.

Besides *Cybele*, who was the peculiar deity of *Phrygia*, the *Phrygians* had divers other idols; namely *Bacchus* whom they stiled *Sabazios*, and his priests and temples *Saboi*, whence *Bochart* derives the *Hebrew* word *Sabbath*, as that of *Levite* from *Lysius* and *Evius*[q]. *Apollodorus* acquaints us[r] that while *Bacchus* was travelling b through *Phrygia*, he was purified by *Cybele*, instructed in her mysteries, and presented by her with a stole, which was the first he ever used (X). *Adagyus*, whom *Bochart*[s] takes to be *Hermaphroditus*, the son of *Venus* and *Mercury*, there being, at least to his ear, a great similitude of sound between *Adagyus* and *Androgynus*. Some rank also the *Cabiri* or *Cabires* among the *Phrygian* deities, and add, that they were so called from *Cabirus* a hill in *Phrygia*, or, as *Stesimbrotus* terms it, in *Berecynthia*[t]. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, signifying *great* or *powerful*[u]. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Manaseas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto* and *Mercury*, whom he disguises under the uncouth appellations c of *Axioros*, *Axiokersa*, *Axiokersos*, and *Kasmilos*; to these *Dionysiodorus* adds a fourth, whom he stiles *Casmilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the same with *Mercury*; but he is universally looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and no ways on the level with the *Cabiri*, termed *the most high*, *the most powerful*[w]. But these we shall have occasion to mention when we come to speak of the *Samothracian* deities.

We likewise read of some dances and songs used by the *Phrygians* in solemnizing the festivals of their gods, and sometimes on other occasions, which they called *Lityerses* from *Lityerses* son of *Midas* king of *Phrygia*. *Hesychius* mentions certain *Phrygian* dances called by him *Bricismata*, without doubt from the word *Briges* the antient name of the *Phrygians*[x]. Some speak of a dance called *Sicinnis*, invented, d say they, by a *Phrygian* nymph, and used by the *Phrygians* in honour of *Sabatius*, whom they add to the number of the other *Phrygian* gods[y]. But it is now time to proceed to the history of the *Phrygian* kings.

[q] Vide Boch. ubi supra. [r] Apollodor. lib. iii. [s] Boch, ubi supra. [t] Bochar. ubi supra. [u] Bochar. ubi supra. [w] Bochar. ubi supra. [x] Bochar. ubi supra. [y] Bochar. ubi supra.

(X) *Stephanus* (63) writes that when *Bacchus* was born, *Jupiter* committed the care of him to one of *Cybele*'s female attendants, by name *Ma*, who being asked by *Juno*, whose child she nursed, answered, that it was the child of *Mars*, whence *Bacchus* in the *Carian* dialect was called *Masaris* or *Masares*, that is, the *Mars* of *Ma*.

(63) Voce Μᾶ.

## SECT. IV.

### *The reigns of the kings of* Phrygia.

The successions and reigns of the kings of *Phrygia* are overcast with such an a impenetrable mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However we shall here produce what occurs in history relating thereto, and appears most worthy of credit.

The first king of *Phrygia* we find mentioned in history is *Nannacus*, *Annacus* or *Cannacas*, for he bore all these appellations. *Suidas*[a] says that he reigned before the flood of *Deucalion*, and that from thence things exceeding ancient were proverbially said to be from the time of *Nannacus*. He lived to a very great age, for it is recorded of him that when he was above three hundred years old he sent to enquire of all such oracles as were in any repute how long he should live. The oracles unanimously answered, that at his death all things were to perish; whereupon

[a] Verbo Ἀνάκος.

repairing

a repairing with his subjects to the temples of the gods, he strove there with many sighs and tears to appease their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; and thence *to weep like Nannacus*, became a trite expression to signify an extraordinary grief or sorrow [z]. Not long after *Nannacus* died, and the flood of *Deucalion* ensued, which was attended with the destruction of mankind.

*Midas* appears next, of whom all we can say is that he resided at *Pessinus*, and designed to dispose of his daughter, by name *Ia*, in marriage to *Attis* or *Atys*, as we have already mentioned. This perhaps is the *Midas* who built, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us [r], a magnificent temple at *Pessinus*, and appointed yearly sacrifices to be performed there in honour of the great mother of the gods. *Hyginus* seems to
b make him the son of *Cybele* [s].

The next king we read of is *Manis*, a prince, as *Plutarch* [t] informs us, of such prowess and virtue, that the word *Manic*, derived from his name, became synonimous with *Great*, whence *Manic atchievements* were among the *Phrygians* the same as great, glorious, heroic atchievements [b].

After these reigned *Gordius*, who was raised from the plough to the throne. His rise is related thus [c]: While he was one day ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke, and continued there all day. *Gordius*, terrified at this prodigy, went to consult the soothsayers of *Telmissus*, a city in *Lydia*, about this so extraordinary an event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the *Telmissians*.
c At his entering the city he met with a most beautiful young woman, who upon his enquiring after the soothsayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as she was herself skilled in the art, that nothing less than a kingdom was presaged by that omen; and therewithal offered herself ready to share with him, in wedlock, the hopes with which she had inspired him. This offer seemed to him the greatest happiness that could attend a crown, he therefore readily complied with her request, gratifying at the same time his own inclination. Not long after a sedition breaking out among the *Phrygians*, the oracles, which they consulted on that occasion, were all unanimous in advising them to commit the government to a king, if they desired to put a stop to the growing evils. Upon
d this the *Phrygians* having sent again to consult about the person whom they should raise to that dignity, their embassadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that the first man, who after their return should visit in a cart the temple of *Jupiter*, was by the gods designed for their king. The embassadors had scarce delivered the answer of the oracle, when *Gordius* appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately with loud shouts of joy proclaimed king of *Phrygia*. *Gordius*, acknowledging the crown from *Jupiter*, in memory of so signal a favour consecrated in his temple the cart to *regal majesty*, which not by the *Phrygians* only, but other nations, was adored as a goddess. To the beam of the cart he fastened a knot woven with such art, and so perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promised by the oracles to him who
e should untie it, which *Alexander the Great* having attempted in vain, cut it at last with his sword, *and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle*. We know nothing more of *Gordius*, but that he built the city of *Gordium*, which was his residence, and that of all the princes of the *Gordian* family. *Plutarch* writes [d], that his son *Midas* was born of the goddess worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Bona Dea*; but whether she was wife to *Gordius* is much questioned by the mythologists (Y).

[z] Suid. ubi supra. Erasm. Chiliad. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. c. 5. [s] Hygin. fab. 191, & 274. [t] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osirid. [b] Erasm. Adag. Chiliad. i. Cent. iii. lxxvii. [c] Strab. l. xii. Justin. l. xi. Curt. l. iii. Arrian. l. ii. Ælian. vit. H. l. i. c. 1. [d] Plutarch. in vita Cæsaris.

(Y) *Midas*, the son of *Gordius*, according to *Ælian* and *Arrian* (64), was the first king of the *Gordian* family that reigned in *Phrygia*. They tell us that the *Phrygians*, having enquired of the oracle by what means they could put an end to their intestine broils, received for answer, that a cart would bring them a king who should restore their country to its former tranquillity; and that while they were musing on this answer, *Midas* came riding in his cart into the throng, who was immediately acknowledged king. But most writers begin, as we have done, the reign of the *Gordian* family with *Gordius* himself. *Justin* (65) makes *Midas* king of the *Brigians* in *Macedonia*; and adds, that being driven from his own territories he retired into *Asia Minor*, where the *Brigians* with a small alteration were termed *Phrygians*. According to this writer then the *Phrygians*, under the conduct of *Midas*, migrated out of *Europe* into *Asia*, and of course there were no *Phrygians* in *Asia* before *Midas*; how then could his father *Gordius* reign in *Phrygia*, and be raised to the throne from so mean a condition, as *Justin* himself relates? As to the *Gordian* knot, some authors say that it was of the bark of a cornel tree, and that it fastened the yoke of the cart to the beam.

(64) *Ælian. vit. H. l.* i. *c.* 1. *Arrian. l.* iii. (65) *Justin. l.* xi. *c.* 7.

*Gordius* was succeeded by his son *Midas*, of whom it was recorded, that when he was a child, a swarm of ants was observed very busy one day, while he was asleep, in conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth; whereupon the oracles being consulted, returned answer, that immense riches were presaged by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled, for he is accounted by all the antients as one of the richest princes that ever reigned [a]. *Strabo* [f] says that he drew vast treasures from mines of metal, discovered perhaps in his reign, on mount *Bermius*. He is greatly commended by some writers for the comelinesS of his person, by others for the religious bent of his mind. He is said to have been instructed by *Orpheus* in the mysteries of religion, and to have filled *Phrygia* with new deities, temples, priests, ceremonies and sacrifices [g]. He introduced the custom of mourning over the dead with doleful songs or dirges, and by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceased mother brought the *Phrygians* by degrees to worship her as a goddess [h]. He built the town of *Ancyra* [i], where an anchor of his contrivance was to be seen in the temple of *Jupiter*, when *Pausanias* travelled through *Greece* [k]. He is said to have reigned not over *Phrygia* only, but also *Dardania* [l]. *Cleobulus Lyndius*, one of the seven sages of *Greece*, honoured his monument with an epitaph [m], which is falsely ascribed by some to *Homer* [n]. His wife, by name *Hermodica*, is celebrated by *Heraclides* [o] in regard of her beauty and wisdom, and said to have been the first that taught the inhabitants of *Cyme* to coin money. By her *Midas* had three sons, *Gordius*, *Ancharas*, and *Otreus*; his fourth son *Lityerses* was a bastard (Z).

After *Midas* reigned his eldest son *Gordius*, but all we can say of him is, that he surrounded the town of *Gordium* with a wall [p]. His brother *Ancharus* is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even sacrificed his life for the publick welfare. The fact is related thus [q]; during the reign of his father *Midas* the earth opened to a prodigious depth, and swallowed up great part of the city *Celæne*; whereupon *Midas*, having recourse to his oracles, understood that the opening would not close till the most valuable thing in human life were thrown into it. This answer was no sooner imparted to the inhabitants, but all the gold, silver, jewels, and whatever else of any value came to their hands, was gladly sacrificed to the common safety. But all to no effect, for the gap continuing open threatened both the city and citizens with present destruction, when *Ancharus* considering with himself that nothing in the world was of such value as a human soul, embraced

[a] Cic. l. i. de Divin. Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. Ælian. vit. H. l. xii. c. 15. [f] Strab. l. xiv. p. 680. [g] Arrian. l. ii. Justin. l. xi. [h] Suidas Ἄλγος. [i] Nonnus, in orat. 30. Greg. Naz. Pausan. in Atticis. Suidas Μίδας. [k] Pausan. ubi supra. L. Servius in Æneid. II. [m] Plato in Phædro. Laer. in Cleob. [n] Plutarch. in vita, & anthologium Planudis. [o] Heraclides in Politiis. [p] Stephanus, p. 99. [q] Plutarch. in Parall. Stobæus, Serm. 7.

(Z) Nothing has rendered the name of *Midas* more famous than the *Greek* proverb Μίδας ἔχει ὦτα, that is, *Midas has asses ears*; but what gave rise to that saying is variously reported. The poets tell us that in a trial of skill between *Pan* and *Apollo*, both famous musicians, and rivals in that art, *Midas* gave sentence in favour of the former, whereupon *Apollo* clapp'd a pair of asses ears on his head: this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at last it was unfortunately discovered by his barber, and made public. Others say that *Midas* having offered an affront to *Bacchus*, was by the incensed deity metamorphosed into an ass. *Conon* in his first narration (66) tells us that *Midas*, having found a treasure, became very rich; that being instructed by *Orpheus* on mount *Pierius*, he got himself by various artifices proclaimed king of the *Brigians*; that in his reign *Silenus* appeared on mount *Brime*, that whatever *Midas* touched was immediately turned into gold; and that making use of this prodigy, he persuaded his subjects to remove out of *Europe* into that country which lies on the *Hellespont*; that he settled in *Mysia*, and there changed the name of his subjects, calling them no more *Brigians*, but *Phrygians*. He adds that *Midas* had a great many spies dispersed up and down the country, by whose information he knew whatever his subjects did or said, whence he reigned in peace and tranquillity to a great age, none of his subjects daring to enter into any plot or conspiracy against him. His knowing by this means whatever his subjects spoke of him occasioned the saying, that *Midas had long ears*; and as asses are said to be endowed with the sense of hearing to a degree of perfection above all other animals, he was also said to have asses ears; but in process of time, what was taken in a metaphorical sense began to run current in the world for truth. *Tully* (67) relates that *Silenus* being taken prisoner by *Midas* instead of paying gold for his ransom, taught the king, that the greatest happiness was not to be born, and next to that to die soon. To other fables the poets add, that for entertaining *Bacchus* he was rewarded by the gods with the virtue of changing into gold whatever he touched, which is interpreted by some as if he had been extremely covetous, studying by all means and methods to fill his coffers (68).

(66) *Conon apud Phot. Biblioth.* (67) *Tuscul. Quæst. l.* i. (68) *Maximus Tyrius Serm.* 3. *Joan. Tzetzes histor.* 2. *Isaacius Tzetzes in Cassandram Lycophrontis. p.* 377. *Fulgentius, l.* ii. *Natalis Comes Mythol. l.* ix. *c.* 15. *Greg. Sabinus in lib.* xi. *Metamorph.*

his

a his father, took leave of his wife *Timothea*, and mounting on horseback rid full speed into the opening, which immediately closed. His example was long after followed in a parallel case by *Curtius* the *Roman*.

*Otreus* is stiled by *Homer* [q] king of all *Phrygia*, and said to have been contemporary with *Anchises*, whence we may conclude, that he succeeded his brother *Gordius*.

*Lityerses* reigned at *Celænæ*, and is described as a rustic, unsociable, and inhuman tyrant. *Sositheus* the tragedian paints him as one of an insatiable and canine appetite, having in one day, as this poet writes, emptied three large baskets of bread, and drank out twelve gallons of wine. He took great pleasure in agriculture, and b used often to labour in the fields like a common husband-man. But as acts of cruelty were what he chiefly delighted in, he used to oblige such as happened to pass by while he was reaping, to join with him in the work; and then cutting off their heads for their pains, bind up their bodies in the sheaves. For these and such like cruelities he was put to death by *Hercules*, and his body thrown into the *Mæander* [r]. However his memory was cherished by the reapers of *Phrygia* (for reaping was his favourite employment); and an hymn, from him called *Lityerses*, sung in harvest-time in honour of their fellow-labourer [s].

*Midas* II. was king of all *Phrygia*, but whose son he was, or whom he succeeded, is what we find no-where recorded. He was an usurper, and seized on the crown c in the following manner: One night under pretence of offering a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of *Gordium*, attended with a numerous band of *Phrygians*, playing on all sorts of musical instruments; but at the same time, as they were privy to their master's design, with swords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curiosity, and not suspecting any treachery, followed them out of town, when the conspirators all on a sudden throwing away their musical instruments, fell upon the multitude sword in hand, seized the city, and in that terror and confusion nobody daring to oppose them, proclaimed *Midas* king of *Phrygia* [t]. Midas II.

*Midas* II. was succeeded by *Gordius* III. perhaps his son. He is mentioned by d *Herodotus* [u] as father to *Midas*, and that is all we can say of him. *Herodotus* does not stile him king, but as his son reigned, it is not unlikely that he held the crown before him. Gordius III.

*Midas* III. son of *Gordius*, was the first among foreign princes that sent donations to the oracle at *Delphi*; he presented that deity with the royal seat or tribunal, from whence he used to administer justice. *Herodotus*, in whose time it was still to be seen, commends it as a piece of most exquisite workmanship [w]: at that time it stood by the golden cups, with which *Gyges* king of *Lydia* had presented the same oracle; for after *Midas*, *Gyges* was the first of the *Barbarians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, who sent presents to *Delphi* [x]. Perhaps this *Midas* was succeeded by another *Gor-* e *dius*, for we find that the kings of *Phrygia* took alternatively the names of *Gordius* and *Midas*. Midas III.

*Midas* IV. lived in most calamitous times, when the *Cimmerians*, being driven out of *Europe* by the *Scythians*, invaded *Asia Minor*, possessed themselves of *Sardis*, and made a most dreadful havock of the *Lydians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Phrygians*. *Gordius* not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, and foreseeing the many evils that were inevitably to fall upon him, thought best to prevent them by putting an end to his unhappy days, which he did accordingly, drinking off a large cup of bull's blood [y]. And this is the first time that we find this sort of death mentioned in history; his example was followed long after by f *Psammenitus* king of *Egypt*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*. *Plutarch* [z] says, that *Midas* thus ended his life, being driven to despair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but these in all likelihood were occasioned from the terror and consternation he was in at the approach of so dreadful and mercilefs an enemy. *Midas* had two sons, *Adrastus*, and another whose name is not mentioned in history. *Adrastus*, having unfortunately killed his brother in his father's life time, and being thereupon banished *Phrygia*, repaired to the court of *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, who not only purified him according to the custom of those days, from the blood he had innocently shed, Midas IV. *Year of the flood* 2447. *Before Christ* 576.

[q] Homer. in hymnis. [r] Athenæus, l. x. c. 1. Suidas Αἰτυέρσης Pollux. l. iv. [s] Theocritus Eidill. x. Erasm. Adag. Chiliad. iii. Cent. iv. Ad. lxxv. [t] Polyænus, lib. vii. [u] Herodot. lib. i. [w] Herodot. l. i. [x] Herodot. ubi supra. [y] Strab. l. i. Eustatius in odyss. λ. [z] Plutarch. in Q. Flaminio.

but

but earnestly pressed him to remain at his court, assuring him he should want for a nothing that *Crœsus* could give him. *Adrastus* complied with his request, and being entrusted with the education of the king's favourite son by name *Atys*, he unfortunately killed him too at a chace; which so grieved him, that he laid violent hands on himself, though *Crœsus* had generously forgiven him[a]. In him ended the royal family of *Phrygia*, which became a province of the *Lydian* monarchy, and continued in that state till *Crœsus* was conquered, and all *Lydia* reduced by *Cyrus*, as we shall relate in the history of *Lydia*.

[a] Herodot. ubi supra.

## SECT. V.

### *The history of* Phrygia Minor.

THE tract we commonly call *Phrygia Minor* was antiently styled *Troas*, *Teucria*, b and *Dardania*, from kings that reigned in that country. It was also named *Idæa* from mount *Ida*, and *Phrygia* from the *Phrygians*, who were masters of great part of it, some say before, others after the destruction of *Troy*; the epithet of *Minor* was added, to distinguish it from the other *Phrygia*, where *Midas* reigned, as *Eustathius* expresses himself[a]. In the reign of king *Priam* the name of *Troas* generally prevailed.

This country was divided into two parts, the maritime called *Hellespontiaca*; and the mediterranean termed *Epictetus*. The former borrowed its name from the *Hellespont*, and extended along the coast from the town of *Percote*, to the promontory *Lectum* or *Lecton* opposite to the north side of the island of *Lesbos*. This part was c properly called *Troas* or *Troia*, though the *Trojan* kingdom extended from the river *Aesopus* to the banks of the *Caycus*[b], including not only *Troas*, but also the *Greater* and *Lesser Mysia*. *Epictetus*, or the inland part of *Phrygia Minor* extended to the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus* in the *Greater Mysia*. This part at first belonged to *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who yielded it, by agreement, to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, whence it was called *Epictetus*, that is, acquired. However these appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all *Phrygia Minor* (A).

*Phrygia Minor*, as precisely as we can gather, lay between the forty and forty-second degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among d authors as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may say, that *Phrygia Minor*, as comprehending both the *Hellespontiaca* and *Epictetus*, was bounded by the *Propontis* on the north, by the *Ægean* sea on the south, by *Mysia Minor* on the east, and the *Hellespont* on the west.

*Cities of* Phrygia Minor.

On the coast were the cities of *Percote*, *Abydus*, *Arisba*, *Dardanum*, *Rhetum*, *Sigeum*, *Troy*, or *Ilium*, *Larissa*, *Colonæ*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, &c. *Percote* is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, and *Homer*, who mentions one *Merops* and his two sons as being of this city[c]. *Abydos* was built by the *Milesians* on the *Hellespont*, and became famous for the poetical story of *Hero* and *Leander*. Here it was that *Xerxes* began his bridge so much talked of, over which, in seven days and seven e nights, he marched, according to *Herodotus*, seventeen-hundred-thousand foot, and fourscore-thousand horse, exclusive of the camels and carriages. Here all *Alexander*'s cavalry, and most of his infantry, landed under the command of *Parmenio*, on their passing out of *Europe* in *Asia*. The geographers are generally of opinion that the castles of the *Dardanelles* were built on the ruins of *Sestos* and *Abydos*;

[a] Eustath. in Dionys. ver. 810. [b] Strab. l. xiii. p. 582. [c] Homer. Iliad. A. ver. 229.

(A) *Strabo* sometimes distinguishes *Troas Hellespontiaca* from *Epictetus*, and sometimes confound them; nay, he often makes *Epictetus* part of *Phrygia Major* (69), wherein he agrees with *Ptolemy*. *Eustathius* distinguishes three *Phrygia*'s, viz. the *Greater* where *Midas* reigned, extending as far as *Pisidias*; the *Lesser* lying on the *Hellespont*, and from thence reaching to mount *Olympus*; the third he calls *Epictetus*, and places it near *Dorylæum*.

(69) *Strab. l.* xii. *p.* 374. 388. 393.

but

a but they are manifestly mistaken, for the castles are directly opposite to each other, whereas *Sestos* was a great way nearer the *Propontis* than *Abydos*; and *Strabo*[d] reckons 3750 paces from the port of *Abydos* to that of *Sestos*. Besides there are no remains of antiquity to be seen near the castles, but very remarkable ones three miles further, where the channel is considerably narrower[e] (B). *Arisba*, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of *Alexander*'s army, after he had passed the *Hellespont*. *Dardanum*, built by king *Dardanus*, near a promontory, bearing the same name. This city was the residence of *Dardanus*, and his successor *Erichtonius*. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and in length of time to all *Troas*. Some think that the *Dardanelles* borrowed their name from this city. Here *Mithridates* and b *Sylla* concluded a peace. Some say, with what foundation we know not, that *Dardanum* was the patrimony of *Æneas*. *Rhœteum*, memorable for the tomb of *Ajax*, who was said to have been interred there[f]. *Sigeum*, seated on a promontory of the same name, whence that sea is called the *Sigean* sea[g]. On this promontory was the tomb of *Achilles*, which *Alexander* honoured with a visit, and in antient times a statue of the same *Achilles*[h], with ear-rings like the statue of a woman, which *Tertullian*[i] interprets as an argument of his effeminacy in point of dress (C).

*Troy* or *Ilium*, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, was built by *Tros* king of that country, who called it *Troy* from his own name, and *Ilium* from that of his son *Ilus*. It was seated on a rising c ground near mount *Ida*, and about five miles from the shore. There were scarce any remains of it to be seen in *Strabo*'s time and most of the antient, as well as the modern writers, confound the old and new *Ilium*. All[k] *Strabo* says of its situation is,

[d] Strab. l. xiii. [e] Tournefort voyage au Levant. Spon. voyage d'Italie Dalmatie, &c. [f] Strab. l. xiii. p. 409. [g] Virg. Æneid. ii. ver. 312. [h] Salmasius Plinianæ exercitat. p. 610. [i] Tertul. de pallio. [k] Strab. l. xiii.

(B) The *Hellespont*, every one knows, signifies the sea of *Helle*; for the antients tell us, that a daughter of *Athamas* king of *Thebes*, whose name was *Helle*, was drowned in that channel as she was carrying the golden fleece to *Colchis* with her brother *Phryxus* (70). The name of *Dardanelles* is probably derived from *Dardanum* an antient city not far from the castles bearing that name. This strait was antiently called the *Hellespont* and the strait of *Abydos*; but now it goes under the following names, *the strait of* Gallipoli, *the channel of the* Dardanelles, *the arm of* St. George, from a famous church of *St. George* in a village called *Peristasis* not far from *Gallipoli*: it is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Boghas*, or *strait of the white sea*. The mouth of the channel is defended by two new castles, which *Mahomet* IV. built in 1659, to secure his fleet against the insults of the *Venetians*, who used to attack it in sight of the old castles. The waters, that pass through this strait from out of the *Propontis*, flow with great rapidity; when the north-wind blows no ship can enter, but when 'tis south, the current is scarce perceptible. *Tournefort* (71) tells us that the mouth of the *Hellespont* is four miles and a half over, but *Le brun* (72) says that it is only a mile and a quarter. *Spon* (73) informs us, that where the old castles stand the *Hellespont* is near two miles broad, and that the very name of *Abydo* or *Avido* is unknown to the inhabitants of the place. But *Le Brun* assures us (74) that the strait at the old castles is only half a mile over, and that one of them is still called *Sestos*, and the other *Abydos* or *Avido*; he adds that this sea, where broadest, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narrowest: Among the antients *Strabo* (75) allows it about a mile in the narrowest place; *Pliny* (76) and *Herodotus* (77), seven furlongs or stadia, and *Polybius* only two (78). Of *Abydos* was *Leander*, who used to swim from thence to *Sestos* to visit his mistress. One night that the sea was very rough, and he near being drowned, *Martial* makes him address the waves thus; *Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo*. He is represented on the medals of *Caracalla* and *Alexander Severus*, as conducted by a Cupid flying before him with a torch. The inhabitants of this city made a vigorous resistance against *Philip* of *Macedon*, and when they were not able to hold out any longer, chose rather to destroy themselves than submit to the conqueror. *Abydos* was taken by the *Turks* through the treachery of the governor's daughter in the year 1330. It will not be amiss to observe here, that what *Herodotus* (79) relates of *Xerxes*, viz. that he ordered three hundred lashes to be given to the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, for having broke down the first bridge he built here, is looked upon by some as quite fabulous. *Gilles* (80) thinks that this piece of folly was first laid to his charge by the *Greek* poets, and that *Herodotus* took the thing too seriously; the 300 lashes, says this writer, intimate 300 anchors, that were thrown into the sea to fix the ships that formed the bridge; and by the pair of fetters is meant the two iron chains that fastened them together at both ends, and on each side.

(C) *Pliny* (81) places not far from hence the tomb of *Protesilaus* with trees set round it of a very extraordinary nature; for when they are grown up to such a height as to be discovered from *Troy*, they begin to wither, and soon after die; then they shoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin anew to decay and wither; and this vicissitude of shooting up, and dying away has continued, says our author, ever since they were first planted; that is, since the death of *Protesilaus*, who in the *Trojan* expedition was the first among the *Greeks* that set foot in *Asia*, and the first that was slain.

(70) *Eustath. in Dionys.* p. 810. (71) *Tournefort, ubi supra.* (72) *Le Brun voyage au Levant.* (73) *Spon, ubi supra.* (74) *Le Brun, ubi supra.* (75) *Strab. l.* xiii. (76) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 32. (77) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 34. (78) *Polybius.* (79) *Herodot. l.* vii. (80) *De Bosph. Thrac. l.* ii. *c.* 12. (81) *Plin. l.* xvi. *c.* 44.



that

that the new *Ilium* or *Troy* was 30 furlongs nearer the shore than the old city. This a
new city was reduced to a village in the time of *Alexander the Great*, remarkable for nothing but a temple of *Minerva*, which that prince visited after defeating *Darius* on the banks of the *Granicus*, and enriched with offerings, bestowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewise ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole city to be embellished, which was performed by *Lysimachus*, one of his generals, who surrounded it with a wall of 40 furlongs in circumference. This new city was almost reduced to the condition of the former, and was more like a village than a city, when the *Romans* first entered *Asia*. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the antient *Trojans*, no cost nor pains was spared to restore it to its antient lustre, especially in the time of the *Cæsars*. b
*Cæsar Augustus* sent thither a colony, embellished the city with many stately buildings, and enriched it with most ample privileges and exemptions. And of this *Ilium* are, without all doubt, the ruins which are to be seen at present. *Bellonius*[l] tells us, that in his time the walls were yet standing with the ruinous monuments of their turrets, and that he spent four hours in compassing them partly on horseback, and partly on foot. He observed round the walls a great many marble tombs of most exquisite workmanship, with their covers entire. Two of these were still remaining when Mr. *Spon*[m] visited those places, who informs us that they were in the stile of the antient *Romans*, and not unlike those that are to be seen at *Arles*; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that *Troy* which was rebuilt by the *Romans*. c
*Bellonius* likewise observed the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of a hill not far from the shore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large cisterns to receive the rain-water. As to the so much celebrated rivers *Xanthus* and *Simois*, he calls them small brooks, and adds that in summer-time they are quite dry. But *Sandys*[n] thinks they are not so contemptible as *Bellonius* makes them, who perhaps mistook others for them. *Spon*[o] observed on the south of the haven three columns lying among the briars, of which two were entire, and each of one single piece, being thirty foot long; the third which was broken in three places, was thirty-five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three of granate. *Le Brun*[p] speaks of great remains of a most noble d
structure which he visited at the distance of about five miles from the coast. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time intire, were about forty-five feet in height, and near them stood a wall of an extraordinary thickness with fourteen gates of a competent size; the vestiges of this magnificent structure took up a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred in breadth. Our author thinks that these ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever saw. The harbour of *Troy*, so much spoke of by the antients, is now quite choaked up with sand; however there are still to be seen fragments of columns, to which they fastened their ships and gallies, and as these were placed round it, *Spon* thinks that the port was about a mile and a half in circumference. As to antient *Ilium* we shall have occasion to e
speak of it more at length in the reign of king *Priam*, when it was taken and laid in ashes by the *Greeks* after a ten years siege.

*Troas Alexandria* was situated between the promontories of *Lectum* and *Sigeum*, and is named by *Stephanus* in the second place among the eighteeen cities, which were so called from *Alexander*. It is sometimes named *Alexandria* without the appellation of *Troas*, and sometimes *Troas* without that of *Alexandria* or *Alexandrea*, which has made some think that *Alexandria* and *Troas* were two different cities. Its first name was *Antigonia* from its founder *Antigonus*, which was afterwards changed by *Lysimachus* into that of *Alexandria* in honour of *Alexander*[q]. This
is supposed to be the place meant by the apostle *Acts* xx. 6. it being at that time f
the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the *Turks Eski-Stamboul*. These are the chief cities on the coast, the others are but of small account, and therefore we shall dwell no longer on this subject.

Of the rivers that watered *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor* we shall only mention the *Scamander* and *Simois*, rivers, as *Mela* writes[r] greater by fame than by nature. The *Scamander* rises from mount *Ida*, and having received within its banks, not far from *Troy*, the *Simois*, discharges itself into the *Ægean* sea, over-against the island of *Tenedos*.

[l] Bellonius, l. ii. c. 6. [m] Spon, ubi supra. [n] Sandys, l. i. [o] Spon, voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c. [p] Le Brun, voyag. du Levant. [q] Plinius, l. v. c. 30. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 408. [r] Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 18.

a It is said by *Herodotus* to have been drunk up by the army of *Xerxes*. *Pliny*[s] calls it a navigable river, and distinguishes it from the *Xanthus*, though it is certain that these are but two different appellations of one and the same rivers. Its original name was *Scamander*; but it was afterwards called also *Xanthus*, because it was believed to communicate a yellowish tincture to the sheep that drank its waters[t]. *Homer* tells us[u] that it was named *Scamander* by the gods, and *Xanthus* by men, where according to his custom he ascribes the most ancient appellation to the gods, and the more modern to men. This river was honoured by *Hesiod* with the title of *divine Scamander*. It was a custom among the *Phrygian* brides to bath themselves before marriage in this river, using on that occasion the following words, *Receive, O Scamander, my*
b *virginity*. Which opportunity one *Cimon*, an *Athenian*, taking hold of, under the disguise of a river-god deflowered *Callirhoe*, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed, and thereby occasioned the abrogating of that superstitious ceremony.

The *Simois* springs likewise out of mount *Ida*, falls into the *Scamander* near *Ilium*, and discharges itself into the *Ægean* sea, as we said already. Whatever these rivers were in antient times, they are at present but small brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended upon.

*Ida* is the only mountain of this country that deserves notice. It is rather a ridge of hills, than a single one; for it extends from the city of *Zeleia*, near the borders of *Mysia Minor*, to the promontory *Lectum*. We are told by the poets, that *Paris*
c on this hill being chosen judge by the three contending goddesses, decided the controversy in favour of *Venus*, which, say they, occasioned the destruction of *Troy*.

The soil of this country was antiently reckoned among the most fertile that were then known. It was productive of whatever was requisite for the pleasures of life, and yielded to no spot that lay under the same happy parallel; nor at this day are there wanting signs and sufficient indications thereof, though it is now in part uncultivated and neglected. Our modern travellers describe the *Asiatic* coast of the *Hellespont* as a most beautiful and fertile tract of land, the hills being covered with vineyards, and olive-plantations, and the vales productive of all sorts of grain[v]. *Soil and climate.*

d Over-against *Troy* lay *Tenedos* about two leagues from the shore, and formed the *Trojan* harbour. As all the splendor and magnificence of this island stood and fell with *Troy*, it will not be improper to insert here a succinct account of it. All antient writers agree that this island was first called *Leucophrys*, and afterwards *Tenedos* from one *Tenes* or *Tennes*, who brought a colony thither from the continent. *Tennes* who was son to *Cycnus* king of *Colone* in *Troas*, and is described by *Diodorus Siculus*[x] as a man of great probity and justice, having been greatly beloved by his subjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. The antient inhabitants of *Tenedos* gave the following account of him, which *Diodorus Siculus* looks upon as fabulous, but *Suidas* and *Pausanias* seem to credit. *Tennes*, say they, was
e son of *Cycnus* and *Proclea*, sister to *Caletor*, who was killed by *Ajax* in attempting to burn the ships of *Protesilaus*. *Cycnus*, after the death of his wife *Proclea*, married *Philonome*, who falling in love with her step-son *Tennes*, and finding that she could by no means make him comply with her incestuous desires, complained of him to her husband, as if he had offered violence to her. *Stephanus* adds that the evidence she produced in proof of her charge was a player on the flute. *Cycnus* giving more credit to his wife than his son, caused him to be shut up in a chest and thrown into the sea, which carried the chest safe to the island we are speaking of, where *Tennes* was received as sent by the gods, and with loud acclamations proclaimed king. Some writers tell us, that his sister by name *Hemithea*, not caring to outlive
f her brother, was at her own request with him locked up in the chest. Some time after *Cycnus* being convinced of his son's innocence, sailed to *Tenedos* to crave his pardon, and express the concern he was in for so hasty and inhuman a resolution. But *Tennes* instead of receiving him went to the harbour, where with a hatchet he cut the cable which fastened his father's ship to the shore. This hatchet was carried by *Periclytus*, a citizen of *Tenedos*, to *Delphos*, and there lodged in the temple of *Apollo*. The *Tenedians* caused two others to be made resembling this in shape and *Tenedos.*

[s] Plinius, l. v. c. 30. [t] Ælian. de animal. l. viii. c. 21. ubius sequester de fluminibus. Maximus Tyrius Serm. 12. [u] Iliad. vers. 74. [v] Tournefort, ubi supra. [x] Diodor. Sicul. l. v.

size,

size, which they consecrated in the temple of their city. These adventures gave a
birth to two famous proverbs among the antients (D).

(D) The one is Τενέδιος αὐλητής, that is, the *Tenedian player on the flute*, a saying used by the antients to reproach a false evidence. The other Τενέδιος πέλεκυς, that is, the *Tenedian Ax*, an expression used to signify a quick and an unalterable resolution (82). *Aristotle*, cited by *Stephanus*, explains this in a different manner. He says, that a king of *Tenedos* having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the first that transgressed this law was his own son, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. *Stephanus* adds, that the heads of the two lovers back to back were represented on the medals of the island, and on the reverse the ax with which they were beheaded. 'Tis certain several medals of this kind have been found in that island. Some take these two heads to be those of *Tennes* and his sister *Hemithea*, others of *Jupiter*, and some *Amazon*, who might have founded a city in *Tenedos*. The *ax* on the reverse was the instrument used by the inhabitants in the execution of their criminals. *Suidas* tells us, that *Tennes* after he was settled on the the throne of *Tenedos* ordered an officer to stand behind the judge in all public trials with an *ax* in his hand, ready to strike off the head of such as should give false evidence; and hence Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος, Τενέδιος συνήγορος, that is, *A man of Tenedos, an advocate of Tenedos*, were expressions used to signify a man or a judge of great severity (83). Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the siege of *Troy*. It was within sight of that powerful city, as *Virgil* observes (84): he supposes that the *Greeks* concealed themselves behind this island, when they feigned to raise the siege. After the fall of *Troy*, the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours, as *Pausanias* observes. *Tenedos* was one of the first conquests of the *Persians* after the overthrow of the *Ionians* at the isle of *Lada* (85). It was reduced by the *Athenians*, or at least sided with them against the *Lacedæmonians*, since *Nicolochus* admiral of *Lacedæmon* ravaged this island, and raised contributions in it in spite of the vigilance of the *Athenian* generals. The *Romans* enjoyed *Tenedos* in their turn, and the temple of that town was plundered by *Verres*, who, as *Tully* informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the statue of *Tennes* founder of the city (86). This island is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Apollo Smynthius*, of which idol we shall have occasion to speak presently. There are no ruins to be seen at *Tenedos* except those of the granaries, which *Justinian* caused to be built as a repository for the corn that was brought from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, lest it should mould on ship-board, the vessels being frequently wind-bound for a considerable time at the entrance of the *Dardanelles*. These magazines, as *Procopius* informs us, were two-hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (87). The muscate wine of this island is the most delicious of all the *Levant*, and though it is not celebrated by the antients as that of *Scio* and *Lesbos*, yet it may be proved from several medals that *Tenedos* has in all times produced great plenty of good wine, since on the reverse of some medals of that island is to be seen the branch of a vine charged with grapes, a plain indication that it was in antient times famed for this production.

(82) *Erasmi Adag. Chiliad.* iv. *Cent.* i. (83) *Suidas, Erasmus ubi supra. Cic. lib.* ii. *Epist. ad Q. Fratrem. Tournefort. voiag. au Lev.* (84) *Virg. Æneid l.* ii. (85) *Herodot. l.* vi. (86) *Cic. pro Manil. pro Muræna. pro Arch. poeta.* (87) *Procop. de Ædific. Justin. l.* v. *c.* 1.

## SECT. VI.

### *Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning and trade of the* TROJANS.

*Antiquity.*

THE inhabitants of *Lesser Phrygia* or *Trojans*, so called from *Troy*, the metro- a
polis of that country, were without all doubt a very antient people; but as to their original there is a great disagreement among authors. Some make them *Samothracians* by descent, others *Greeks*, and tell us that *Teucer*, according to them the first king of *Troy*, was by birth an *Athenian*, and lord of a village named *Axonus*. Some derive them from the island of *Crete*, from whence they suppose *Phrygia Minor* to have been peopled; but these are again divided among themselves as to the leader of this colony, some bestowing that honour on *Teucer*, others on *Dardanus*. Some will have them descended from the *Arcadians*, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from *Italy*, which opinion, though destitute of all probability, was embraced by *Virgil*, as most redounding to b
the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the *Romans* in his days. *Bochart* [7] thinks that *Lesser Phrygia* was planted by *Ashkenaz Gomer*'s eldest son, there being the footsteps of his name in the *Ascanian* lake, and a river called *Ascanius* with a bay of the same name in *Bithynia*, and likewise in a city named *Ascania* in *Lesser Phrygia*, with isles on the coast named the *Ascanian* islands: he also observes that besides *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the siege of *Troy*. Hence he concludes, that a colony was led by *Ashkenaz*

[7] Phaleg. l. iii. c. 9.

out

a out of *Greater Phrygia*, where his father had settled, into *Troas* or *Lesser Phrygia*, and that by this colony and their descendants that tract of country was peopled, which from the *Ægean* sea extends along the coast of the *Hellespont* and the *Propontis* to the *Pontus Euxinus* or *Axenus*, as it was first called by the *Greeks*, which he supposes to be a corruption for the *sea of Ashkenez*. He observes that the scripture, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to destroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni* and *Ashkenez*. And to prove that the *Ashkenez* mentioned in scripture were the people of these parts, he shews out of *Xenophon* [a], that *Hystaspes* having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Hellespont*, brought from thence many of the horse and other soldiers, which *Cyrus* carried with him to the b siege of *Babylon*. But whoever was the progenitor of the first inhabitants of this country, it is certain that in process of time their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely of *Mysians*, *Samothracians*, *Greeks*, and *Cretans*, who settled among them, and were reckoned of the same descent with the ancient proprietors.

*Government.* As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for from *Dardanus* to *Priam* we find the father constantly succeeded by the son, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country was at first, like most others, parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of *Cycnus*, *Pandarus*, *Euripilus* and other princes of small territories within the limits of *Lesser Phrygia* [b]. But all these were in length of time either driven out by, or made tributary to, the *Trojan* kings; c insomuch that *Strabo* [b] enumerates no fewer than nine small kingdoms or principalities subject to *Troy*, besides the island of *Lesbos*. And this is what drew out the *Trojan* war to such a length, for all these countries were to be subdued before *Troy* could be invested. *Diodorus Siculus* informs us [c] that the *Trojans* were subdued by *Ninus*; but *Philostratus* tells us in express terms, that they were allies, and no ways vassals or tributaries to the *Assyrians*. The *Trojan* kings seem to have been absolute, and no ways controulable by the subject. But we shall have occasion to resume this subject when we come to their history.

We have no particular system of their laws, and shall therefore pass to their religion.

d *Religion.* As to the religion of the *Trojans* it was in substance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, which we have already described. Their principal deities seem to have been, *Cybele*, or, as they stiled her, *the great mother of the Gods*, who, according to the common opinion, was brought into *Troas* from *Crete* by *Teucer*, lord of that island, and the progenitor of the *Trojans* [d]. She was chiefly worshipped on the hills of *Ida*, *Dindymus*, *Berecynthus*, and *Cybele*, whence she borrowed her name. *Apollo*, who had a temple in the citadel of *Troy*, called *Pergamus*. In this temple, and by this god, *Homer* feigns that *Æneas* was concealed, till the wounds he had received in an encounter with *Diomedes*, were cured by *Latona* and *Diana*, *Apollo*'s mother and sister. *Minerva* or *Pallas*, from whose temple *Virgil* pa- e thetically describes *Cassandra* dragged by the victorious *Greeks*, while the city was in flames [e]. The famous *Palladium* was a wooden statue of this goddess, holding in one hand a buckler, and a spear in the other, so contrived as to move them, and at the same time roll her eyes in a threatning manner. We are told, that while the *Trojans* were erecting a temple to *Pallas* in their citadel, this statue fell from heaven into the temple before it was covered; whereupon an oracle being consulted returned answer, that the city of *Troy* could not be taken so long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which coming to the knowledge of the *Greeks*, *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* got privately into the castle, killed the guards, and by bereaving the *Trojans* of their main defence enabled the *Greeks* to take the city. All the *Roman* writers f assure us that this *Palladium* was brought into *Italy* by *Æneas*, and lodged first at *Lavinium*, afterwards at *Alba*, and at last removed to *Rome*, and deposited there in the temple of *Vesta*, under the care of the vestals and the *Nautian* family. The *Romans* were so strongly possest with the false notion, that the city, which was blest with this valuable treasure, could never fall into the enemies hands, that *Metellus*, seeing the temple of *Vesta* all in flames, ventured his life without the least hesitation to rescue this sacred depositum, and was on that score thanked by the senate and people of *Rome*, as if he had saved the republic. The *Romans* universally believed themselves masters of the true *Palladium*, but could never shew how they came by

[a] Cyropæd. l. vii. [b] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Strab. l. xiii. [b] lib. xiii. [c] ubi supra. [d] Virgil, l. iii. [e] Æneid. ii.

it. For to say, that it was in *Troy* when the city was taken, is the same as to a deny its boasted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was stolen by the *Greeks* before they entered *Troy*, how could *Æneas* bring it into *Italy* (E)?

*Venus* also is counted among the *Trojan* deities, but as to *Vesta*, whom *Æneas* is said by the poets to have carried into *Italy* with his houshold gods, we find not any footsteps of worship paid her at *Troy*. She was indeed worshipped all over *Greece*, where there was not one city, but could shew a temple dedicated to this goddess with a lamp always burning in honour of her, which has made some think that the rites and ceremonies of *Vesta* were introduced into *Italy* by the *Greeks* and not by the *Trojans*[f]. b

AMONG the other *Trojan* deities we find mention made of *Apollo Smynthius*, so stiled from the *Phrygian* word *Sminthos* signifying a field-mouse. We are told[g] that this sort of vermin made such a devastation in the field of *Troas*, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unsuccessful, had recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, which answered that they should be delivered from that plague, if they sacrificed to *Smynthian Apollo*, which they did accordingly, and moreover erected a temple in *Amaxito*, a city of *Troas*, to their pretended deliverer, addressing him under the title of *Smynthian Apollo*. Others[h] relate the matter in a different manner, and tell us, that the inhabitants of *Troas* worshipped mice for having on a certain occasion gnawed the bow-strings of their enemies, and thereby secured c a complete victory to the *Phrygians*. The worship of *Apollo Smynthius* was introduced into *Mysia*, the isle of *Tenedos*, and other countries; for *Strabo*[i] tells us that a mouse was engraved at the foot of *Apollo*'s statue in a temple of *Chrysa* a city of *Mysia*, to unfold the reason of his being surnamed *Smynthian*; he adds, that the statue was done by *Scopas* a celebrated statuary of *Paros*. The same author, in speaking of the isle of *Tenedos*, says that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Smynthian Apollo* (F). As to the religious customs and ceremonies of the *Trojans* we are almost quite in the dark; but we may suppose them to have been much the same with those of the inhabitants of *Phrygia Major*.

*Character.* THE character we have of the *Trojans* is, that they were a brave and warlike d people; and in this we shall be more confirmed when we come to view their behaviour in the reign of king *Priam*, when they withstood for nine years with uncommon bravery the combined forces of all *Greece*. They seem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great respect for their princes; for we do not

[f] PRUDENTIUS contra Symmach. l. ii. sect. viii. [g] STRAB. l. xiii. ÆLIAN. vit. H. l. iv. [h] POLEMO apud Clem. Protrept. [i] ubi supra.

(E) There is great variety of opinions among the ancients as to the *Trojan Palladium*. Some tell us (88) that a king of *Phrygia Major* presented *Ilus* with a pied ox, warning him at the same time to build a city, where the ox should lie down; that *Ilus* followed him, and in the place, where he lay down, built a city, calling it from his own name *Ilium*. They add, that *Ilus*, having desired *Jupiter* to signify his approbation by some visible token, found the *Palladium* next morning before his tent. Others say (89) that *Chrysas* daughter of *Pallas*, marrying *Dardanus*, brought him the *Palladium* as part of her fortune; that *Dardanus* first erected a temple in *Samothrace* to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into *Phrygia* on the *Hellespont*. *Lycophron* seems to insinuate that the *Palladium* was a *Phœnician* goddess, for he calls *Ulysses* Διλφιόσημος κλῶπα Φοινίκης Θεᾶς (90). *Johannes Antiochenus*, *Eustathius*, and others say that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human skin (91). *Julius Firmicus* (92). *Clemens* (93), and *Arnobius* (94), tell us that the *Gentiles* believed it to have been made of the bones of *Pelops*. According to the common opinion it was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but some tell us that the true *Palladium* never fell into the hands of the *Greeks*, it being carefully concealed, and another of the same shape and size exposed to public adoration; this, say they, was carried off by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but the true *Palladium* remained in *Troy* till *Æneas* removed it from thence to *Lavinium*. But as this is derogating from the virtue of the true *Palladium*, and putting it, as it were, upon the same level with a false one, since it was not able to save the city in which it was kept, others, to mend the matter, suppose that the *Greeks* returned the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, or rather to *Æneas*, being warned so to do by the oracles. But we shall have occasion to examine in the course of this history the truth of *Æneas*'s voyage to *Italy*, and add something relating to this famous idol. In the mean time we may observe that there was another *Palladium* of great fame worshipped at *Athens*, which *Nicias* had placed in the castle of that city.

(F) *Tournefort*. 95) mentions two medals of *Tenedos*, the one with *Apollo*'s head, and under it a mouse, having on the reverse a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads back to back, and on the reverse the same ax with two mice.

(88) *Apollod. l.* iii. (89) *Vide Rosinum Roman. Antiquitat. p.* 147. (90) *Seldenus de diis Syris Syntag.* 2. (91) *Selden. ubi supra. Syntag.* 1. (92) *De errore profanar. religion. c.* xvi. (93) *In protrept.* (94) *Adversus gentes, l.* iv. (95) *Tournefort voyage au Levant.*

find

a find in their history any kind of intestine broils, or plots, or conspiracies against the prince on the throne, whoever he was.

We can say nothing particular touching the customs of the *Trojans*, their civil concerns, or their arts and learning; they are celebrated by the ancients as one of the most polite and civilized nations of those days, and in the reigns of their latter kings they arose to a very considerable pitch of splendor and magnificence, those great encouragers of arts and industry. Their language was in all likelihood the same that was spoken by the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, and perhaps in all that tract, which was afterwards known by the name of *Asia Proper*, the several nations spoke one and the same tongue with some variation of dialect. *Customs, language, &c.*

b Their trade we can only guess at from their situation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and must have abounded in all things necessary for life, since it could support for many years together two very considerable armies, as we shall see in the following section. Their settlements in *Thrace*, in *Peloponnesus*, in *Sicily*[k], in *Italy*[l], in *Egypt*[m], and in *Afric*[n], are a convincing proof that they applied themselves pretty early to trade and navigation, which, in all likelihood, were the sources of the riches, splendor and power, wherein they far excelled all the states round them. *Trade.*

[k] Pausanias, l. ii. & 5. [l] Strab. l. vi. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. 1. [n] Herodot. l. iv.

## SECT. VII.

### *The reigns of the* Trojan *kings.*

c *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor* was in all likelihood governed by kings before the reigns of *Teucer* and *Dardanus*; for *Servius* names out of *Nero*'s *Trocia* one *Cynthius* king of *Troas* long before *Teucer*. But as the *Trojan* history of that epoch is either fabulous, or altogether uncertain, it were lost labour to make a narrow search into it. It is no less uncertain which of the two abovesaid princes reigned first, some writers giving the precedency to *Teucer*, others to *Dardanus*; and truly this is so dark and obscure a subject, that every one may say what he lists. We shall follow the most common opinion, and begin with *Teucer* without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of so perplexed a cause.

*Teucer*, the son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, that is, born in *Phrygia* near the river *Scamander* and mount *Ida*, ruled over all *Troas* or *Phrygian Minor*. He is said to have been very fortunate and successful in all his undertakings, but what they were we find no-where specified. Having no issue-male he married his only daughter, by some called *Batia*, by others *Asia*, by others *Arisba*, to *Dardanus*, settling therewithal the crown of *Phrygia* on him and his descendants. Those who make *Teucer* a *Phrygian* by birth, suppose him to have come to the crown by a lineal descent, and place *Cynthius*, whom we have mentioned above, among his ancestors; so that according to these writers *Teucer* was not the founder of the *Trojan* kingdom, but the last of a long series of kings prior to those of the *Dardanian* family sprung from *Dardanus* and *Batia*. From *Teucer* the country was called *Teucria*, and the inhabitants *Teucri* (G). *Teucer.*

*Teucer*

(G) This is the opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, and, as we have hinted, the most common. However *Virgil*, who had as good means to come at the truth, as any other could have, and very likely did not depart from it in such things as no ways concerned *Augustus*, makes *Teucer* a *Cretan*, and delivers his opinion as follows:

*Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto;*
*Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.*
*Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.*
*Maximus inde pater, si rite audita recordor,*
*Teucrus Rhœteas primum est advectus in oras,*
*Optavitque locum regno; nondum Ilium, & arces*
*Pergameæ steterant, habitabant vallibus imis.*
*Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,*
*Idæumque nemus; hinc fida silentia sacris,*
*Et juncti currum dominæ subiere leones* (96).

*Teucer* then, according to those who follow *Virgil*'s opinion, which is ascribed to *Berosus*, was the son of one *Scamander*, a native of *Crete*, from which island *Teucer* retiring in the time of a great famine, put to sea with the third part of the inhabitants in quest

(96) *Æneid*, l. iii. ver. 104.

Dardanus. *Year of the flood*, 1525. *Before Christ* 1479.

*Teucer* was succeeded by *Dardanus* the son of *Corytus* or *Corythus*, by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*. *Corytus* was king of *Samothrace*, and had by *Electra* two sons, *Jasius* and *Dardanus*, and one daughter by name *Harmonia*. *Dardanus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Samothrace*, where he erected a stately temple, and instituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of *Pallas* and the other gods, whose statues his first wife *Chryse* had brought with her as part of her fortune. This together with the many excellent laws he is said to have enacted on his accession to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wise, just, and religious prince. Insomuch that *Teucer*, who was stricken in years, and had no issue-male, invited him over into *Phrygia*, gave him in marriage his only daughter *Batia*, and appointed him his heir and successor to the kingdom of *Phrygia*, which, after the death of *Teucer*, he ruled with the same moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of *Samothrace*. He waged war with the neighbouring princes, namely with the *Paphlagonians*, and, as he was always attended with success, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by considerable acquisitions. He built two cities, the one he honoured with his own name, stiling it *Dardana* or *Dardania*, and this he chose for his royal seat; the other he called *Thymbra* from *Thymbræus* one of his intimates. Having settled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many useful laws for the due administration of justice, which he looked upon as the basis of regal authority, he applied himself entirely to religious matters. The *Palladium*, or as others will have it, the *Palladiums* (H), were by his orders brought over into *Phrygia*; as for the other gods, which he had with his first wife, they were left in *Samothrace* till the death of his brother *Jasius*, who governed that island in the absence of *Dardanus* (I). *Dardanus* had

quest of new seats, and arrived at that part of *Phrygia*, which lies on the *Hellespont*. Here he landed not far from the *Rhœteau* promontory, and being the first night greatly annoyed by vast numbers of mice, he resolved to settle there in compliance with the oracle, which had directed him, before he put to sea, to fix where he should be attacked in the night-time by an enemy sprung from the earth. His first care was to raise a temple to *Apollo Smynthius*, who was pictured treading under foot a mouse, called in the *Cretan* or *Phrygian* language *Sminthos*. He gave new names to the hill and river near which he landed, calling the one *Ida*, from a hill of the same name in his native country, and the other *Scamander*, which was the name of his father. This river to that time had been called *Xanthus*; whence *Homer* says, that it was called *Xanthus* by the gods, and *Scamander* by men, meaning thereby that the former was the more antient. He likewise introduced the worship of *Cybele* according to the rites that were practised in *Crete*, where that goddess was supposed to have brought forth and nursed *Jupiter*. Some think the authority of *Virgil*, with regard to *Teucer*, to be of very great weight, since it no ways concerned *Augustus* whether *Teucer* was of *Crete*, or not.

(H) Some writers tells us, that *Dardanus* had with *Chryse* two *Palladiums*, or statues of *Pallas*, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promised that the city, in which either of them was kept, should never be liable to any disasters. *Dionysius Halicarnassus* gives us the words, which the oracle was said to have uttered, and are the following:

*Fata dabunt urbem, poteris qua condere sacra,*
*Cælicolasque illic festis colere atque choreis.*
*Munera namque dæ servabis arce reposta*
*Palladis; hæc quoniam cæpit tua regia conjux,*
*Servatura tuam duris procul omnibus urbem.*

One of these, say they, was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but the other was brought by *Æneas* into *Italy* (97). But *Varro* (98) tells us that the *Palladium* was brought to *Rome* by one *Nautes*, and adds, that the priesthood of *Minerva* was hereditary in his family. Others say, that *Diomedes*, after the destruction of *Troy*, being driven by a storm on the coasts of *Italy*, and there ordered by an oracle to return the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, sent it to *Æneas* by *Nautes*, one of *Æneas*'s friends and companions.

(I) In what has been said of *Dardanus* we have followed *Homer*, *Manetho*, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, *Cedrenus*, *Johannes Tzetzes*, &c. but *Virgil* and the poets to flatter *Augustus* make *Dardanus* son of *Electra* not by *Corytus*, but by *Jupiter*. And as to *Corytus*, they will have him to have been king of *Hetruria*, and not of *Samothrace*. *Virgil* tells us, that *Dardanus* passed out of *Hetruria* into *Samothrace*, and from thence into *Phrygia*. He expresses himself thus (99):

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;*
*Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ.*
*Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores*
*Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*
*Hæ nobis propriæ sedes; hinc Dardanus ortus,*
*Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.*

And elsewhere (100).

*Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)*
*Aurunces ita ferre sonos; his ortus ut agrés*
*Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,*
*Threciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.*
*Hinc illum Coriti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,*
*Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cœli*
*Accipit, &c.*

*Virgil* does not tell us on what occasion *Dardanus* quitted *Tuscany*: But *Annus* informs us, that after the death of *Coritus*, the two brothers *Dardanus* and *Jasius* falling out about the succession to the crown, the former killed the latter, whereupon he was obliged to save himself by flight from the *Tuscans*, and from *Siculus* king of *Spain*, and brother to *Electra*, who was come to compose their differences. The same *Annus* gives the name of *Combobascus* to the father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*, and adds, that the word *Corytus* was a title of dignity. *Apollodorus* in his fabulous history of the *Greeks* tells us, that

(97) *Procop. de Bell. Goth. l.* i. *Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandram Lycophron. p.* 146. (98) *Varro de familiis Rom. apud Servium.* (99) *Æneid.* iii. *vers.* 163. (100) *Æneid. l.* iv. *vers.* 205.

a had two wives, the first named *Chryse* an *Arcadian*, by whom he had two sons, *Idæus* and *Dimas*, the other *Batia*, who likewise bore him two sons, *Zacynthus* and *Erichthonius*. *Idæus* and *Dimas*, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* •, inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in *Arcadia*, whence they led colonies into *Asia*, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. *Zacynthus* planted a colony of *Phrygians* in an island of the *Ionian* sea, which from himself he called *Zacynthus* ▿. *Erichthonius* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, as we shall see anon. As to his sister *Harmonia*, she married *Cadmus* founder of the *Theban* kingdom, whom her brother *Jasius* had initiated in the mysteries of religion. We shall have occasion to speak of her, and her husband *Cadmus*, when b we come to treat of the *Theban* kingdom. *Dardanus* reigned in *Phyrgia* 64 or 65 years, and was succeeded by his son

Erichthonius. *Year of the flood*, 1535. *Before Christ*, 1414.

*Erichthonius*, who treading in the footsteps of his father was revered by his subjects, and greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to the arts of peace than war, he carefully maintained a good understanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense riches, which *Homer* takes notice of, without burdening the subject with taxes and impositions. By his wife *Astyoche* he had but one son named *Tros*. He reigned, according to some, forty-six, according to others seventy-five years, and dying left the kingdom of *Phrygia* in a most flourishing condition (K).

Tros. *Year of the flood*, 1635. *Before Christ*, 1308.

c On the death of *Erichthonius*, *Tros* ascended the throne, and in the very beginning of his reign laid the foundations of a city, which became soon the most famous of all *Asia*. This grand work being at last finished, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*, to assist at the solemn dedication of the new city. Why *Tantalus* was omitted we know not; but he highly resented such a contemptuous behaviour, as he called it, and soon after had a fair opportunity of shewing his resentment. For *Ganymedes*, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father *Tros*, being sent by him with a splendid retinue to carry presents of great value to *Jupiter Europæus*, in passing through the territories of *Tantalus* was not only detained, but abused by that vitious and impious d king (L). This indignity the generous youth took so to heart, that he died soon

• Dionys. Halicar. l. i. ▿ Dionys. Halicar. ubi supra.

that *Jasius*, as he stiles him, and *Dardanus* were sons of *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas* and *Jupiter*, that the former being passionately in love with *Ceres*, and attempting to ravish her, was thunderstruck, and that *Dardanus* was so concerned for the death of his brother, that, abandoning *Samothrace* his native country, he retired to the opposite continent, where he was kindly received by *Teucer* king of *Phrygia*. *Isaacus Tzetzes* (9) thinks that *Dardanus* was forced by an inundation to leave *Samothrace*. As to *Atlas* the father of *Electra*, some say that he was king of *Mauritania*, others of *Samothrace*, and that he gave his daughter in marriage to *Corytus*, who had by her *Chryse* first wife to *Dardanus*. *Boccace* (10) is of opinion that *Atlas* was neither an *African* nor a *Samothracian*, but an *Italian*. The want of good authorities in this point of antient history has given every one leave to say what he pleased.

(K) *Apollodorus* tells us, that *Erichthonius* had an elder brother, by name *Ilus*, who died before his father, and a sister called *Idæa*, who married *Phineus* II. king of the *Thracian Thyni*, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the history of *Thrace*. As the name of *Erichthonius* is entirely *Greek*, some have concluded from thence that the *Greek* tongue began very early to prevail in *Phrygia*; which argument would be of no small weight, could they but prove that *Erichthonius* was that prince's original or *Phrygian* name, and not a *Greek* translation thereof; for the *Greeks*, as *Plato* observes (11), used to translate foreign names into their own language, as the *Egyptians* did all *Greek* names into theirs. Some finding a king of *Athens* bearing the same name, infer from thence that the *Trojans* were originally *Athenians*. An opinion built on so slight a foundation is scarce worth refuting.

(L) The fable of *Ganymede's* being taken up into heaven by *Jupiter* is variously interpreted; but *Natalis Comes* (12) is of opinion that this story was invented by the *Greeks* to give a kind of sanction to the unnatural lust that greatly prevailed in that nation. And truly *Jupiter*, as *Arnobius* observes (13), seems to have been set up for no other purpose but that men might father their crimes upon him, and thereby extenuate in great measure their own guilt. Thus *Theocritus* the poet, in celebrating the incestuous marriage of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* with his sister *Arsinoe*, produces the example of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; and *Seneca* the tragedian had recourse to the same topick to find something commendable in the marriage of *Octavia* and *Nero*; *Sortita fratris more Junonis toros*, says he, speaking of *Octavia* (14). Others tell us, that *Ganymedes* was killed in a battle between *Tantalus* and *Ilus*; for *Ilus* pursued the war with *Tantalus* which his father had begun. They add, that the body of *Ganymedes* not being found among the dead, nor ever after appearing, the poets took occasion from thence to feign, that he had been taken up into heaven by *Jupiter*. *Suidas* charges *Minos* with the rape of *Ganymede*, and says, that *Minos* being kindly received and entertained by *Tros*, on that occasion fell in love with *Ganymede*, and requited the favours he had received of

(9) *In Apollonium*. (10) *De gen. deor. l.* iv. *c.* 8. (11) *In Atlantic.* (12) *l.* ix. *c.* 13. (13) *lib.* v. *contra gentes*. (14) *Pag.* 334.

after of pure grief. Neither did his father *Tros* long outlive him; for the war a
which he made upon *Tantalus* to revenge the affront offered to his son, proving unsuccessful, the affliction, which arose from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loss of his favourite son, put an end to his days in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Assaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomestra*, or, as *Apollodorus* will have it, *Cleopatra*. *Hyginus*, by mistake, makes *Ganymedes* son to *Erichthonius*. From this king *Phrygia Minor* borrowed the name of *Troas*, as its metropolis did that of *Troy*.

As the chief commanders of the *Trojan* troops, whose names are of great renown in ancient history, and from whom most of our *European* nations have once b
pretended to derive their pedigree, were descended from *Tros*, before we proceed in the history of the *Trojan* kings, we shall give a succinct account of his numerous progeny. *Tros*, as we have already observed, had by his wife *Acalide*, or as others call her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Assaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomestra*. Of *Ilus*, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, and his posterity, we shall speak in the series of the kings. *Ganymedes* died without issue. *Assaracus* had by his wife *Hieromname*, or, according to others, *Clytodora*, one son named *Capys*, of whom we know nothing else but that the city of *Capha* in *Arcadia*, according to *Stephanus*, borrowed its name of him, and that he married one *Themis*, by whom he had *Anchises*, who was famous for the comelineſs of his person, c
which gave rise to the fable of his amours with *Venus*. He had the misfortune to see the city of *Troy* twice taken and plundered. During the first siege, which happened in the reign of *Laomedon*, he is said to have behaved with great gallantry; but in the time of the second, he was no more fit to bear arms, being wore out with old age and infirmities, occasioned by the lewdness and dissoluteness of his youth, to which his blindness is also ascribed. He is supposed to have been saved out of the flames of the burning city on the shoulders of his son *Æneas*, and to have accompanied him to *Sicily*, where he died. He had two sons, *Æneas*, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, and *Elymus*, and one daughter named *Hippodamia*. *Elymus*, according to *Suidas*, imparted his name to the *Elymæi*, a people of *Sicily*. d
*Apollodorus* calls him *Lycus*. *Hippodamia* married *Alcathous*, who fell in a battle by the hand of *Idomeneus* [q].

*Cleomestra* had but one son by name *Lyersus*, father to *Antenor*. As to *Lyersus* ancient history is quite silent; but *Antenor* is greatly commended for his prudence and wisdom. He was sent by king *Priam* embassador into *Greece* to demand his sister *Hesione*, whom *Hercules* after taking *Troy* had carried captive into *Greece*, and bestowed on *Telamon* as a reward for being the first that mounted the wall of that city. The *Greeks* treated him more like a spy than an embassador; whereupon returning to *Asia*, he inflamed *Priam* and his sons against that nation. However some time after he not only entertained in his house the *Greek* embassadors that were e
sent to demand *Helena*, but protected them against the treacherous attempts of *Priam*'s sons, and found means to convey them safe out of *Troy*. This having gained him the good will of the *Greeks*, he was sent into *Greece* on a second embassy, on which occasion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the trust reposed in him, and some years after the city itself, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which *Antenor* shewed himself mightily inclined after his last embassy. It is agreed on all hands, that the *Greeks* entering *Troy* sword in hand, shewed in the height of their revenge a tender and friendly regard to *Antenor*, having even caused the skin of a panther to be hung up before the door, lest, through mistake, any violence should be offered to his house or person by the greedy and incensed soldiery. Some add, that having known *Ulysses*, who had entered the city in disguise to observe the strength of the *Trojans*, he neither apprehended nor discovered him. Many however clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable construction on the

[q] Homer. Iliad. v.

of the father by abusing, and forcibly conveying away the son, who was the only delight of his old age. *Cicero* (15) seems to make *Ganymede* the son of *Laomedon*, which is a mistake. *Orosius* (16) and *Eusebius* (17) inform us, that the war which *Tros* made upon *Tantalus* was described by one *Patrocles* a poet of no mean character; but his works have not reached us.

(15) *Cicero* 1. *Tuscul.* (16) *lib.* I. *c.* 12. (17) *De Præpar. Evangel. l.* ii.

kindness

a kindness shewn him by the *Greeks*, saying that they spared him merely in compliance with the laws of hospitality, which in those days were deemed sacred even by the most savage nations. Of this opinion is *Livy* [t]; and *Virgil* also seems to free him from all suspicion of treachery, saying that he escaped falling into the hands of the *Greeks* [u]. But be that as it will, the *Trojans*, that remained in the country after the destruction of *Troy*, were so prejudiced against him, that they obliged him to withdraw from *Troas*. At the same time the *Heneti* being driven out of *Paphlagonia*, and forced to seek for new settlements, chose him for their leader in room of their king *Pylemenes*, who had been killed in the siege of *Troy*. With these, and a few *Trojans* he put to sea, and steering his course up the *Adriatic* gulph, landed in the country of the b *Euganei* lying between the sea and the *Alps*. Here he resolved to settle, and having driven out the antient proprietors, and blended the mixed multitude of *Heneti* and *Trojans* under the common name of *Veneti*, he gave rise to a new nation. He built a small town in the place where he landed, and called it *Troy*. He is supposed to have built the city of *Padua*. *Antenor* had by his wife *Theano* sister to *Hecuba*, and daughter to *Cisseus* king of *Thrace*, *Iphadamas*, *Coon*, *Helicaon*, *Laodocus*, *Acamas*, *Archilochus*, *Polybus*, *Agenor*, *Laodamas*, *Demoleon*, *Glaucus*, and *Crino*. *Iphidamus* was brought up in *Thrace* under the care of his grand-father, and came to succour *Priam* and his country with twelve ships, which he left at *Percope*, marching by land to *Troy*, where he was slain by *Agamemnon*, whom he had engaged, and would very likely have c conquered had he not been less fortunate than brave [t]. *Coon*, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, singled out and dangerously wounded the same *Agamemnon*, but at last fell likewise by his hand. *Helicaon* married *Laodice* daughter to king *Priam*. *Archilochus* and *Acamas* commanded, in conjunction with *Æneas*, the troops of *Dardania*. *Agenor* was a warrior of great prowess, attended *Hector* in his boldest undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter *Achilles* himself [u]. The others are named by *Homer*, *Pausanias*, *Calaber*, &c. but performed nothing worth relating. *Pindar* [v] tells us, that the sons of *Antenor*, after the destruction of *Troy*, joined *Menelaus* and *Helena*, and with them settled in *Libya*. But *Eusebius* says that they d reigned in *Phrygia* till the return of *Hector*'s sons by whom they were driven from the throne and the country. Perhaps some of them remained in *Phrygia*, and some accompanied *Menelaus* and *Helena*; among the latter were, according to *Symmachus* [x], *Glaucus*, *Acamas*, and *Hippolochus* or *Archilochus*. As to *Theano Antenor*'s wife, *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* inform us, that she was the chief priestess of *Pallas*, and that she betrayed the *Palladium* to *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*, who were sent into *Troy* under the pretence of an embassy to king *Priam*. Let us now return to the succession of the *Trojan* kings.

*Tros* was succeeded by his son *Ilus*, who pursuing with great vigour the war, which his father had begun, after many signal victories drove *Tantalus* out of *Asia* and possessed himself of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of *Phrygia*. e *Pelops*, the son of *Tantalus*, after several unsuccessful attempts, was at last entirely routed, and forced to quit *Asia* and follow his father into *Greece*. *Byssus* king of the *Bebryces*, who had espoused the quarrel of *Tantalus* and his son *Pelops*, was likewise defeated, and, some say, killed in the engagement. *Ilus* having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother, applied himself entirely to civil affairs, and is said to have made a great many useful laws for the regulation of publick affairs. He enlarged, and adorned with many stately buildings the city of *Ilium* or *Troy*. *Plutarch* informs us, that in his time the temple of *Pallas* being set on fire by lightening, he saved the *Palladium* out of the flames; but on that occasion lost his sight, which however he afterwards recovered. *Herodianus* informs us [y] that he called f the place, where he defeated *Tantalus*, *Pessinus*, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that spot. He died in the 40th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Leucippe* two sons *Tithonus* and *Laomedon*. *Tithonus*, whom some believe to have been the son, and not the brother of *Laomedon*, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exercise having acquired a strong and robust constitution, and inured himself to hardships, he betook himself to a military life, and went to serve among the *Assyrians*, who in those days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His

Ilus. *Year of the flood*, 635. *Before Christ*, 1368.

[t] Decad. i. l. i. [u] Æneid. l. i. verse 246. [t] Homer. Iliad. λ. Pausanias in Phoc. [u] Homer. Iliad. λ. [v] Pindar. Pyth. Od 5. [x] Apud Isaac. Tzetzum, p. 276. [y] lib. i.

courage

courage and conduct soon raised him to the first posts in the army, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was ranked among the *Titanes* or chief lords of the *Assyrian* monarchy, and made governor of *Persia*. Hearing that *Phrygia* was invaded by the *Greeks*, he obtained leave of *Teutamus* king of *Assyria*, who had a great value for him, to send his son *Memnon* at the head of a considerable body of chosen troops to assist his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal both to the father and the son; for *Memnon* being slain by the *Thessalians*, *Tithonus*, already worn out with old age, was so grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comelinesS of his person, his rising early in the morning, as he was a great sportsman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at last with grief, may have given rise to the many fables which the poets relate of him; but for these and their explanation we must refer the reader to *Athenæus* [a], *Tzetzes* [b], *Natalis Comes* [c], and other mythologists.

*Tithonus* had by his wife *Cissia*, or, as *Diodorus* calls her, *Ida*, two sons, *Memnon* and *Emation*, and one daughter named *Hemera*. *Memnon*, being brought up under the discipline of his father, proved a brave, wise and experienced commander. He served with great success in *Egypt* against the *Ethiopians*, who were become very troublesome neighbours to the *Egyptians*; for he routed and dispersed their armies, laid waste their country, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the *Egyptians*, who out of gratitude transferred it to *Memnon*, appointing him king over the country, which he had subdued. In *Ethiopia* he built a city bearing his own name, and some make him likewise the founder of *Abydus*. Having thus distinguished himself in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* he returned to his father in *Assyria*, where he was set over part of *Persia* in quality of satrapa or chief governor, and is said to have built in his satrapy the city of *Susa*, and another to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father he marched at the head of 20000 *Ethiopians*, and the like number of *Persians*, to the assistance of king *Priam*. On this occasion he behaved with his usual bravery, and often put the *Greeks* to flight; but at last falling into an ambuscade was killed by *Achilles* at the head of the *Thessalians*. His body was rescued out of the enemy's hands, his obsequies performed with great solemnity, and his ashes sent back to his father. *Josephus* places his tomb near *Ptolemais* in *Phœnice*, but *Pliny* and *Ælian* say that he was buried at *Susa* (M). Every body has heard of the vocal statue of *Memnon* near *Thebes* in *Egypt*. This, according to *Pausanias* [d], *Eustathius* [e], and *Lucan* [f], was broke in pieces by order of *Cambyses*, but ever after, that part which remained on the pedestal, at the rising of the sun, yielded a sound like that of the string of a lyre or lute when it breaks on the instrument by being drawn too tight. *Eusebius* seems to have credited this story; for he says that this miraculous effect ceased at the birth of *Christ*. *Pausanias* [g], informs us, that *Memnon*'s sword was kept at *Nicomedia*, and produces it as an argument to prove that the arms used by the antients were of brass. *Anticles*, quoted by *Pliny*, says that *Memnon* invented letters fifteen years before the reign of *Phoroneus* first king of *Argos*. *Heliodorus* [h] makes him the progenitor of the kings of *Ethiopia*.

*Emathion*, the other son of *Tithonus*, remained at home with his uncle *Laomedon*, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and *Hercules*. *Probus* the grammarian is of opinion that *Macedonia* was from him named *Emathia*, and *Justin* mentions an antient king of *Macedonia* bearing his name [i], *Romus*, descended from one of the sons of *Tithonus*, was reckoned by some, as *Plutarch* informs us, among the founders of *Rome* [k]. As to *Hemera*, we know nothing of her but what is related by the spurious *Dictys* now extant, whose history deserves no manner of credit.

[a] Athen. lib. xii. c. 26. [b] Isaac. Tzetzes in Cassandr. Lyc. [c] Natalis Comes, l. vi. c. 4. [d] In Atticis. [e] In Dionys. [f] In Toxeri. [g] In Atticis. [h] In Æthiop. l. x. c. 1. [i] Justin. l. vii. [k] Plutarch. in Romulo.

(M) *Pausanias* (18) tells us that a cenotaphium or empty tomb was raised to him in the country of *Troas*, not far from the river *Æsopus*, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was yearly visited by strange birds known to them under the name of *Memnonian* birds. These on stated days flocking to the tomb, cleared the ground, on which it stood, of all rubbish, and afterwards dipping their wings in the *Æsopus*, sprinkled it with the water of that river.

(18) *In Phocis.*

a On the death of *Ilus Laomedon* was placed on the throne, his elder brother *Tithonus* being at the same time employed in foreign wars. He built the citadel of *Troy*, being assisted therein by *Apollo* and *Neptune*, that is, he carried on the work with the treasures that were consecrated to them, and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are said to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. These are looked upon as punishments inflicted by the gods whose temples he had plundered. He treated *Jason*, and the other *Argonauts*, who had landed on the coasts of *Troas*, in a very inhospitable manner, refusing to supply them with necessaries, and even threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ships, b and quit the country. To revenge this affront, *Hercules*, who was one of the *Argonauts*, returned some time after with twelve gallies to *Troy*, which he besieged, took and plundered. In this war *Laomedon* killed *Oileus*, a commander of great renown, but was himself not long after killed by *Hercules*, whom he had engaged with more courage than caution (N). *Laomedon* had five sons, *Tithonus*, *Lampon*, *Clytus*, *Iceaton*, and *Priam*; his daughters were *Hesione*, *Cilla*, *Astyoche*, *Antigone*, *Proclia*, and *Euthria*. All his sons, except *Priam*, were killed in the war with *Hercules*. As to the daughters, *Hesione*, as we have said, being taken by *Hercules*, was bestowed in marriage on *Telamon*, who treated her more like his concubine than wife; which *Priam*, who had succeeded his father, no sooner understood, but he sent *Antenor* c into *Greece* to expostulate with *Telamon*, and to demand his sister *Hesione*. In the council of the princes of *Greece*, this embassy was heard with contempt, and the embassadors used in a manner no ways suitable to their character, which gave occasion, according to several writers, to the *Trojan* war. *Cilla* and *Astyoche* are only named by *Apollodorus* [i]. *Antigone* is described as a woman of a proud, haughty, and insolent behaviour, which gave rise to the fable of her contending for beauty with *Juno*, and being transformed into a stork by that incensed goddess [k]. *Proclia* married *Cycnus*, by whom she had *Tenus* and *Hemithea* [l]. *Euthria* being taken by the *Greeks*, and preferring death itself to slavery, advised the *Trojan* women, who were captives with her on board the *Greek* fleet, to set the enemies ships on fire, and thereby d revenge the evils which they had brought upon their common country, and prevent those that were reserved for themselves. Her advice was followed, and the *Greeks* being gone ashore near *Pallene* to take in fresh provisions, they burnt both the fleet and themselves, which obliged the *Greeks* to settle there [m], having no other ships to pursue their voyage. *Apollodorus* mentions one *Bucolion*, a natural son of *Laomedon*'s by *Calybe*, who was slain with his fathers and brothers by *Hercules*. *Laomedon* reigned, according to some, thirty-six, according to others, forty-four years.

Laomedon. *Year of the flood*, 1684. *Before Christ*, 1279.

*Laomedon* being slain by *Hercules*, as we have said above, *Podarces*, the only surviving son, who had been carried away captive with his sister *Hesione*, was with a e great sum of money ransomed and placed on the throne of his ancestors, and hence came the surname of *Priam*, which is derived from a *Greek* verb signifying to redeem or ransom. His first care, after his accession to the throne, was to encompass the city of *Troy* with a strong wall, to prevent such calamities as had happened in his father's reign. There being discovered in the beginning of his reign a mine of gold near *Abydus*, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is said to have embellished the city with stately edifices, towers, castles, aqueducts, *&c.* He maintained in constant pay a considerable army, reduced most of the neighbouring states, and was rather considered as sovereign of all *Asia Minor*, f than king of *Troas*. He married to his first wife *Arisba*, or, as others call her, *Alyxothoe*, by whom he had but one son named *Æsacus*; but by his second wife *Hecuba*,

Priam. *Year of the flood*, 1768. *Before Christ*, 1235.

[i] Apollod. l. iii. [k] Servius in l. i. Æneid. [l] Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandr. Lycoph. p. 118. [m] Polyænus l. vii.

(N) Others tell us (19), that *Apollo* and *Neptune* were hired by *Laomedon* to build the walls of *Troy*; and that upon his refusing to pay them their wages, *Apollo* sent a plague, and *Neptune* drowned part of the country with inundations. They add, that the oracle advised him to expose his daughter *Hesione* to a sea-monster, and atone for his crime by sacrificing his favourite child. She was delivered by *Hercules*, say they, but *Laomedon* refused him the reward which he had promised; whereupon *Hercules* besieged and took *Troy*, killed the king, and gave *Hesione* in marriage to *Telamon*.

(19) *Eusib. in Chron.*

daughter to *Cisseus* king of *Thrace*, he had *Hector*, *Alexander* or *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, a
*Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antiphus*, *Hipponous*, *Polydorus*, and *Troilus*; and daughters, *Creusa*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Cassandra*. Besides these he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers say, that being abroad when *Troy* was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home and placed on the throne by *Hercules*, notwithstanding some of his elder brothers were then alive.

*The cause of the* Trojan *war.*

The name of this king will be ever memorable in history for the war that happened in his reign between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great prowess and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the siege, the destruction of that great city, and the endless colonies that were planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well b
as the conquerors. As to the cause of this fatal and destructive war, it is agreed on all hands that the rape of *Helen* first kindled it; but what encouraged *Paris* to such an attempt, and induced his father *Priam* to stand by him at the expence of so much blood and treasure, is not determined by antient writers. *Herodotus* [a] gives a very unnatural and far-fetched account of this rape. He says, that the *Phœnicians* having ravished *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus* king of *Argos*, and carried her with other *Greek* women into *Egypt*, the *Greeks* making use of reprisals, first carried off *Europa*, the king of *Tyre*'s daughter, and afterwards *Medea* daughter to the king of *Colchos*, refusing to restore either till such time as they received due reparation for the rape of *Io*. *Paris*, adds *Herodotus*, in the next succeeding age hearing of these adventures, was encou- c
raged to ravish *Helen*, persuading himself that he should not be constrained to make any reparation, seeing others had escaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous and foreign to the purpose. For how could the *Greeks* ever take it in their heads to quarrel with the king of *Colchos*, or revenge on him an injury done to their nation by the *Phœnicians*, whom the king of *Colchos*, in all likelihood, had never so much as heard of? Besides, it is plain from *Thucydides*, that the distinction of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* was not introduced even in *Homer*'s time, and consequently highly improbable that the *Greeks* so long before, when they had not even one common name to distinguish themselves from other nations, should nevertheless look upon them all as their enemies by reason of an injury done by one. Others d
say, that king *Priam* hearing that his sister *Hesione* was ill-used by *Telamon*, to whom *Hercules* had given her in marriage, sent first *Antenor*, and afterwards *Paris* to complain thereof, and insist on her being delivered to them. This, they think, has some appearance of truth; for *Telamon* in history bears the character of a surly, cruel, and ill-natured prince, insomuch that his own son *Teucer* chose rather to roam on the seas in quest of a new habitation after the war, than return home, not daring to appear before his father, for no other reason, but because his brother *Ajax* had laid violent hands on himself, which it was not in *Teucer*'s power to prevent. *Paris*, add these authors, coming into *Greece* upon this embassy, was hospitably enter- e
tained by *Menelaus* king of *Sparta*, who being obliged by his private concerns to pass over into *Crete*, his base and ungrateful guest laid hold on that opportunity to entice away his wife. But neither is this account by any means satisfactory; for were it true, that *Hesione* was ill used by *Telamon*, yet no body can imagine that *Priam* would on that score send a solemn embassy into *Greece*, or think of taking his sister from her husband with whom she had lived above thirty years. Whereupon it is most natural to think that *Paris*, in ravishing *Helen*, never thought of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*; but falling in love with her as she was the most beautiful woman in *Greece*, was prompted by his own perverse inclinations to do what in those days was commonly practised both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Thus *Helen* f
herself had been stolen before by *Theseus*, and such practices of stealing women were so common, as *Thucydides* [c] informs us, that none durst venture to live near the sea-coast. The same *Thucydides* [d] tells us, that as *Helen* was a woman of extraordinary beauty, her father *Tyndareus* after recovering her from *Theseus*, to prevent a second rape, obliged all her suitors, who were most of the princes of *Greece*, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to rescue her, in case she should be taken from her husband. This done, he gave his daughter free choice of a husband, who preferred *Menelaus* to all the rest. According to this account, the oath, which so many princes had taken to *Tyndareus*, was what drew them together, and armed them

[a] lib. i. [c] Thucyd. l. i. [d] Idem ibid. p. 6.

against

a against the ravisher and his abetters. To which he may add the great power of *Agamemnon*, brother to the injured *Menelaus*, who, as he was by far the most potent prince of all *Greece*, so he had, without all doubt, a great influence over the rest of his countrymen. But be that as it will, war against *Troy* was determined in a general assembly of all the princes of *Greece*, and this was the first enterprize the *Greeks* ever undertook with common consent. Before the assembly broke up, *Agamemnon* was appointed commander in chief of the whole army; *Ægium*, a city in *Peloponnesus*, was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous; and each prince, as *Greece* was at that time divided into endless dynasties, enjoined to send his quota of troops and ships.

b The best and most rational account we have of this great war is that which we gather from *Homer*, whose inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the result of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the most antient history of *Greece*. The known rules of epic poetry suppose the truth of the history, though they admit of its being embellished with poetical fictions. So that if we had no other monuments of antiquity to convince us of the *Trojan* war, and the taking of that city by the *Greeks*, yet we could not question the truth of the fact. But most of the historical events related by *Homer*, are attested and confirmed by the most creditable historians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely by the *Arundelian* marbles. We must therefore carefully distinguish in c *Homer's* works what is historical from what is merely fictitious. He describes the state of *Greece* at that time, and informs us that it was cantled out into a great many dynasties; that *Agamemnon* king of *Mycenæ*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, was the most powerful prince of all *Greece*, that he was appointed to command in chief; he enumerates and names the several nations and princes that sided with the *Trojans*; he gives us an insight into the art of war practised in that age; discloses the laws and religion of the *Greeks*; gives us the character of their leaders; describes the situation of their country and cities, *&c.* all which are purely historical; so that *Homer*'s poems may deservedly be considered as the most antient history of the *Greeks*, whose earlier ages are buried in oblivion for want of such a writer to transmit their actions d to posterity (O).

The number of ships employed by the *Greeks* in this expedition, according to *Euripides*, *Lycophron*, and *Virgil*, amounted to 1000; *Homer* enumerates 1186; but *Thucydides* [q] raises the number to 1200. The *Bœotian* ships, that were the largest, carried 120 men each; those of the *Philoctetæ* were the smallest, and each manned with 50; every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a soldier; so that supposing the fleet to have been of 1200 sail, as *Thucydides* affirms, and the ships to have carried one with another 85 men, we shall find the *Greek* army to have been 102,000 men strong, no great force, considering, that all the powers of *Greece*, except the *Acarnanes* alone [r], were engaged in this war. The e *Greeks*, as *Thucydides* observes, could, have raised a far more powerful army, but were afraid of being distressed for provisions in a foreign country [s]. Against this army the city of *Troy* held out ten years; but the *Trojans*, as *Homer* makes *Agamemnon* say, were not the tenth part of the enemies which the *Greeks* had to contend with; for all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia Minor* sided with the *Trojans*. *Rhesus*, king of *Thrace*, marched at the head of a considerable body to their assistance, and *Memnon*, as we have said, joined them with 20,000 *Assyrians* and *Æthiopians*. Wherefore the *Greeks*, foreseeing the resistance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would cost them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hostilities, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* embassadors to f *Troy* to demand *Helen*, and the treasures which *Paris* had carried off with her, hopeing that the fame of the vast preparations which they had made might frighten the *Trojans* into a compliance with so equitable a demand. What answer was returned

[q] lib. i. p. 8. [r] Justin. l. xviii. [s] ubi supra.

(O) *Dion Chrysostome* (19), in an oration addressed to the *Trojans*, attemps to prove the siege and reduction of *Troy* by the *Greeks* to be an errant fable without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty essay, since the author elsewhere (20) disproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the siege and taking of *Troy* are transactions so well attested, and have left such a remarkable epocha in history, that no man of sense can call them in question.

(19) *Orat.* xi. (20) Περὶ ἀσκήσεως, *p.* 255. *d.*

to

to the embassadors we know not; but 'tis certain that they returned without a *Helena*, and highly dissatisfied with their reception at *Troy*.

*Herodotus*[t] upon a tradition that prevailed among the priests of *Egypt*, seems inclinable to believe that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before he could reach *Troy*. The tradition, as *Herodotus*, who learnt it of the priests themselves, informs us, amounts to this: *Paris* on his return with *Helen* was by stress of weather driven on the coast of *Egypt*, and forced to put in at *Tarichia* on the *Canopean* mouth of the *Nile*. Here some slaves of *Paris*'s retinue taking sanctuary in a temple of *Hercules*, which stood on the shore, informed against their master, aggravating before the governor of the province, by name *Thonis*, the injury which he had done to *Menelaus*. *Thonis* laid the whole matter before *Proteus*, at that time king of *Egypt*, who finding, upon b examination, the deposition of the slaves to be true, detained *Helen*, and the treasures that had been taken with her, in order to restore them to *Menelaus*; but commanded *Paris*, after having severely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the kingdom within the term of three days on pain of being treated as an enemy. The *Egyptian* priests add, that when the *Greeks* sent embassadors to demand *Helen* and her riches, the *Trojans* protested that they were not in their power, but in the hands of *Proteus* king of *Egypt*, which the *Greeks* looking upon as a mere shift to put them off, began the war; but at last after taking the town, as *Helena* nowhere appeared, and the *Trojans* persisted in their former protestations, the *Greeks* began to believe them, and sent *Menelaus* into *Egypt*, where he was kindly entertained by c *Proteus*, and had his wife restored to him without any injury done to her person or goods. These things the *Egyptian* priests assured *Herodotus* that they knew for certain, as they had happened in *Egypt*, and had been handed down to them from those, who had conversed with *Menelaus* himself. *Herodotus* produces one argument of no small weight to prove the truth of this tradition, *viz.* that if it had been in king *Priam's* power to restore *Helen*, he would certainly have done it rather than suffer the unspeakable calamities that befel his family, his kingdom and himself during the course of the war. How great soever his tenderness to *Paris* might have been, yet it could not be proof against so many misfortunes. *Homer* seems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the *Egyptian* priests, for he mentions *Paris* d and *Helen*'s arrival in *Egypt*, and says, that *Menelaus* went thither before he returned home to *Sparta*, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleasure. Nevertheless *Homer*, and with him all the *Greek* poets (after whom the *Latins* have copied) except *Euripides*, suppress the circumstance of *Helen*'s not being in *Troy*, as too favourable to the *Trojan* cause. But whether the *Trojans* would not, or could not, restore her, the embassadors on their return highly complained of the treatment they had met with, and with their complaints so incensed their countrymen, that they resolved without further delay to put to sea, and carry fire and sword into the enemies country (P). They steered to the coast of *Troas*, where on their landing they met with so warm a reception, that they began to be sensible e of the difficulty of the enterprize. In the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, who was slain by *Hector*, and many others of less note. However they gained ground enough to encamp on. But what most of all retarded their progress was want of provisions, which daily increased, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the smallness of their vessels, which, as the building of ships with decks was not then introduced, could not carry such stores of provisions as were necessary to supply the army. Wherefore they were obliged to divide their forces, sending part of them to cultivate the ground in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and part to rove about the seas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or historians, agree that the *Greeks* employed the first eight or nine years in scowering the seas, pillaging f

[t] lib. ii.

(P) *Calchas*, a famous soothsayer, without whose advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the *Greeks* during the war, declared that the goddess *Diana* opposed their passage with contrary winds, and that she was to be appeased with a victim of no smaller note than *Iphigenia* daughter to *Agamemnon*. The goddess, say the poets, was incensed against him for having killed by chance one of her stags; but after all pitying the innocent young virgin, she prevented so horrid a sacrifice by putting a hind in her room. Some writers are of opinion, as we have observed elsewhere (21), that the fable of the sacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from *Jephtha*'s sacrificing his daughter.

(21) *p.* 751. *O.*

the

a coasts, and reducing such cities and islands as sided with the *Trojans*. Hence in the poets we read of many towns taken, Islands plundered, strong-holds razed, and numbers of people carried into captivity by *Achilles*, whom the army could not well have spared, had there been any service of importance to be performed before *Troy* (Q).

At last the several small parties, that had been dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries and islands, being joined in one body, and great store of provisions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a design to exert their utmost efforts, and put an end to so tedious a war. But by this time the *Trojans* had b been reinforced with considerable bodies both of mercenaries and allies. Insomuch that when the *Greeks* first invested the town, *Hector* attacked them at the head of an army scarce inferior to theirs in number. The *Greeks* had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which *Homer* says was sent by *Apollo*, because *Agamemnon* refused to release the daughter of one of his priests; but *Heraclides* on this passage informs us, that it was occasioned by the violent heats, and pestilentious vapours raised by the sun, the *Greeks* being encamped among fens and marshes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*; for *Agamemnon* being obliged by the soothsayer *Calchas* to return his fair captive to her father a priest of *Apollo*, to appease that revengeful deity, took c *Briseis* in her room, who in the division of the booty had fallen to *Achilles*. This affront *Achilles* revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retiring with them on board his vessels. In his absence several battles were fought with great slaughter on both sides, the victory generally inclining to the *Trojans*. In one of these *Patroclus* was slain by *Hector*; but his death was not long unrevenged, for *Achilles* returning to the camp put the *Trojans* to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing *Hector* himself. *Achilles* did not long outlive him, being slain by *Paris*. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both sides, but the *Greeks* at last carried the city; whether by force, stratagem, or treachery is uncertain. All writers agree that it was taken by night: Some say that *Æneas* and *Antenor*, d who commanded the *Dardanians*, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no terms even after the death of *Hector* and *Paris*, concluded a separate peace with the *Greeks*, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse, which fable some think to have had its birth from the *Greeks* entering the city by the *Scæan* gate, over which was the picture or statue of a horse. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine, called a horse, and in the nature of that which the *Romans* in after-ages made use of to batter the walls, and from its shape called a *Ram*. Be that as it will, the *Greeks* having at last mastered the city, practised all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. e The city was laid in ashes, and such of the Inhabitants as had not time to save themselves by flight, were either put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, or carried by the conqueror into captivity. And thus ended the Kingdom of *Troy*, after having stood, from *Teucer* to *Priam* 296 years, according to the most exact computations. The city was taken the 24th day of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ.

Troy *taken.* *Year of the flood*, 1819. *Before Christ*, 1184.

The *Greeks*, having at last put an end to the war, divided the booty, and put to sea in order to return to their respective homes, but met with many adventures, many of them being driven on far distant coasts. *Menestheus* king of *Athens* died at *Melos*. *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* settled in *Cyprus*, where he built a city calling it f *Salamis* from the chief city of his own country, which bore that name. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadians*, built in the same island the city of *Paphos*. *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* settled in *Epirus*, and there built *Ephyra*. *Ajax* the son of

(Q) *Ovid* says, that from the first year to the tenth there was no fighting at all; and *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Greeks* did not sit down before *Troy* till the tenth year, contenting themselves with laying waste the enemies country, and blocking up the city. *Homer* (21) introduces king *Priam* sitting on a high tower, and there learning of *Helen* the names of the *Greek* commanders who appeared in the field on the tenth year; for which fiction, allowing it to be such, there would have been no room, had the *Greeks* been encamped under the walls of *Troy* for ten years together. The only thing wherein authors differ as to this particular is, that some, with *Thucydides* (22), say, that the whole army was employed in subduing the *Trojan* allies; while others, with *Herodotus*, tell us, that a considerable body of troops was encamped the whole time before *Troy*.

(21) *Iliad.* 3. (22) *lib.* i. *p.* 9.

*Oileus* was lost. Some of the *Locrians* were driven on the coasts of *Afric*, others a
to *Italy*, whereof all the east part was called *Magna Græcia* by reason of the many towns built there by the *Greeks*. Many, who got safe home, were obliged to put to sea again, as *Thucydides* informs us [a], in quest of new seats, others having seized their territories, and usurped the sovereignty, during their absence. *Agamemnon* and his brother *Menelaus* fell out when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to return home, and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, some sailing with *Menelaus* to the island of *Tenedos*, and others remaining with *Agamemnon* on the coasts of *Troas*. Those, who followed *Menelaus*, not agreeing among themselves parted, each holding his own course homewards. *Agamemnon* arrived safe at *Mycenæ*, where he was soon after his arrival murdered by his wife *Clytemnestra*; but his son *Orestes* b
revenged his death by the murder of *Clytemnestra*, of *Ægisthus* her gallant, and of *Helen* their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the *Areopagus*. The adventurers of *Ulysses* are related by *Homer* in a fabulous manner; but what may have some foundation in history, is, that some years passed before he got home. The adventures of the other *Greeks* are less known; but upon the whole it appears, that this war proved no less fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the *Trojans*, those who escaped the general slaughter, seeing their country utterly ruined, took their measures accordingly, and settled in distant regions. *Antenor*, as we have said already, established himself in *Italy*, and founded the nation of the *Heneti*. *Helenus*, one of *Priam*'s sons settled in *Macedonia*, where he c
built the city of *Ilium*. Some say that during the siege he went over to the *Greeks*, and shewed them in what manner they might easily master the city.

As to *Æneas*, all the *Roman* writers assure us, that he settled in *Italy*, and there founded the kingdom of *Alba*. From him the *Cæsars* affected to derive their pedigree, as the other *Romans* did theirs from the *Trojans* who accompanied him. *Livy* alone seems to betray some sort of doubt as to this particular, insinuating, with a great deal of reserve, that he has not sufficient grounds either to admit or reject the common opinion. But notwithstanding the unanimous consent of the *Latins*, there are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned *Bochart* [b] has carefully collected to evince the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to be a mere fable (R). d

The

[a] lib. i. [b] Bochart. epist. num Æneas unquam fuit in Italia.

(R) In the first place this opinion is directly opposite to that of *Homer* (23), who supposes *Æneas* to have remained in *Phrygia*; for he introduces *Neptune*, whom he represents favourable to *Æneas* on all occasions, and averse from *Priam* and his whole race, assuring him that he and his posterity should reign over the *Trojans*, which the poet would never have done, had he not known that *Æneas* and his posterity had reigned, or were actually reigning in his time. It is the custom of poets to introduce their deities or prophets telling before-hand that such things will happen as the poet knows to have already happened; but no poet ever made them utter such things as he knew neither did nor could happen, which would be *Homer*'s case if *Æneas* had not reigned in *Phrygia*. To this argument some answer, that *Æneas*, after settling a colony in *Italy*, returned to *Phrygia* and reigned over the few *Phrygians* that outlived the destruction of their country. As this answer has no manner of foundation in history, it is scarce worth refuting. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (24) is of opinion that *Neptune*, or rather *Homer*, meant only that *Æneas* was to reign over such *Phrygians* as accompanied him, or over a *Phrygian* colony. But this is no more than what happened to *Antenor*, *Acestes*, *Capys*, *Helenus*, and others; whereas the poet's intent is to make *Neptune* distinguish *Æneas* from the other *Phrygians* by some particular marks of his favour. Besides, the words of *Venus* in the hymn, which is generally ascribed to *Homer* ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει are capable of no other sense, but that *Æneas* shall reign in the country of the *Trojans*; and in this sense they are understood by *Strabo* (25), who tells us in express terms, that *Æneas* remained in the country of the *Trojans*; that the family of *Priam* being extinct, the crown fell to him, and was by him transmitted to his posterity. *Eustathius* thinks (26) that when *Homer* introduces *Neptune* promising to *Æneas* that he and his posterity should reign over the *Trojans*, the poet by the *Trojans* meant the *Romans*; and because it might be objected, that *Homer* could have no knowledge of the *Romans*, being dead long before the foundation of *Rome*, he adds that *Homer* had either seen the oracles of the *Sibyls*, which derive the *Roman* princes from *Æneas*, or had himself foreseen, as most poets are endowed with the gift of prophecy, that the *Romans* were to descend from *Æneas*, and be masters of the world. But as to the books of the *Sibyls*, *Homer* certainly never did nor could see them; for they were forged, as several writers have demonstrated, above a thousand years after *Homer*'s time; and as to the spirit of prophecy, which *Eustathius* is pleased to bestow upon poets, every one sees that it has not the least appearance of Truth. To the authority of *Homer* we may add that of *Agathocles Cyzicenus*, quoted by *Festus* (27), who cites many authors affirming *Æneas* to have been buried in the city of *Berecynthia* by the river *Nolus* (or as others read, *Gallus*) not far from *Troy*. *Stephanus* informs us that the city of *Ascania* in *Phrygia* was built by *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, wherein he agrees with *Nicolaus Damascenus*. *Mela* tells us that the city of *Antandrus* was so called, because *Ascanius*, who reigned there, being taken by the *Pelasgi*, yielding this city to

(23) *Iliad.* 20. (24) *lib.* i. (25) *lib.* xiii (26) *In Iliad.* (27) *Festus voce Roma.*

a THE city of *Troy* being utterly ruined, and most of the inhabitants of *Troas* put to the sword, some writers tell us that the neighbouring *Phrygians* and *Lydians*, possessing themselves of that country, settled there, and that *Troas* from that time began to be called *Phrygia*; others are of opinion that *Æneas*, having gathered together the scattered remains of the *Trojans*, rebuilt the city, and that his descendants and the descendants of *Hector* reigned there till the country was subdued by the *Lydians*, who became so powerful as to over-run all *Asia Minor*. If the *Trojans* had any kings of their own after their city was destroyed by the *Greeks*, they must needs have made but a very indifferent figure, since they are not so much as named in history.

to them for his ransom. *Hellanicus* in his *Troica* makes *Æneas* fly into *Thrace*, and from thence to *Pallene*; but as to *Ascanius*, he says, that he remained in *Troas*, and reigned there. *Strabo* assures us, that the city of *Scepsis*, in former times situate near *Troy*, was removed from thence sixty furlongs by *Scamander* the son of *Hector*, and *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*; and adds, that these two families reigned for many years in that city; and that the monarchical form of government being first changed into an oligarchy, and afterwards into a democracy, nevertheless such as were descended from these two families were still honoured with the title of kings. To these authorities *Bochart* (28) adds two arguments of no small weight, namely that the chief deities of the ancient *Trojans*, viz. *Venus*, *Apollo*, *Cybele*, &c. were for a long time quite unknown to the *Romans*, and that there is not the least similitude imaginable between the ancient *Phrygian* and *Roman* language, which he proves by producing the few *Phrygian* words that have been transmitted to us. This however is no exception to *Virgil*'s divine and inimitable *Æneid*; for he advances nothing but what was vouched by all the historians, orators, antiquaries, critics and poets, who had flourished before him. Neither is it the duty of a poet to contradict an opinion, which a whole nation holds for indubitable.

(28) *ubi supra.*

# CHAP. XIV.

## *The History of the* MYSIANS.

### SECT. I.

### *The description of the country, the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the Inhabitants.*

a THE small country before us is thought to have borrowed its name from the *Lydian* word *Mysos* signifying a beech-tree, because that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser Mysia*. *Mysia Minor* or the *Lesser Mysia* lay on the *Propontis*, and from thence extended to mount *Olympus*, being bounded by *Bithynia* and the *Propontis* on the north and west, by *Phrygia Minor* on the south, and by *Phrygia Major* on the east. *Mysia Major* or the *Greater Mysia* was bounded on the north by *Phrygia Minor*, on the south by *Æolia*, on the east by *Phrygia Major*, and on the west by the *Ægean* sea. What *Strabo*, whom we have followed, calls *Mysia Minor*, *Ptolemy* calls *Mysia Major*; the former is also named *Olympena* from mount *Olympus*, and *Hellespontiaca*, because some towns anciently b belonging to it were seated on the *Hellespont*. That part of *Mysia* which lay between *Ancyra* of *Phrygia* and the river *Rhindacus* is called by *Strabo Abrettana*, and the remaining part *Morena*. The former denomination is often given to all *Mysia*. *Name.*

IN that part of *Mysia Minor* which lay on the *Propontis*, were the following cities: *Cyzicus* or *Cyzicum* seated in an island of the *Propontis* bearing the same name, but joined to the continent with two bridges by *Alexander the Great*. It borrowed its name from *Cyzicus* king of that island, and the adjacent continent, who is said to have been killed through mistake by *Jason* the *Argonaut*. This city, when first known to the *Romans*, was one of the greatest and richest of all *Asia*, and hence was stiled by

by *Florus* the *Rome* of *Asia*, and celebrated by him and all the other *Latin* writers a
for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, *&c.* [x]. Among its many magnificent buildings the chief temple is mightily cried up by the ancients; the whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold; the pillars were four cubits thick, and fifty high, each of one piece. The statue of *Jupiter*, which stood in the temple, was of ivory, and most exquisite workmanship [y]. In after-ages this city made a glorious stand against *Mithridates*, who lost under its walls no fewer than 300,000 men, and after all could not conquer it. However the ancient inhabitants of this city and island were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race; insomuch that when any one behaved himself in an unmanly manner, or through fear did what was unbecoming, he was contemptuously called a *Cyzican* [z]. b
*Tully* [a] represents those of his time as a quiet and inoffensive sort of people, enemies to plots or tumults, averse from war, and of a turn to enjoy the sweets of peace, whatever they cost. The current coin of this island, called *Stater*, and weighing eighteen drams, was engraved with such nicety, exactness, and skill, that they were looked upon in those days as a miracle of art (S). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed that their city had been given by *Jupiter* to *Proserpine* for her dowry, and on that account worshipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, greatness, riches, and laws of this city, we refer our reader to *Appian* [b]. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to *Constantinople* to embellish that city. Under the *Romans* it was the metro- c
polis of the *Consular Hellespont*, but is at present little better than a village, and known under the names of *Chizico*, *Spiga*, and *Palormi*.

*Parium*, so called, as some writers inform us, from *Parus* the son of *Jason*. Some think that *Archilochus*, the famous writer of *Iambics*, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked *Cupid* much celebrated by the ancients, and deemed no ways inferior to the famous *Venus* of *Cnidos*. In the neighbourhood of this city lived the *Ophiogenes* mentioned by *Pliny* [c], who are said to have had the gift of curing the bitings of serpents with their touch. Not far from hence stood a stately temple of *Apollo Actæus* and *Diana*, which being demolished, the ruins were employed to build an altar at *Parium*, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of *Asia*. d
The ancient *Parians* were a colony of *Milesians*, and the more modern, of the *Romans*, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely *Parium* and *Troas*. *Homer* makes *Parium* and *Adrastia* one and the same city; but *Strabo* distinguishes them. *Parium* is now reduced to a village, but retains its ancient name.

*Lampsacus* or *Lampsacum* was seated at the entrance of the *Propontis* over-against *Callipolis* in the *Thracian Chersonese*. It was built, according to some, by the *Phocenses*, according to others by *Priapus*, who was a native of this city, and the most infamous of all the heathen deities. This city, as we are told, borrowed its name from a young woman named *Lampsaces*. It had a capacious and safe harbour, and a noble temple consecrated to *Cybele*. It was in ancient times famous for its wine, e
and on that consideration given by *Artaxerxes* to *Themistocles* in his exile. *Alexander the Great* conceived such an aversion to this city for the lewdness and vices of the inhabitants, that he resolved to lay it in ashes; which the inhabitants having timely notice of, dispatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert, if possible, their impending doom. They no sooner appeared before *Alexander*, but the incensed monarch, to redeem himself from their importunity, solemnly vowed that he would deny their request. Whereupon *Anaximenes*, who was at the head of that embassy, addressed the king thus: Most just and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of *Lampsacus*, having been so unhappy as to incur your royal displeasure, and desiring to atone for the the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of so merciful a f
prince, have sent us to beg that you would utterly destroy their unfortunate city,

[x] Florus, lib. iii. c. v. [y] Xiphilinus in Dione. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15. [z] Hesychius. Erasm. Chiliad. [a] Act. iii. in Ver. [b] Appian. in Mithridatico. [c] lib. vii. c. 2.

(S) This gave birth to the *Greek* proverb Κυζικηνοὶ στατῆρες an expression used in commending any eminent Performance in the art of engraving; as if the *Cyzician stateres* were the utmost effort of that art. This coin represented on one side *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and a lion on the other, which has made some imagine the abovementioned proverb to be a taunt on those, who talk big, and affect to appear like lions, though they be in effect as timid and fearful as women (29).

(29) *Erasm. Chiliad.*

a

a a punishment richly deserved by those who could provoke your displeasure. This unexpected request, and the vow which *Alexander*, being bent on its destruction, had made to reject the deputies petition, was its preservation. *Priapus* was worshipped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect sink of lewdness, a very school of the most unnatural lust. *Tully* [c] represents the inhabitants of *Lampsacus* as a quiet and indolent sort of people, and more fit to relish the ease of peace, than suffer the toils of war. This city is still in a tolerable good condition, situated in a pleasant plain, and surrounded with vineyards, which are fenced in with pomegranate-trees, and produce excellent wine. The *Greeks* call it *Lampsaco*; and the *Turks Lepseck*. These were the chief cities of *Mysia Minor* seated on the coast.

b We will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Mysia*, which, according to *Strabo*, lay between the river *Rhyndacus* and mount *Ida*. Here *Stephanus* places the city of *Apollonia* on the banks of the *Rhindacus*, which rises from a lake bearing the name of the city. This lake called now the lake of *Abouillona*, is five-and-twenty miles in compass, and eight miles wide, being interspersed with several islands and peninsula's, whereof the largest, which is three miles in circuit, is called *Abouillona*. As the village situate in this island bears the same name, some modern travellers [d] take it to be the ancient city of *Apollonia* (U), which was once a city of great note, and maintained its ancient lustre to the reign of the emperor *Alexis Comnenus*, when it was taken and pillaged by the *Turks*, as his daughter c *Anna Comnena* informs us. *Apollo* was undoubtedly the chief deity of this city; for besides that it bore his name, he is represented on the reverse of several medals of this City [e].

The chief rivers of *Mysia Minor* are the *Rhyndacus* and the *Granicus*. The *Rhyndacus*, called by *Pliny Lycus*, and by the moderns *Lartacho*, has its source in the lake of *Apollonia* or *Artynia*, as *Pliny* names it, and falls into the *Propontis* near *Cyzicus*. This river is memorable in the *Roman* history for the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who designing to surprize *Lucullus*, was himself surprized by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this river. The *Granicus* rises on mount *Ida*, and discharges itself into the *Propontis* between *Parium* and d *Cyzicus*. This river *Alexander* crossed at the head of 30000 *Macedonians* in face of the *Persian* army 600,000 strong. Travellers observe, that its banks are very high and steep on the west side; so that the forces of *Darius* had a considerable advantage, had they known how to use it. This river at present is called the *Sousoughirli*, which is the name of a village it waters (W).

In this part of *Mysia* stands mount *Olympus* called by the ancients *Olympus Mysiorum* to distinguish it from several other mountains of the same name. It is one of the highest mountains in *Asia*, and great part of the year covered with snow.

The city of greatest note in *Mysia Major* was *Pergamus* seated in a spacious plain e on the banks of the *Caicus*. It was the royal seat of the *Attalic* kings and of *Eumenes*, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes, for the transcribing of which parchment was here first invented, and thence called by the *Latins Charta Pergamena*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* gave occasion to this useful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the *Egyptian* papyrus, in order to defeat the design of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, which was to cause all the valuable books then extant to be carefully transcribed, and by that means make a collection that might vie with *Ptolemy*'s famous library at *Alexandria*. In *Pergamus* were likewise invented those costly hangings which we call *Tapestry*, and the *Romans* f named *Aulæa*, from *Aula* signifying a hall, because the hall of *Attalus*, who invented them, was the first room adorned with this furniture. *Galen* the famous *Physician* was born in this city. Here *Æsculapius* is said to have practised physic.

[c] Act. c. iii. in Verr. [d] Tournefort voyag. au Levant, &c. [e] Tournefort ubi supra.

(U) *Vaillant*, who visited those places, describes *Apollonia* as seated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which runs the *Rhyndacus*; but this learned traveller mistook the city of *Lopadi*, or as the *Turks* call it, *Ulubat*, for the ancient *Apollonia*, not being aware that the inhabitants of *Apollonia* for the conveniency of their commerce removed from *Apollonia* to *Lopadi*, giving the name of the city they had forsaken to this their new habitation; it being manifest from *Anna Commena* that in her time *Lopadi* bore also the name of *Apollonia*.

(W) *Spon* mistakes the *Fourtissar*, as it is now called, for the *Granicus*. The *Fourtissar* is a small brook rising on mount *Tininus*, which some, thro' mistake, think to be the *Caicus* of the ancients.

We must not forget that *Pergamus* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the *Revelations*. It is now an inconsiderable place, and thinly inhabited. There are still to be seen in the neighbouring fields the ruins of the palace of the *Attalic* kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre. a

On the coasts of the *Greater Mysia* were seated the following cities, *Antandrus*, *Scepsis*, *Assus*, *Adramyttium*, *Pitane*, &c.

*Soil and climate.* The soil of this country is one of the finest and richest of *Asia*, and as such celebrated by the ancients[f]. It chiefly abounded in corn and wine, was well stocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains proper for pasturing them. It was plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Ida* and mount *Olympus*. In short the *Mysians*, as *Philostratus* informs us, with respect to their country, were the happiest of all the *Asiatics*. b

*Origin.* As to the origin of the *Mysians*, *Herodotus*[g] informs us, that they were *Lydians* by descent. According to his account, *Manes*, the first king of *Lydia* was father to *Cotys*, and *Cotys* to *Atys*, who had three sons, *Lydus*, *Mysus*, and *Cares*. From *Lydus* the *Lydians*, formerly called *Mæones* from *Mæon* the father of *Cybele*, borrowed their name. *Mysus* and *Cares* planted *Lydian* colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named *Mysia* and *Caria*. Others derive them from the *Phrygians*, and tell us that *Mysus* was not a *Lydian* but a *Phrygian*. *Strabo* derives the *Asiatic Mysians* from those of *Europe* inhabiting that tract, which lies between mount *Hermus* and the *Danube*, and is now known under the names of *Bosnia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people, which it would be of no use to relate, as they are mostly founded on distorted and far-fetched etymologies. c

*Character.* As to the character of the ancient *Mysians*, it must be considered at different times; for they seem to have been once a warlike people. *Herodotus*[h] and *Pliny*[i] speak of a very powerful army of *Mysians* and *Trojans*, which before the *Trojan* war passing over the *Bosphorus* into *Europe*, subdued all *Thrace*, and advancing to the *Ionian* sea penetrated as far as the river *Peneus*. But in after-ages they degenerated from the valour of their ancestors so as to be looked upon as the most contemptible and insignificant Nation on the earth; insomuch that the *Greeks*[k] had no expression to signify more emphatically a person of no worth or merit, than to call him *the last of the Mysians*. They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the *Greeks*[l] to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceased. Their language was in all likelihood the same as the *Phrygian* and *Trojan* with some variation of dialect. As to their manners, customs, arts and sciences we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only guess at from their situation and wealth; for *Philostratus* informs us, that in ancient times they were the most wealthy nation of all *Asia*. d

*Religion.* Their religion was much the same with that of the neighbouring *Phrygians*, whom they did not fall short of in superstition. They worshipped the same deities, and used the same religious ceremonies, which has made some believe them to be originally *Phrygians*. *Cybele* had a stately and rich temple at *Cyzicus*, and *Apollo Actæus* near *Parium*. *Nemesis* also is numbered among their deities, and was worshipped in a magnificent temple built by king *Adrastus* not far from the city of *Parium*, whence both the country and the goddess were named *Adrastia*. *Priapus* was worshipped by the more modern *Mysians*, but unknown to them even in *Hesiod*'s time. The *Mysian* priests abstained from flesh, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practised among them to sacrifice a horse, and eat his entrails before they were admitted to the priesthood. e

*Their History.* Concerning their government, thus much appears, that it was monarchichal. We find no mention made of their kings till the *Argonautic* expedition; but authors are of opinion that they had kings long before that time. *Diodorus*[m] tells us, that they lived in subjection to *Ninus*, by whom they had been conquered, and to the *Assyrian* kings that succeeded him. After the destruction of *Troy*, and dispersion of the *Trojans*, the *Mysians* possessed themselves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*. f

[f] Virg. Georg. l. i. vers. 103. [g] lib. i. & vii. [h] lib. vii. [i] lib. vii. c. 6. [k] Strab. l. xii. Cic. pro Flacco. [l] Æschyl. in Persis. Erasm. Chiliad. [m] lib. ii. cap. 1.

The

a THE first king of *Mysia* we find mentioned, is called *Olympus*: He is said to have married *Nipæa* the daughter of *Jasius* or *Jasion* brother to *Dardanus* king of *Troy*[n]. Olympus.

*Teuthras* appears next; it is uncertain whom he succeeded; he is said to have reigned over the *Mysians*, *Cilicians*, and *Ceteans*[o]. He married *Auge* daughter to *Aleus* the king of *Arcadia*'s son[p]. As he had no issue-male, he gave his daughter *Agriope*, whom he had by his first wife, in marriage to *Telephus* his second wife's son by *Hercules*[q] (X). He built a city calling it *Teuthrania*, which name became common to the country where the new city stood, and in process of time to all *Mysia*[r]. He had another daughter by name *Tecmessa*, who in the division of the booty which b the *Greeks* had got in plundering *Mysia*, fell to *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*. Teuthras.

*Teuthras* was succeeded by *Telephus* a natural son of *Hercules* by *Auge*. *Telephus* being exposed by his grand-father's order on mount *Parthenius*, was nursed there by a hind till he was found by the shepherds of one *Corythus*, who brought him up as his own child. Being desirous, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he was directed by an oracle to steer his course towards *Mysia*, where he was received with incredible joy not by his mother only, but also by king *Teuthras* her husband, who being taken with this extraordinary youth, bestowed his daughter on him, and appointed him his heir. In the *Trojan* war he first sided with king *Priam*, and was dangerously wounded by *Achilles*; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the *Greeks* c to stand neuter[s]. *Pausanias* and *Aristides* tell us, that he planted a colony of *Arcadians* in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus*. *Jornandes*[t] makes him king of the *Goths*, wherein he confounds the *European* with the *Asiatic Mysians*; for those of *Europe*, whom *Pliny* calls *Mæsians*, are thought to be descended from the *Mysians* of *Asia*. *Telephus* had two sons, *Eurypylus* and *Latinus*: *Eurypylus*, according to some[u] was killed in the *Trojan* war, according to others succeeded his father, or reigned over the *Cilicians*[w]. *Latinus* is said to have led a colony of *Ceteans* into *Italy*[x]. Telephus.

*Eurypylus* left one son by name *Arius*, who succeeded his father or grand-father, and was slain in a single combat by *Amphialus* the son of *Neoptolemus*, who possessed himself of the kingdom of *Mysia*[y]. We read of no other kings of *Mysia* till d many ages after, when the *Attalic* family reigned at *Pergamus*, which we shall speak of in its proper place. Arius.

[n] Scholiast. Apoll. p. 155. [o] STRAB. l. xiii. [p] DIODOR. l. iv. c. 3. [q] STRAB. l. xiii. [r] PINDAR. in Olymp. [s] DIODOR. lib. iv. STRAB. l. xiii. APOLLODOR. STEPHAN. &c. [t] De rebus Geticis. [u] CALABER. l. vi, vii, viii. HYGINUS fab. 113. [w] STRAB. l. xiii. [x] CLORENUS. p. 115. [y] PAUSANIAS in Atticis.

(X) *Euripides* quoted by *Strabo* (30), informs us, that *Telephus* was a natural son of *Hercules* by *Auge*; and adds, that her father *Aleus* caused both her and her child to be locked up in a chest and thrown into the sea; that the chest was by the provident care of *Pallas* guided to the mouth of the river *Caicus*, and that *Teuthras*, who at that time reigned there, falling in love with *Auge*, married her, and, as he had no children of his own, adopted her son *Telephus*, declaring him his heir and successor to the crown.

(30) *Strab.* l. 13.

# CHAP. XV.

## *The History of the* LYDIANS.

### SECT. I.

### *The description of* LYDIA.

WHENCE this country borrowed the name of *Lydia* is not determined. Some led by the affinity of words derive it from *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth son, whom they pretend to have settled here. But this opinion we shall examine, when *Name.*

we

we come to enquire into the origin of the *Lydians*. All the ancient writers tell us, a
that *Lydia* was first called *Mæonia* or *Meonia* from *Meon* king of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, and that it was known under no other name till the reign of *Atys*, when it began to be called *Lydia* from his son *Lydus*. *Bochart* [a] finding in his learned collection of *Phænician* words the verb *Luz* signifying to *wind*, and observing that the country we are speaking of, is watered by the *Mæander* so famous for its windings, concludes, that it was thence named *Lydia* or *Ludia*. As to *Meon* and *Lydus*, he rids himself of them at once by denying that there ever were any such persons. To support this opinion, he endeavours to prove that the *Phænicians*, and after them *Moses*, who in the description of countries made use of their terms, gave the name of *Lud* not only to *Lydia* on the banks of the *Mæander*, but likewise to *Ethiopia*, b
where the *Nile*, as *Herodotus* observes [a], has as many turnings and windings as the *Mæander* itself. Now as these two countries, lying on the two most winding rivers that were then known, were named *Lud*, which word signifies to bend or wind, who can doubt, says he, but they had their common denomination from the rivers which watered them? As to the ancient name of *Mæonia*, he takes it to be a *Greek* translation of the *Phænician* word *Lud*, wherein he agrees, in some measure, with *Stephanus*, who derives the name of *Mæonia* from *Mæon* the ancient name of the *Mæander*. Some take the word *Mæonia* to be a translation of a *Hebrew* word signifying metal, because that country, say they, was in former times enriched above any other with mines. c

Though *Lydia* and *Mæonia* are by most authors indifferently used for one and the same country, yet they are sometimes distinguished, that part, where mount *Tmolus* stood, and which was watered by the *Pactolus*, being properly called *Mæonia*, and the other, lying on the coast, *Lydia*. This distinction is used, as *Spanhemius* observes [b], by *Homer*, *Callimachus*, *Dionysius*, and other ancient writers. In after ages, when the *Ionians*, who had planted a colony on the coast of the *Ægean* sea, began to make some figure, that part was called *Ionia*, and the name of *Lydia* given to the ancient *Mæonia*.

*Lydia*, according to *Pliny* [c], *Ptolemy*, and other ancient geographers, was bounded by *Mysia Major* on the north, by *Caria* on the south, by *Phrygia Major* on the d
east, and *Ionia* on the west, lying between the 37th and 39th degrees of north latitude. What the ancients stile the kingdom of *Lydia* was not confined within these narrow boundaries, chiefly under the latter kings, but extended from the river *Halys* to the *Egean* sea. *Pliny*'s description includes *Æolia*, lying between the *Hermus* and the *Caicus*, but that tract we shall consider apart.

The chief cities of *Lydia* were *Sardis*, the metropolis of that kingdom, and the seat of king *Cræsus*. This city stood on the banks of the *Pactolus* at the foot of mount *Tmolus*. The *Persians* thought *Sardis* of such consequence after it fell into their hands, that *Xerxes*, hearing it was taken by the *Greeks*, commanded one of his attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner, *The Greeks have taken* e
*Sardis*; which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly ruined by an earthquake, and rebuilt by *Tiberius*. There are still to be seen the ruins of a large palace and two magnificent churches with a great many pillars and cornices of marble. Not far from *Sardis* stands a village of the same name, which some take to be that *Sardis* which is mentioned in the *Revelation*, and was one of the seven churches. Near this city was to be seen in *Herodotus*'s time [d] the sepulchre of *Alyattes* father to *Cræsus*, whereof the foundation was of stone, but the whole superstructure of earth, being six furlongs, and 200 foot in circumference, and a thousand three hundred foot in breadth.

*Philadelphia* formerly the second city of *Lydia*, and so called from *Attalus Philadelphus* brother to *Eumenes*, stood in a spacious and fruitful plain on the north side f
of mount *Tmolus*. In this city were anciently celebrated the common feasts of all *Asia*, as appears from an inscription quoted by *Spon* [e]. It was one of the seven churches, and continued to make a good figure under the *Greek* emperors. It was the last in *Asia Minor* that submitted to the *Turks*, and that upon very honourable terms after six years siege. Among the *Greeks* it retains its ancient name, but is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Allachshyer*. Part of the ancient walls is still

[a] Phaleg. l. ii. c. 12. [a] lib. ii. c. 29. [b] Ad Callimachi hymnum in Delum, vers. 250. [c] lib. v. c. 29. [d] Herodot. l. i. [e] Voyage d'Italy, &c.

remain-

a remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and some sepulchres, whence the bodies, according to an ancient tradition among the inhabitants, were transported by the *Christians* into *Europe*.

*Thyatira*, a colony of the *Macedonians*, as *Strabo* informs us, was situated in a pleasant plain not far from the river *Hermus*. This city was another of the seven churches, and its present ruins testify its former grandeur. The *Greeks* call it *Thyra*, and the *Turks Akhisar*. It is a place of some trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 *Turks*.

*Magnesia*, by the *Turks* called *Guzethisar*, seated on the *Meander*, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many stately buildings demonstrate. Here b *Themistocles* died, this being one of the three towns that *Xerxes* allotted to him for his subsistence, during his exile. It is still a large, handsome and well-built city. Another city of the same name stood at the foot of mount *Sypilus* on a rising ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in history for many battles fought there, but especially for that between *Antiochus* and the *Romans* under the command of *Scipio*, which decided the fate of *Asia*. This city was for some time the seat of the *Ottoman* empire, and is still the capital of *Carasia*.

Mount *Sypilus* is the only one in *Lydia* of any note. The goddess *Sypilene* took her name from this mountain; or rather *Cybele* was called *Sypilene*, because she was worshipped in a particular manner on mount *Sypilus*. And hence on the reverse of c almost all the ancient medals of *Magnesia* this goddess is represented sometimes on the frontispiece of a temple with four pillars, and sometimes in a chariot. *Plutarch* informs us, that mount *Sypilus* was likewise named the *Thunder Mountain*, because it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of *Asia*; and hence we find on the reverse of several medals stamped at *Magnesia Jupiter* armed with thunder-bolts. Mount *Tmolus*, and in more ancient times *Timolus*, was once very famous for its wine and saffron.

The rivers of this country that we shall take notice of are the *Pactolus*, which rushing from mount *Tmolus* waters the city of *Sardis*, and then discharges itself into the *Hermus* or *Sarabat*. It was called by the ancients *Chrysorhoas* from the colour d of its sands, which shine like gold. The *Cayster* celebrated by the poets for the swans that frequented its banks, has its source in *Phrygia Major*, baths *Lydia*, and empties itself into the *Egean* sea near *Ephesus*. It has almost as many windings, if *Spon* is to be believed, as the *Meander* itself, but neither have near so many, according to *Tournefort*, as the *Seine* beneath *Paris*.

*Origin and antiquity.*

As to the origin of the *Lydians*, *Josephus*, and after him all the ecclesiastic writers, derive them from *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth son. As this opinion has no other foundation but the similitude of names, there is a strong objection against it, *viz.* that the *Lydians* were first called *Meones*, as all the ancients agree, and *Lydians* from e *Lydus* the son of *Atys*, except we suppose the *Greeks* were deceived, and that the name of *Meones* ceasing, they resumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often has happened. But even in that case, we ought perhaps to consider *Lydia* as possessed by the *Ludim*, or posterity of *Lud*, on a second or third remove, for we see no more reason than Sir *Walter Raleigh*[f], why *Lud* should straggle so far from his friends as *Lydia*, according to what we have said elsewhere[g]. Some of the ancients will have the *Lydians* to be a mixt colony of *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, and *Carians*. Others finding some conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the *Egyptians* and *Tuscans* who were a *Lydian* colony, conclude them, without any further evidence, to be originally *Egyptians*. The very similitude of names, which on like occasions f is generally ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, fails here; which has obliged some writers to take up with arrant fables not worth relating. All we know for certain is that the *Lydians* were a very ancient nation, as is manifest from their very fables, for *Attis*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe*, and *Arachne*, are all said to have been the children of *Lydus*. And *Xanthus* in his *Lydiaca*, quoted by *Stephanus*, informs us, that the ancient city of *Ascalon*, one of the five satrapies of the *Philistines* mentioned in the books of *Joshua* and the *Judges*, was built by one *Ascalus* a *Lydian*, whom *Aciamus* king of *Lydia* had appointed to command a body of troops which he sent, we know not on what occasion, into *Syria*. The *Heraclidæ*, or kings of *Lydia* descended from *Hercules*, began to reign before the *Trojan* war, and had been

[f] Book I. cap. viii. sect. 15. [g] p. 163. d.

preceded by a long series of kings sprung from *Atys*, and hence stiled *Atyadæ*, which a is a strong proof of the antiquity of that Kingdom.

*Government.* The *Lydians* began very early to be ruled by kings, whose government, so far as we can gather from their conduct, seems to have been truly despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over *Lydia*, viz. the *Atyadæ*, the *Heraclidæ*, and the *Mermnadæ*. The *Atyadæ* were so called from *Atys* the son of *Cotys* and grandson of *Manes*. *Manes* the son of *Jupiter* and *Tellus*, and first king of *Mæonia*, had by *Callirhoa*, the daughter of *Oceanus*, one son by name *Cotys*; *Cotys* by *Halia* the daughter of *Tullus* had two, *Asius* and *Atys*; from *Asius Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia*, which in process of time became b common to the whole continent. *Atys* married *Callithea* the daughter of *Choræus*, and had by her *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus*. *Lydus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Mæonia*, which in his reign began to be called *Lydia*. *Tyrrhenus* led a colony into *Italy*, and settled in *Hetruria* now *Tuscany*. This is the account *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us of the kings sprung of *Atys*, or the first race of the *Lydian* kings.

The *Atyadæ* were succeeded by the *Heraclidæ* or the descendants of *Hercules*. For *Hercules* being by the direction of the oracle sold as a slave to *Omphale* queen of *Lydia* to expiate thereby the murder of *Iphitus*, had during his captivity by one of her slaves a son named *Cleolaus*, whose grandson by name *Argon* was the first of the *Heraclide* that ascended the throne of *Lydia*. This race reigned from *Argon* the first to *Candaules* the last 505 years, the father succeeding the son for 22 gene- c rations. They began to reign about, or not long before, the time of the *Trojan* war.

The third race called *Mermnadæ*, perhaps from one of the family named *Mermnas* (for the ancients are silent as to the origin of this appellation) began to reign not long before the *Medes* shook off the *Assyrian* yoke. The *Mermnadæ* were also, properly speaking, *Heraclidæ*, being descended from one *Lemnos*, or as *Apollodorus* calls him, *Agelaus*, the son of *Hercules* by *Omphale*. The first king of this race was *Gyges*, and *Cræsus* the last.

*Their character.* As to their character, it must be considered at different times: under *Cræsus*, and some of his predecessors, they were without all doubt a very warlike people; for they d reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread far and wide the terrour of their arms. But being afterwards subdued by the *Persians*, and enjoined by *Cyrus* according to the advice given him by *Cræsus* (Y), to wear long vests and apply themselves to such arts and callings only as had a natural tendency to debauch their manners and enervate their courage, they became by degrees a most voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and entirely given up to idleness, pleasures and diversions.

*The soil.* The soil of this country by reason of the many rivers that watered it was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all sorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquisite wines. It was enriched with several mines, whence *Cræsus* is said to have drawn his e immense wealth.

*Religion.* As to the religion of the *Lydians* it seems to have been much the same with that of the *Phrygians*, which we have already spoke of; they worshipped *Diana*, *Jupiter* and *Cybele* at *Magnesia* under the name of *Sypilene*; for in the alliance concluded between those of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* on the *Mæander* in favour of king *Seleucus Callinicius* both parties swore, as appears from the *Arundelian* marbles, by the goddess *Sypilene*. She borrowed this name from mount *Sypilus*, or perhaps from a town of the same name, which, as *Strabo* informs us [h], was ruined by an earth-

[h] Strab. l. i. p. 38.

(Y) The *Lydians*, not long after they were conquered by *Cyrus*, rebelled at the instigation of one *Pactyas* a *Lydian*, whom *Cyrus* had trusted with the gold which he had found in the treasury of *Cræsus* at *Sardis*. With this gold *Pactyas* putting to sea engaged the maritime powers to join him, and having raised a considerable army of mercenaries, marched to *Sardis*, where he besieged *Tabalus*, whom *Cyrus* had appointed governor of that city. News of this revolt being brought to *Cyrus* as he was leading his army against the *Babylonians*, *Bactrians* and *Egyptians*, he resolved to march back into *Lydia*, sell all the *Lydians* for slaves, and at once put an end to that unhappy nation. This resolution he imparted to king *Cræsus* at that time his prisoner, who fearing the utter ruin of his country earnestly intreated him to forgive the *Lydians* and wreak his just anger on *Pactyas* alone, by whom they had been seduced, advising him at the same time, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the *Lydians* the use of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cause their children to be brought up to such callings only, as were most capable of debauching their minds, and inclining them to idleness. This advice was followed by *Cyrus*, and in a short time the *Lydians* became the most lewd and debauched nation under the sun (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib.* i.

quake

a quake in the reign of *Tantalus*. In the same city of *Magnesia* stood a temple of *Diana Leucophryna* no ways inferior to the so much celebrated temple of *Diana Ephesina*.

*The manners, customs, &c. of the* Lydians.

THE customs of the *Lydians* were, as *Herodotus* informs us[i], much the same with those of the *Greeks*, except that they used to prostitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by prostitution; after they had by this means acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry whoever they pleased. They punished idleness as a crime, and inured their children from their very infancy to hardships. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as some have pretended to argue from *Jeremiah*[k]; but long
b spears, such as were anciently used by the horse; and in horsemanship, if *Herodotus* is to be credited[l], the *Lydians* far excelled all other nations. They were the first that introduced the art of coining gold and silver, to facilitate trade; the first that sold by retail, that kept eating-houses and taverns, that invented publick sports and shews, which were therefore called *Ludi* by the *Romans*, who borrowed them of the *Tuscans*, descended, as we shall see anon, from the *Lydians*. *Herodotus* informs us[m] on what occasion they invented those public and several other private diversions. During the reign of *Atys* the son of *Menes*, a great scarcity of provisions prevailed all over the kingdom of *Lydia*, which the inhabitants endured for several years with an astonishing patience. But as the evil continued, in order to divert their
c minds from the consideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themselves to all manner of diversion, and some inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and such other diversions as were in ancient times used among the *Greeks*, chess only excepted, whereof the *Lydians*, as we are told by *Herodotus*, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diversions, they used to play one whole day without intermission, eating and drinking the next day without amusing themselves with any kind of games. After they had continued thus alternately fasting, and feasting as the scarcity of their provisions could well allow, finding that their calamities increased rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies, commanding them to determine
d by lot, which of the two should remain at home, and which go abroad in quest of new seats, since their native country could not afford wherewithal to maintain them at home. The king appointed his son *Tyrrhenus* to command those, who should be obliged to remove, he himself remaining to reign over those who should have the fortune to stay. Those, who by lot were constrained to abandon their country, marched to *Smyrna*, where they equipped a small fleet, and putting to sea, after many adventures arrived in that part of *Italy* which was then called *Umbria*, and now *Tuscany*. Here they changed their name, and were no longer called *Lydians*, but *Tyrrhenians* from their leader *Tyrrhenus*.

*Commerce.*

THE trade of the ancient *Lydians* is no-where mentioned; but we may suppose
e it to have been very considerable, especially under the latter kings, when *Lydia* was in the meridian of its glory; whosoever considers the splendor of this monarchy, and commodious situation of the country, cannot doubt but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. To this we may add the immense riches not only of the *Lydian* princes, but of several private persons. *Herodotus*[n] mentions one by name *Pythius*, who not only entertained *Xerxes* and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade *Greece*; but made him a proffer of two thousand talents of silver, and three millions, nine hundred, ninety-three thousand pieces of gold bearing the stamp of *Darius*, wherewithal to defray the charges of that war. The same *Pythius* had presented *Darius*, father to *Xerxes*,
f with a plane-tree and vine of massive gold, and was reckoned, after the kings of *Persia*, the richest man in the then known world.

[i] HERODOT. l. i. [k] Jerem. xlvi. 9. [l] HERODOT. ubi supra. [m] HERODOT. ubi supra. [n] HERODOT. lib. vii.

SECT.

## SECT. II.

### *The reigns of the kings of* Lydia.

Mafnes. THE first king of *Lydia* we find mentioned in history is *Mafnes*, or *Manes*, as *Herodotus* calls him. He is said to have been the son of the earth, which in the language of the ancients denotes him to have been of a mean extraction. *Heraclides* mentions an anonymous king of *Lydia*, who from the abject condition of a journeyman or slave to a cartwright living at *Cyma*, was raised to the throne of *Lydia*. The same author adds, that as the *Lydians* were disbursing the money for his ransom, a citizen of *Cyma*, for whom the slave was at that time making a cart, insisted on his finishing what he had in hand before he was set at liberty, protesting that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of *Lydia*, than all the gold they could offer him. This fortunate slave may have been *Mafnes*, since he in regard of his mean descent is called by the ancients son of the earth. *Heraclides* does not tell us what induced the *Lydians* to place a slave on the throne; but we may suppose this to have been brought about by the advice of some oracle, as it happened in the case of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*; for *Heraclides* informs us, that the *Lydians* chose a slave for their king, in hopes of being rescued by his means from the oppressions they groaned under.

Cotys. Atys. *Mafnes* was succeeded by his son *Cotys*, and *Cotys* by his son *Atys*, in whose reigns as the country was overstocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the space of 18 years, and obliged the king to divide his subjects, keeping one half of them at home, and sending the other abroad in quest of new settlements under the conduct of his younger son *Tyrrhenus*.

Lydus. *Atys* was succeeded by his son *Lydus*, from whom the country had the name of *Lydia*, having been called to that time *Mæonia*.

Alcymus. *Alcymus* appears next: It is uncertain whom he succeeded: He is represented as an excellent prince, and is said to have had nothing so much at heart, as the welfare of his subjects; whence in the seventh year of his reign the whole nation met, as *Suidas* informs us, to offer up prayers and sacrifices for his health and prosperity. *Stephanus* calls him *Alciamus*, and adds, that in his time the city of *Ascalon* was built by *Ascalus* son of *Hymenæus* and brother to *Tantalus*, who conducted an army of *Lydians* into *Syria*.

Adrymetes. *Adrymetes* or *Adramytis* is mentioned by *Athenæus*, and said to have been the first that employed women in such ministeries as other kings had done eunuchs.

Cambletes. *Cambletes*, *Cambletas*, or *Cambles*, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himself. *Athenæus* says, that he was so ravenous as to devour his wife in his sleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was so grieved and ashamed of what he had done, that he put himself to death.

Tmolus. *Tmolus* put an end to his life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice, being driven thereto, as *Plutarch* acquaints us [a], by *Diana* for ravishing one of her followers by name *Arrhipe*.

Theoclymenus. *Theoclymenus* succeeded his father *Tmolus*, of whom we find nothing in history, but that he buried his father on mount *Tmolus*, which from him had its name.

Marsyas. After *Theoclymenus Marsyas* reigned, who, on what occasion we know not, coming into *Italy*, built there, as we are told by *Solinus* [b], the city of *Archippena*.

Jardanes. *Jardanes* succeeded *Marsyas*, and in his reign all manner of lewdness prevailed in the kingdom of *Lydia* to such a degree, that *Omphale*, the king's only daughter, could not find shelter even within the walls of the royal palace against the insults of the licentious multitude, the most infamous lusts receiving a kind of sanction from the example of the prince.

Omphale. On the death of *Jardanes* his daughter *Omphale* was by the unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She punished with great severity those by whom she had been abused in her father's life-time, and by causing the slaves all over the

[a] Plutarch. de fluviis. [b] Solinus, lib. vii.

kingdom

a kingdom to be shut up with their mistresses, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But in the mean time falling in love with *Hercules* she gave herself entirely up to him, and had by him a son named *Alcæus*.

*Omphale* was succeeded by her son *Alcæus*, according to some authors, who will have him to have been the first king of *Lydia* of the race of *Hercules*. Alcæus.

After *Alcæus* reigned *Belus*, and after *Belus* his son *Ninus*, of whom we know nothing but their bare names. Ninus.

*Argon* succeeded his father *Ninus*, and is said to have transferred the royal seat to *Sardis*. *Herodotus* will have *Argon* to have been the first of the descendants of *Hercules* that reigned in *Lydia*. Argon.

b *Argon* was succeeded by his son *Leon*, *Leon* by *Adrysus*, who reigned thirty-six years; *Adrysus* by *Alyattes* who reigned fourteen; and *Alyattes* by *Meles*, who reigned twelve. Leon, &c.

*Candaules* the son of *Myrsus* was the last king of this second race, and lost by his imprudence both his life and kingdom. The fact is thus related by *Herodotus* [p]: He had a wife whom he passionately loved, and believed the most beautiful of her sex. He extolled her charms above measure to *Gyges*, his favourite, whom he used to entrust with his most important affairs; and the more to convince him of her beauty, resolved to shew her to him quite naked; and accordingly placed him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen used to undress when she went to bed, ordering c him to retire after seeing her, and take all possible care not to be observed. But notwithstanding all the caution he could use, she plainly discovered him going out, and though she did not doubt but it was her husband's contrivance, yet she passed that night in a seeming tranquillity, suppressing her resentment to the next morning, when she sent for *Gyges*, and resolutely told him that he must either with his death atone for the criminal action he was guilty of, or put to death *Candaules* the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of *Lydia* for his reward. *Gyges* at first earnestly begged of her, that she would not drive him to the necessity of such a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he must either kill his master, or die himself, he chose the former, and being d led by the queen to the same place, where her husband had placed him the night before, he stabbed the king while he was asleep, and at the same time married the queen, and took possession of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the answer of the *Delphic* oracle. For the *Lydians* having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of *Gyges*, that if the oracle should declare him to be lawful king of *Lydia*, he should be permitted to reign; if not, he should resign the crown to the *Heraclidæ*. The answer of the oracle proved favourable to *Gyges*, whereupon he was universally acknowledged for lawful king of *Lydia*. *Candaules* is said [r] to have purchased a picture, done by one *Bularchas*, and representing a battle of the *Magnetes*, for its weight in gold, e which shews how early the art of painting began to be in request, for *Candaules* was contemparary with *Romulus*. Candaules. Year of the flood 2268. Before Christ 735.

*Gyges* having thus possessed himself of the kingdom of *Lydia*, sent many rich and valuable presents to the oracle of *Delphos*, among the others six cups of gold weighing thirty talents, and greatly esteemed for the workmanship. He made war on those of *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, took the city of *Colophon*, and subdued the whole country of *Troas*. In his reign, and by his permission, the city of *Abydus* was built by the *Milesians*. *Plutarch* and other writers relate his accession to the crown of *Lydia* in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that *Gyges* rebelled against *Candaules* and slew him in an engagement. As to f his fabulous ring mentioned by *Plato* [s], and *Tully* [t], we refer the reader to *Tzetzes*, *Suidas*, *Philostratus*, &c. *Gyges* reigned thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son *Ardyes*. Gyges. Year of the flood 2285. Before Christ 718.

*Ardyes* or *Ardys* carried on the war against the *Milesians*, which his father had begun, and possessed himself of *Priene* in those days a strong city. In the reign of this prince the *Cimmerians* invaded and over-ran all *Asia Minor*; but what battles were fought between the *Lydians* and these invaders, and with what success, we find nowhere mentioned. *Herodotus* only informs us [u], that in the time of *Ardyes* they Ardyes.

[p] Herodot. xi. l. i. [r] Plin. lib. xxxv. c. viii. [s] Plato de rep. l. xi. & x. [t] Cic. lib. iii. de off. [u] Herodot. ubi supra.

possessed themselves of *Sardis* the metropolis of *Lydia*, but could never win the a castle. *Ardyes* reigned forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son.

Sadyattes. *Sadiattes*, who reigned twelve years, and warred most part of his reign with the *Milesians*.

Alyattes. *Year of the flood*, 2381. *Before Christ*, 620. AFTER him came his son *Alyattes*, who for the space of six years waged a bloody war with *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*. The occasion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus*. Certain *Scythians* being driven out of their country on occasion of a sedition that happened among them, they retired into *Media*, where *Cyaxares* received them with great humanity, and as he entertained a good opinion of them, committed to their care divers youths to be instructed in the use of the bow, and in the *Scythian* tongue. The strangers were great sportsmen, and used daily to supply the King's b table with game, which they dressed after their own manner. But returning one day empty, *Cyaxares*, as he was of a violent temper, treated them with most opprobrious language, which the *Scythians* resenting, agreed among themselves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, and serve his flesh up to the king's table dressed like venison. This they effected, and then made their escape into *Lydia*, where they were kindly entertained by *Alyattes*, which, according to *Herodotus*, gave occasion to a war that lasted six years, *Cyaxares* demanding the *Scythians*, and *Alyattes* refusing to deliver them up. This war was carried on with various success, the *Medes* sometimes defeating the *Lydians*, and the *Lydians* sometimes the *Medes*. In the sixth year while both armies were engaged, the day was all on a sudden turned into night (Z), c which so frightened both the *Lydians* and *Medes*, that they gave over fighting, and shewed a strong inclination to make up their differences in an amicable manner, which was done accordingly by the mediation of *Syennesis* king of *Cilicia* and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*. The peace was ratified by a marriage between *Aryenis* the daughter of *Alyattes*, and *Astyages* the son of *Cyaxares* (A). A peace being thus concluded between the *Lydians* and *Medes*, *Alyattes* employed all his forces against the *Scythians*, and after a war, which lasted several years, had the good luck to rid his kingdom of so troublesome guests. He was attended with the like success in the war he undertook against the *Smyrneans*, whom he worsted in several battles, and at last made himself master of their capital and whole country. He continued for the d space of five years the war, which his father had begun against the *Milesians*, ravaging their country, and about harvest-time carrying away yearly all their corn, in order to oblige them for want of provisions to surrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce any other way, the *Milesians* being at that time masters of the sea. In the 12th year of this war the *Lydians* having set fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened to blow at the time, to the temple of *Minerva* at *Assesus*, and burnt it down to the ground. Not long after *Alyattes* falling sick sent to consult the oracle at *Delphos*, which refused to return any answer till such time as the king should rebuild the temple of *Minerva* at *Assesus*. Hereupon *Alyattes* dispatched embassadors to *Miletus*, enjoining them to e conclude a truce with the *Milesians* till the temple should be rebuilt. On the arrival of the embassadors *Thrasybulus*, then king of *Miletus*, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, and the citizens to banquet in public and revel, as if the city were plentifully stored with all manner of provisions. This *Thrasybulus* did to the end that the embassadors, seeing such quantities of corn, and the people every-where diverting themselves, might acquaint their master therewithal, and divert him from pursuing the war. As *Thrasybulus* had designed, so it happened; for *Alyattes*, who believed the *Milesians* greatly distressed for provisions, receiving a quit different account from his embassadors, changed the truce into a lasting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity f and friendship with *Thrasybulus* and the *Milesians*. *Alyattes* had two sons, *Crœsus* by

(Z) This total eclipse fell upon the 28th of *May*, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian* some years before.

(A) The account which *Herodotus* gives us of the cause of this war seems to some writers highly improbable. And truly it is not very likely that the *Scythians* falling out among themselves should have had recourse to either of these kings, whose countries the *Scythians* had over-run, and oftentimes plundered. They had chiefly reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery he had shewn in massacring such of their countrymen as had settled in his dominions. Others are of opinion, that *Astyages* being jealous of the too great power of *Cyaxares* (who had seized, after the conquest of *Nineveh*, the regions belonging to the *Assyrians* as far as to the river *Halys*) entered into an alliance with the *Scythians* against the *Medes*, and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the *Lydians* and *Scythians*.

a a *Carian*, and *Pantaleon* by an *Ionian*. *Cræsus* succeeded his father after he had reigned fifty-seven years.

*Cræsus* succeeding his father at the age of thirty-five years enlarged his dominions so as to be no ways inferior to any prince of that age, though there were in his time three very powerful monarchies, *viz.* of the *Media*, of *Babylon*, and of *Egypt*. *Cræsus* was the first that made war on the *Ephesians*, whose city he besieged and took, notwithstanding their consecrating it to *Diana*, and fastening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was seven stades distant from the city. After the reduction of *Ephesus* he attacked under various pretences the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, obliging them, b and all the other *Greek* states of *Asia*, to pay him a yearly tribute. He also formed a design of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the islands, but was diverted from this thought by *Bias* of *Priene*, or, as others say, by *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* (B). Not long after he subdued the *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Maryandini*, *Chalybes*, *Paphlagonians*, *Thracians*, *Thynians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Pamphilians*, and all the nations that lay between *Lydia* and the river *Halys*. *Athenæus* out of *Berosus* mentions a signal victory of his over the *Sacæans*, a *Scythian* nation, in memory whereof the *Babylonians*, his allies, yearly celebrated a feast, which they called *Sacæa*. *Cræsus* having by these victories acquired great fame and renown, many wise men of that age went to *Sardis* on purpose to see him, and among others c *Solon*, who after publishing his laws at *Athens*, had absented himself from his country, under pretence of travelling, for the space of ten years, that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the constitutions which he had established; for the *Athenians* could make no alteration of themselves, the citizens having taken a solemn oath to observe his laws for the space of ten years. Being arrived at *Sardis* he was with great humanity entertained by *Cræsus* in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to see the wealth and magnificence of his treasury, which when he had seen, *Cræsus* asked him who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to himself. But *Solon*, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and resolved on all occasions to speak the plain d truth, answered, that *Tellus* the *Athenian* was the happiest man he had ever seen (C). *Cræsus* again asked him who was the happiest man after *Tellus*, not doubting but he would name him at least in the second place, but was again disappointed, the philosopher adjudging the second place to *Cleobis* and *Biton* two *Argives* (D). *Cræsus* shewing himself highly dissatisfied with *Solon* for preferring the condition of private men to that of so rich and powerful a prince as he, the philosopher informed him, that it was impossible to judge of the happiness of any man before death, and that all things ought to be measured by their end. Whereupon he was dismissed by *Cræsus* as a man of no experience. Not long after the departure of *Solon*, *Cræsus* lost his favourite son *Atys*, who was unfortunately killed at the chace of a wild boar by e *Adrastus*, son of *Gordius*, and grandson of *Mydas* king of *Phrygia*, who had fled to

Crœsus. *Year of the flood*, 2441. *Before Christ*, 562.

(B) *Bias* arriving at *Sardis* from *Greece* told *Cræsus* inquiring what news he brought from thence, that the islanders had bought ten-thousand horses with a design to attack him by land, which *Cræsus* believing thanked the gods for inspiring them with such a resolution, as knowing that the main strength of his army consisted in cavalry. Then *Bias* acquainted him, that the islanders had no such design, but were no less pleased in hearing that he designed to attack them by sea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack them by land. Whereupon *Cræsus*, being fully apprised of the rashness of his design, laid it aside, and concluded an alliance with all the *Greeks* that inhabited the islands.

(C) *Tellus* was an *Athenian*, had many virtuous children, who all survived him, and after having enjoyed all the happiness, which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of his countrymen in a battle fought at *Eleusis* against the neighbouring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the *Athenians* at the expence of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(D) These two *Greeks* proved victorious in the *Olympic* games, and all other public sports. Their mother was a priestess of *Juno*, who being one day obliged to go to the temple, whither she ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her sons seeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themselves, and drew the chariot the space of forty-five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were assembled at the temple, and their mother, transported with joy in seeing her sons so much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddess that she would reward her children with what she thought would prove most advantagious to them. Having put up this petition, and after offering the usual sacrifices banquetted, and with her sons, they both fell asleep and died in the temple. Upon which the *Argians*, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at *Delphos* (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib.* i.

*Sardis*

*Sardis* for refuge. This loſs was no ſmall allay to his happineſs, for he continued a
diſconſolate the ſpace of two whole years, and in a ſtate of inaction, till the conqueſts of *Cyrus*, and growing power of the *Perſians* rouſed up his martial ſpirits, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended that the good ſucceſs, which attended *Cyrus* in all his undertakings, might at laſt prove dangerous to himſelf, and therefore reſolved to put a ſtop, if poſſible, to his conqueſt. To this end he conſulted all the oracles of any fame either in *Greece* or *Afric* (E), he ſtrengthened himſelf with alliances, and, having raiſed what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, then belonging to the *Perſians*, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of *Sinope* on the *Euxine* ſea, took the city of *Pteria*, and laid waſte all the adjacent country. *Cyrus* hearing of the enemies motions, put himſelf b
at the head of a powerful army, and marching into *Cappadocia*, encamped in ſight of the *Lydian* army. Here after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the two armies came at laſt to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both ſides. The night coming on both armies parted on equal terms. But *Cræſus* fearing to venture a ſecond battle, as his forces were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of *Cyrus*, retired in the night-time, and marched with all poſſible expedition to *Sardis*, where he diſbanded his troops, enjoining them to re-aſſemble at the end of five months; for he did not in the leaſt apprehend that *Cyrus*, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. *Cyrus*, finding the next morning that the enemy had left the field, reſolved to purſue him to *Sardis*, and oblige him to c
venture a ſecond battle before his allies could join him. This reſolution was executed with ſuch expedition, that *Cyrus* at the head of his army appeared in the plains of *Sardis*, before *Cræſus* had any intelligence of his deſign. The *Lydians* were ſtrangely alarmed at ſo bold an attempt, which they had neither foreſeen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were ſtill remaining marched out againſt the *Perſians*, by whom, after a ſharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to ſhut himſelf up in *Sardis*, which was ſoon after taken by aſſault, and *Cræſus* himſelf made priſoner. In the taking of the town *Cræſus* himſelf had been killed, had not his ſecond ſon, who to that time had been ſpeechleſs, cried out to the *Perſian*, who was ready to ſtrike, *Spare Cræſus*. Whereupon he was d
againſt his will ſaved and carried to *Cyrus*, who commanded him to be put in fetters, and placed on a great pile of wood, with a deſign to burn him and fourteen young *Lydians* in honour of the gods, as a ſacrifice and the firſt-fruits of his victory. Then *Cræſus* recollecting the words of *Solon*, that no man can truly be called happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philoſopher's name, which *Cyrus* hear-

Cræſus *taken. Year of the flood*, 2454. *Before Chriſt*, 549.

(E) We are told by *Herodotus*, that *Cræſus* ſent embaſſadors to the oracles of *Delphos*, of *Abe*, of *Phocis*, of *Amphiarans*, of *Trophonius*, of *Branchis*, and of *Jupiter Ammon*, enjoining them to propoſe, each to the oracle he was to conſult, and all on the ſame day, the following queſtion; *What is* Cræſus *the ſon of* Alyates *king of* Lydia *now doing?* What anſwer the other oracles returned we find nowhere mentioned; but that of *Delphos*, as *Herodotus* informs us, anſwered thus: *I know the number of the ſands of* Libya, *the meaſure of the ocean, the ſecrets of the ſilent and dumb lie open to me. I ſmell the odour of a lamb and tortoiſe boiling together in a brazen cauldron; braſs is under, and braſs above the fleſh.* *Cræſus* hearing this anſwer, adored the god of *Delphos*, and owned that the oracle had ſpoke truth; for on the ſame day that his embaſſadors conſulted the oracle, he was employed in boiling together a lamb and a tortoiſe in a cauldron of braſs, which had a cover of the ſame metal, thinking it impoſſible that any, but a god, could know what he was doing. Wherefore he immediatly offered to the *Delphic Apollo* a ſacrifice conſiſting of three thouſand oxen; and to render him more favourable and propitious, he brought out beds of gold and ſilver, veſſels of gold, robes of purple, and other rich apparel, and burnt them all together, commanding the *Lydians* to follow his example. On this occaſion ſo much gold was melted down, that one hundred and ſeventeen tiles were made out of it, whereof the longeſt were ſix ſpans in length, the ſhorteſt three, but all one ſpan in thickneſs. Theſe with a golden lion weighing ten talents, and many other rich preſents *Cræſus* ſent to the *Delphic* oracle, enjoining his embaſſadors to enquire whether he ſhould undertake a war againſt the *Perſians*. The oracle returned this anſwer; *If* Cræſus *paſſes the* Halys, *he will put an end to a vaſt empire*, which was capable of being interpreted either of *Perſia* or *Lydia*. *Cræſus* hearing this anſwer, and not doubting in the leaſt, but that he ſhould overturn the *Perſian* monarchy, ſent more preſents to the oracle, and two ſtaters of gold to each of the inhabitants of *Delphos*. In conſideration of which, the *Delphians* granted *Cræſus* and the *Lydians* a right to conſult the oracle before any other nation, together with the firſt place in the temple, and the freedom of the city for ever. *Cræſus*, having made theſe preſents, ſent a third time to conſult the oracle whether he ſhould long enjoy the kingdom. The oracle anſwered, *That he ſhould reign till a mule ruled over the Medes*, which *Cræſus* deeming impoſſible, concluded that he and his poſterity were to hold the kingdom of *Lydia* for ever. But the oracle, as it was afterwards interpreted, by a mule meant *Cyrus*, whoſe parents were of different nations, his mother being a *Mede*, and his father a *Perſian*. And now *Cræſus* relying on theſe fallacious anſwers, and believing himſelf invincible, marched, without waiting for the troops of his allies, into *Cappadocia*, where he was met by *Cyrus* at the head of a powerful army.

ing,

a ing, and understanding what induced him to invoke *Solon*, commanded him to be taken down from the pile, and ranked among his friends and counsellors. *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus* received his royal prisoner with great kindness and humanity, when he was first presented to him, without mentioning the treatment which we read of in *Herodotus*. The first favour *Cræsus* begged of the conqueror was, that he would give him leave to send his fetters to the oracle of *Delphos*, as the trophies of the success which *Apollo* had promised him. This favour *Cyrus* willingly granted; but the oracle, or rather the priests, convinced *Cræsus* that he and not *Apollo* was to blame (F). Thus ended the ancient kingdom of *Lydia*, continuing subject to the *Persians*, till they also were conquered by the *Macedonians*, as we have seen in the foregoing part b of this history.

(F) The oracle answered, that the god himself could not reverse the decrees of fate, and that *Cræsus*, in the fifth generation suffered for the crime of one, who at the instigation of a woman, had murdered his master, and possessed himself of a crown, which did not belong to him; and that as to the answers of the oracle, he had no Reason to complain; for *Apollo* only foretold that by making war on the *Persians*, he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he desired to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have sent again to enquire whether his own, or that of *Cyrus* was meant by the oracle. But if he neither understood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of suing for a further explanation, his misfortune and downfal was entirely owing to himself. *Cræsus*, hearing this answer, acknowledged himself to be in the wrong; and cleared, as much as in him lay, the oracle from all suspicion of falshood.

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# CHAP. XVI.

## *The History of the* LYCIANS.

a THE country before us was at first called *Milias* or *Tremile* from the *Milia*, a people of *Crete* that settled there, as *Herodotus* [a] and *Stephanus* informs us, and afterwards *Lycia* from *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*. The proper *Lycia*, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty-sixth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by *Caria* on the west, by *Pamphylia* on the east, by *Phrygia Major* and part of *Pamphylia* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the south. *Name and divisions.*

THIS country was divided into two parts, the *Maritime* and the *Mediterranean*, or the coast and the country. The most remarkable cities on the coast were *Telmessus* or *Telmissus*, seated on a noted bay in the western limits, whose inhabitants are b said to have been the first pretenders to interpretation of dreams. *Patara*, situated on a hill, and formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of *Apollo*, no ways inferior to that of *Delphos*. At *Patara Apollo* was said to reside the six winter months, and the six summer months at *Delos*, whence the epithets of *Pataræus Apollo* [b] and *Sortes Lyciæ* [c]. This city was greatly improved and embellished by *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, and called *Arsinoe* from his wife who bore that name, but the former name prevailed. *Myra* built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coast, mentioned in the *Acts* [d]. This city was the metropolis of *Lycia* when a *Roman* Province, and of consequence in the christian times an archbishop's see. *Olympus* a famous city with a mountain of the same name. *Phaselis* on the borders of *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*, and c therefore by some placed in *Pamphylia*, by others more accurately in *Lycia*. This city in the time of the *Romans* was a famous nest of pyrates, but was at last reduced by *Servilius*, while *Pompey* scoured the sea with a numerous fleet. To the pyrates of this town former ages were indebted for those swift vessels, which the *Romans* from the place called *Phaseli*, and we *Brigantines*. We will not take upon us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Lycia*. *Strabo* reckons it in the following towns, *Pinara*, *Cragus*, at the foot of a hill bearing the same name, *Tlos*, *Simena*, &c. *Ptolemy* adds to the *Mediterranean* part of *Lycia* two small countries, viz. *Milias* on the west bordering on *Caria*, and *Cabalia* on the east bordering on *Lycia Proper*. But *Strabo* places

[a] HERODOT. l. i. & vii. [b] HORAT. lib. iii. Carm. ode 4. [c] VIRGIL. Æneid. iv. v. 346. [d] Act. xxvii. 5.

*Milias* on the borders of *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*. The inland part of *Lycia* was divided a
by the river *Xanthus*, which rising in two springs from the foot of mount *Cadmus*, and washing the walls of *Xanthus*, a city formerly of some note, discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*. From this river the people, inhabiting the inland parts of *Lycia*, were called *Xanthians*. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all *Asia*, is mount *Taurus*, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eastward to the great oriental ocean. In *Lycia* was also the famous mountain *Chimæra*, which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infested with serpents, the middle parts afforded pasture for goats, and the top much frequented by lions, which gave occasion to the poets to paint it as a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. This mountain was first planted, and rendered habitable b
by *Bellerophon*, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monster.

*Soil and climate.* The soil of this country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholsome. It is plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Taurus*, which often swell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, being increased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains.

*Their origin.* As to the origin of the *Lycians*, *Herodotus* and others [e] inform us, that they were descended from the *Cretans*; for *Sarpedon* being driven out of the island by his brother *Minos*, and landing in *Asia* with those *Cretans*, who had sided with him, settled in *Mylias*, and there founded a new kingdom, after having conquered and driven out the ancient proprietors, whom *Herodotus* calls *Milyans* and *Solymi*. During the c
reign of *Sarpedon* they continued to be called *Cretans*, but after his death took the name of *Lycians* from *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*, who, being forced by his brother *Ægeus* to quit his native country, had fled to *Sarpedon*. Hence the poets, and with them *Strabo*, seem to confound the *Lycians* with the *Carians*, who were undoubtedly descended from the *Cretans*. But *Diodorus Siculus* [f] and *Plato* [g] before him, counts the *Lycians* among the *Greek* nations of *Asia*, as being descended from the *Argivi*. But not to dwell on such uncertainties, the *Lycians* were once a very powerful and warlike people, considering the smallness of their country. They had, according to *Strabo* [h] three and twenty, according to *Pliny* [i] six and thirty, large and populous towns, were experienced mariners, and extended their d
power on the seas as far as *Italy*.

*Their manners, government, &c.* The *Lycians* are highly commended by the ancient writers for their sobriety, and manner of administering justice. They had in latter ages twenty-three considerable cities, each of which sent their deputies to a general assembly or diet, the great cities three, the lesser two, and the least one only. In this assembly all matters of consequence were canvassed, and determined by the majority of votes. They chose in the first place the president of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they administred justice, settled all private differences, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, *&c.* Whence we may conclude, that their goverdment, at least in latter times, either was not monarchi- e
cal, or their monarchs no ways absolute. This form of government they maintained even under the *Romans*, as *Strabo* informs us [k], but with this difference, that the consent of the *Roman* governor, and, in matters of moment, of the senate, was requisite for the validity of such acts and decrees as had passed in their assembly. Their government was at first monarchical, and the country parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of *Bellerophon*, *Sarpedon*, *Lycus*, *Telephus* and *Pandarus* reigning in *Lycia* at one and the same time; if we will not rather suppose the government to have been aristocratical, and these families to have bore the greatest sway in the administration. But be that as it will, in process of time all *Lycia* became subject to one prince; for *Herodotus* in enumerating the princes that f
contributed towards the equipping and arming of *Xerxes*'s fleet mentions but one king of *Lycia*, by name *Cybernisicus*. This nation, as most of the other nations of *Asia*, was first subdued by *Cræsus* or the *Lydians*, and after the downfal of the *Lydian* kingdom, by *Cyrus*. The courage, resolution, and intrepidity with which the *Lycians* of *Xanthus* opposed *Harpagus* the *Persian* general, deserves particular notice. For instead of tamely submitting, like their neighbours, to the *Persian* yoke, they attacked with a handful of men *Harpagus*'s numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the disadvantages imaginable. But being over-

[e] Herodot. lib. i. & vii. Strab. lib. xii. & xiv. Pausanias lib. vii. [f] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 16. [g] Plato in Minoe. [h] Strab. l. xiv. [i] Plin. l. v. c. 27. [k] Strab. l. xiv.

powered

a powered with numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they first set fire to the castle, where they had shut up their wives, children, slaves, and all their riches; and then engaging themselves by a solemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man. The *Lycians* continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were subdued by the *Persians*, but paid an annual tribute to the king of *Persia*. They fell with the *Persians* under the power of the *Macedonians*, and after the death of *Alexander* were governed by the *Seleucidæ*. Of these *Antiochus the Great* being confined by the *Romans* beyond mount *Taurus*, *Lycia* was granted to the *Rhodians*; but these disobliging the *Romans* in the war with *Perseus*, *Lycia* was declared a free country, and b continued to be so till the reign of *Claudius*, who, provoked at their intestine dissensions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

THEIR customs were much the same with those of the *Cretans* and *Carians*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. But they had one custom peculiar to themselves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, so that if any one was asked, who he was, or of what family, he had recourse to the female line. Besides, if a free-born woman married a slave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but on the contrary, if a man of ever so great a family married a slave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours, or bearing any public employment [t]. As to their trade and navigation, c we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the same with that of the inhabitants of *Crete*, which we shall have occasion to describe when we treat of the *Greek* islands.

*Their kings.*

The succession of the kings of *Lycia*, and the years of their respective reigns are overcast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is not possible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention of but three kings of all *Lycia* that we are sure of.

*Amisodarus*, who is fabled to have nourished the monster *Chimæra*.

*Jobates*, who married his daughter *Sthenobæa*, or, as others call her, *Antea* to *Prætus* king of the *Argives*. He is said to have undertaken an expedition against d the *Tirynthians* in favour of his son-in-law, and to have subdued them. His daughter *Sthenobæa* falling in love with *Bellerophontes*, the son of *Glaucus* king of *Ephyra*, and having solicited him in vain to comply with her unchaste desires, complained to her husband as if she had been solicited by him. Whereupon *Prætus*, being unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality by putting a stranger to death in his own kingdom, sent him into *Lycia* with letters to *Jobates* his father-in-law, requesting him to revenge the affront offered his daughter by the death of the bearer. *Jobates* thinking it a base thing to imbrue his hands in the blood of a stranger, sent him with a small body of troops against the *Solymi*, a warlike and barbarous people, in hopes he should there find his doom. But *Bellerophon* returned from this, and many other e dangerous expeditions, which he was put upon, not only safe, but victorious; whereupon *Jobates* being reconciled to him, and discovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom.

MANY years after reigned *Cybernisicus*, who was one of *Xerxes*'s admirals in his expedition against *Greece* [u]. And this is all we find upon record concerning the ancient kings of *Lycia*.

[t] HERODOT. l. i. [u] HERODOT. l. vii.

## *The History of the ancient* CILICIANS.

*Name and divisions.*

*CILICIA*, according to the *Greek* writers, borrowed its name from *Cilix* the son of *Agenor*, and brother of *Cadmus*, who is said by them to have settled in this country, as we have observed elsewhere [a]. *Josephus* [b] tells us, that it was anciently called *Tarsis* from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, who first peopled this part of *Asia* [c]; and of the same opinion are *Stephanas* [d], *Zonarus* [e], and *Hierom* [f]; but the latter by *Tarsis* in scripture sometimes understands *Carthage* [g], sometimes a province in *India* [h],

[a] Vol. I. 409. b. [b] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [c] See Vol. I. p. 168. [d] STEPH. verbo Ταρσός. [e] ZONAR. tom. i. [f] HIERONYM. in quæst. Hebraic. [g] Idem, in cap. 23. Esa. [h] Idem, ad Marcell.

and

and sometimes the sea [v]. *Bochart* [z] derives the name of *Cilicia* from the *Phœnician* word *Challekim* or *Challukim*, signifying a stone, that part of *Cilicia*, which the *Greeks* called *Cilicia Trachæa*, being very stony, and to this day called by the *Turks* *Tas Wileieth*, that is, the stony province. a

*Cilicia* properly so called lies between the 36th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded by *Syria* on the east, or rather by mount *Amanus*, which separates it from that kingdom, by *Pamphylia* on the west, by *Isauria*, *Cappadocia* and *Armenia Minor* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the south. It is now called *Caramania*, having been the last province of the *Caramanian* kingdom that held out against the *Ottoman* race. This province is so surrounded by steep and craggy mountains, chiefly the *Taurus* and *Amanus*, that it may be defended by a handful of b resolute men against a whole army how numerous soever, there being but three narrow passes leading into it, commonly called *Pylæ Ciliciæ*, or the gates of *Cilicia*, one on the side of *Cappadocia* called the pass of mount *Taurus*, and the other two, called the pass of mount *Amanus*, and the pass of *Syria*, leading from *Syria*. The *Persian* army marched through the straits of mount *Amanus*, while that of *Alexander* was encamped at *Issus* not far from the straits of *Syria*, which lie more to the south, and were guarded by a body of *Macedonians* under the command of *Parmenio*; the straits of mount *Taurus* *Alexander* had passed in entering *Cilicia*, the *Persians* who guarded that important pass having retired at the approach of the *Macedonians*.

*Cities of* Cilicia Aspera.

The whole country was divided by the ancients into *Cilicia Aspera* and *Cilicia Campestris*; the former, called by the *Greeks* *Trachæa* or stony, is bounded by *Isauria* on the north, *Pamphylia* on the west, *Cilicia Campestris* on the east, and the *Mediterranean* on the south. The cities in this part of *Cilicia*, mentioned by the ancients, are *Sydra*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Syedra*, *Nagidus*, a *Samian* colony, *Anemurium*, *Arsione*, *Celenderis*, or *Celandris*, *Aphrodisias*, so called from *Venus*, who was worshipped there in a stately temple, *Holmus*, or, as *Pliny* calls it, *Holmia*, *Sarpedon* famous for a noble temple consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Lephyrium*, according to *Ptolemy*, the last city of *Cilicia Aspera*, which *Strabo* extends to *Solæ*. *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Scylax* make no distinction between the two *Cilicia's*. Near *Lephyrium* was a grove much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely described by *Pomponius Mela* [y]. *Sebaste*, which *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian* chose for his residence after he was by *Augustus* appointed king of *Cilicia Aspera*; this city was situated on a small island called *Eleusa*, and not on the continent, where *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have placed it. These were the towns of most note on the coast of *Cilicia Aspera*; the inland cities were, *Seleucia* built by *Seleucus Nicator* on the banks of the *Calycadnus*, and peopled by the inhabitants of *Holmus*; it was a free city under the *Romans*, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from several medals, at least to the time of the emperor *Gordian*. *Domitianopolis*, *Philadelphia*, *Lamus*, and in latter times *Scandeloro* on the confines of *Pamphylia*, which, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were subject to the *Caramanian* kings. c d e

*Cities of* Cilicia Proper.

The chief cities of *Cilicia*, properly so called, or *Cilicia Campestris*, were, according to *Strabo*, *Soli*, or *Solæ*, built by the *Rhodians* and *Achæus*. This city was destroyed by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* in his wars with the *Romans*, and rebuilt by *Pompey*; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of *Pompeiopolis*. *Laertius* [a] tells us, that this city was built by *Solon* on his return from the court of *Cræsus*, and peopled by a colony from *Athens*; and adds, that these *Athenians*, having in process of time quite lost the purity of their native language by conversing with the *Barbarians*, became remarkable for their rude pronunciation, and uncouth expressions, whence any impropiety of Speech was called a *Solecism*. But this is contradicted by others [a], who derive the word *Solecism* not from the *Solenses* in *Cilicia*, but from the *Solii* in *Cyprus* [b]. *Tarsus*, which produced the great apostle of the *Gentiles*, and was, if we believe *Strabo* [c], in former times no ways inferior for the study of philosophy and polite literature either to *Athens* or *Alexandria*. We are told that it borrowed its name from *Tarshish* the son of *Javan*, by whom or by his descendants it was built; but *Strabo* out of *Aristobulus* acquaints us, that it was built by *Sardanapalus*, and proves his assertion from an ancient monument found in those parts with f

[v] Idem, in cap. 10. Esa. [z] Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 5. [y] Pomp. Mela, apud. Apollodor. l. c. 6. sect. iii. [a] Laert. in vitis Philosoph. [a] Strab. l. xiv. p. 456. [b] Vid. Plut. in vita Solon. [c] Strab. l. xiv. p. 463.

this

a this inscription, *Sardanapalus the son of* Anacyndaraxes *built the cities of* Anchiale *and* Tarsus *in one day*. *Tarsus* was at first the metropolis of all *Cilicia*, and after *Constantine's* division, of *Cilicia Prima*. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens, which St. *Paul* thought fit to make use of according to the *Portian* law[a]. The *Tarsians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Julius Cæsar*, exchanged the ancient name of their city with that of *Juliopolis*; but the old name survived the new, that city being called to this day by the *Greeks Tersia* or *Terassa*; the *Turks*, as *Bellonius* and other more modern travellers inform us, call it *Hamsa*. *Anchiale*, built by *Sardanapalus*, as we hinted above, or, if we believe *Athenodorus*, by *Anchiale* the daughter of *Japhet*. *Anazarbum* situated on the river *Pyramus*, and in the b *Roman* times the metropolis of *Cilicia Secunda*. *Suidas* tells us, that it was first called *Cyinda*, and afterwards *Anazarbum* from one *Anazarbus*, who was sent by the emperor *Nerva* to rebuild it after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certainly mistaken, since *Pliny*, who died long before the reign of *Nerva*, calls the inhabitants of this city *Anazarbeni*; and *Stephanus* derives its name from mount *Anazarbus* at a small distance from the place where this city stood. *Anazarbum* was the birth-place of *Dioscorides*, and continued in a very flourishing condition to the division of the empire. *Epiphania*, which gave birth to *George* the famous *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*. *Mopsuestia*, the see of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, a great patron of the *Nestorian* heresy in the time of *Chrysostom*. *Issus* situated on a gulph to which c it gave name, and famous for the battle fought near it between *Alexander* and *Darius*; this town is now called *Ajazzo*, and the great gulph on which it stands the gulph of *Ajazzo*. *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great* between *Issus* and the straits which lead from *Cilicia* into *Syria*. *Ptolemy* places this city in *Syria*, but *Strabo* more rightly on the bay of *Issus*. As this city was situated in a place very convenient for trade, it soon became one of the most flourishing cities of the world. *Alexander* in building it employed *Democrates*, who had rebuilt the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* burnt by *Erostratus*[e], and took care to people his new city with colonies from several other places, especially from *Judæa*[f], allowing the *Jews* the free exercise of their own religion, and the same privileges, immunities and exemptions d which he granted the *Macedonians*. As it was very convenient for such as traded on the *Mediterranean*, the *Red-Sea* and the *Nile*, it continued in a very flourishing condition, till trade took another course on the discovery of a way to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, when it became by degrees a poor village. It is at present called by the *Turks Scanderon*, by the *Italians Alexandretta*, remarkable for nothing else but some ruins, which shew what it was in better times. Several other cities are mentioned by the ancients, but as they were no ways considerable, and are at present quite unknown, we shall not dwell any longer on this subject.

*Rivers.*

THE rivers of any note in *Cilicia* are, the *Pyramus* which rises on the north side of mount *Taurus*, and empties itself into the *Mediterranean* between *Issus* and *Ma-* e *garsus*; the *Cednus*, which springs from the *Antitaurus*, passes through *Tarsus*, and disembogues itself into the *Mediterranean* near the city of *Anchiale*; it is famous for the rapidity of its stream, and coldness of its waters, which proved very dangerous to *Alexander*; the *Calycadmus*, the *Lamus*, the *Sarus*, the *Pinarus*, and several others of less note, water this province, and discharge themselves into that part of the *Mediterranean*, which the ancients called the sea of *Cilicia*, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from east to west.

*Soil and climate.*

THAT part of *Cilicia*, which the ancients called *Cilicia Campestris*, was, if we believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, one of the most fruitful countries of all *Asia*; but the western part equally barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed f of horses, of which 600 are yearly sent to *Constantinople* for the special use of the *Grand Signior*. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholesome, but equally dangerous on the coast, especially to such as are not accustomed to it.

*Their origin.*

THIS country, according to *Josephus*[g], was first peopled by *Tarshish* the son of *Javan* and his descendants, whence the whole country was called *Tarsis*, and not the territory alone adjoining to the city of *Tarsus*, as some have wrote. The ancient inhabitants were in process of time driven out by a colony of *Phœnicians*, who under the conduct of *Cilix* first settled in the island of *Cyprus*, and from thence passed

[a] Act. xvi. 37. and xxii. xxv. xxviii. [e] PLIN. l. v. c. 10. [f] JOSEPH. contra Apion. l. ii. [g] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [h] STRAB. l. xiii. p. 342.

into the country which from their leader they called *Cilicia*. *Strabo*[a] tells us, that this *Phœnician* colony passed from *Cyprus* into *Phrygia*, where they lived in subjection to the kings of *Troy*, and after the *Trojan* war possessed themselves of that country, which was afterwards called *Cilicia*. In tract of time several colonies from other countries settled in this kingdom, namely from *Syria* and *Greece*, whence the *Cilicians* in some places used the *Greek* tongue, in others the *Syriac*, but the former greatly corrupted by the *Persian*, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue. a

*Their manners, government, &c.*

The *Cilicians*, if we believe the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (G), and in the *Roman* times entirely addicted to piracy. They first began together with the *Pamphylians* in the time of the *Mithridatic* war to infest the neighbouring coasts, and being emboldened with success soon ventured as far as the coasts of *Greece* and *Italy* itself, where they took innumerable slaves, whom they sold to the *Cypriots*, and to the kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*. *Publius Servilius* was first employed against them, who gave them a great overthrow in a sea-engagement, took *Phaselis* and several other strong-holds, whither they used to retire, and ravaged the whole country. But scarce was he withdrawn, when they broke out more violently than ever, filling all the ports and creeks of the *Ionian*, *Mediterranean*, and *Archipelago*, with their vessels so as to entirely obstruct the navigation. Whereupon *Pompey* himself did not think it beneath his greatness to undertake a war against them, which he ended in the space of one month, having at the same time attacked them both by sea and land with 500 ships, and 130,000 men. b c

In ancient times the *Cilicians*, before they settled in that country which we call *Cilicia*, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, *viz.* the *Theban* and the *Lyrnessian*; in the former ruled the family of *Eetion*, in the latter that of *Evenus*. These kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of *Thebes* and *Lyrnessus*, two cities in the famous plain called the *plain of Thebes*, often mentioned both by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as having been the occasion of frequent disputes between the *Lydians* and *Mysians*, and in the *Roman* times between the neighbouring princes of *Asia Minor*. After the settling of the *Cilicians* in that country which from them was called *Cilicia*, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of *Cyrus*, to whom they voluntarily submitted, continuing subject to the *Persians* till the overthrow of that empire, but governed to the time of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* by kings of their own nation. *Herodotus* indeed counts *Cilicia* among the *Persian Satrapies*[i]; but from other writers it is manifest that the *Cilicians* were governed by kings of their own in the time of *Xerxes*[k], and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. After the downfal of the *Persian* empire *Cilicia* became a *Macedonian* province, and on the death of *Alexander* fell to the share of *Seleucus*, and continued under his descendants till it was by *Pompey* reduced to a *Roman* province. As a proconsular province it was first governed by *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and after him by *Cicero*, who reduced several strong-holds on mount *Amanus*, in which some *Cilicians* had fortified themselves, and held out against his predecessor, for which he was saluted by the army with the title of *Imperator* or *General*. All *Cilicia* being thus brought under subjection, it was first divided into *Cilicia Campestris* and *Trachæa*; the former became a *Roman* province, but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the *Romans* till the reign of *Vespasian*, when the family of *Tracodementus* being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into *Cilicia Prima*, *Cilicia Secunda*, and *Isauria*; the first took in all *Cilicia Campestris*, the second the coast of *Cilicia Trachæa*, and the last the inland parts of the same division; and in this state it continued till the division of the empire. d e f

*Their kings.*

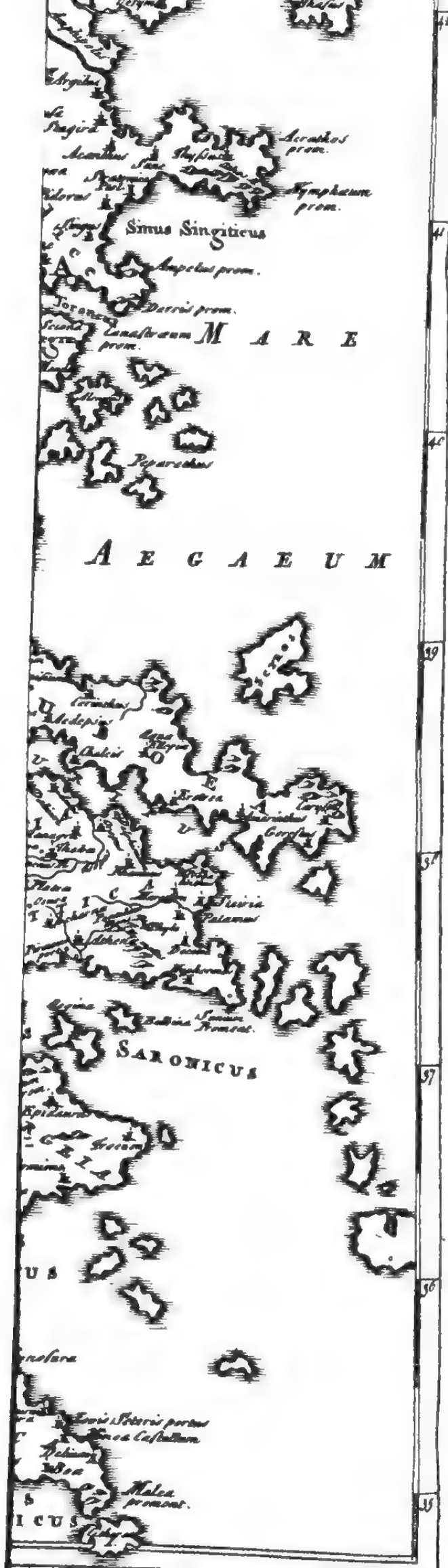
As to the succession of the *Cilician* kings we are almost quite in the dark. Those we find mentioned by the ancients, are *Eetion*, who reigned before their migration into *Cilicia*, and assisted *Priam* against the *Greeks*. He was king of *Thebes* only, in

[a] Strab. l. xvii. p. 342. [i] Herodot. l. iii. [k] Vid. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. Diodor. l. xvi. Curt. l. ii.

(G) Which gave rise to the proverbs, *Cilix haud facile verum dicit*; *Cilicium exitium*; and to the saying of *Pherecrates*, *Dii semper nobis imponunt, more Cilicium*; that is, *A* Cilician *scarce ever speaks the truth*, Cilician *cruelty*. *The gods, like the* Cilicians, *always deceive us* (32).

(32) *Vide Chiliad. Erasmi. Verbo Cilix.*

the


Sinus Singiticus
M A R E
A E G A E U M
SARONICUS

a the defence of which city he was with his seven sons killed, as we read in *Homer* [l], by *Achilles*. The famous *Andromache*, *Hector*'s wife, was his daughter. *Evenus* reigned in *Lyrnessus* during the *Trojan* war, and is likewise mentioned by *Homer* [m]. He was succeeded in his petty kingdom by his sons *Mines* and *Epistropus*, who siding with the *Trojans* were both killed by *Achilles*. *Syennesis* I. who was contemporary with *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, as we have hinted in the histories of *Media* and *Lydia*. *Horomedon* mentioned by *Herodotus* [n]. *Syennesis* II. who assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece* [o], and is greatly commended by *Æschylus*. *Syennesis* III. who assisted, tho' much against his will, *Cyrus* the younger, against his brother *Artaxerxes*. After his *Year of the Flood*, 2588. *Before Christ*, 401.
b death we find no mention of kings, but only of governors of *Cilicia*, appointed by the kings of *Persia*; whence we conclude him to have been the last that reigned in *Cilicia* before the country was subdued by *Alexander*. Of the kings that reigned several ages after in *Cilicia Trachæa* we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

[l] Homer. Iliad. Z. [m] Idem, Iliad. B. [n] Herodot. l. vii. [o] Herodot. ibid.

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# CHAP. XVII.

## *The fabulous and heroic times; Containing the history of the ancient kingdoms of* Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Thessaly, Corinth, *of* Sparta *to* Lycurgus, *and some others of less note, to their severally becoming commonwealths.*

### SECT. I.

### *An account of the fabulous and heroic times in general.*

a IT being the design of this chapter to open the way to the history of *Greece*, by tracing the several nations of it, as far as can be done with any probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obscure originals; and by pointing out the various steps by which they raised themselves from the lowest beginnings to that flourishing state in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and sciences, in politeness, in the excellency of their laws and government, and in the strength and valour of their armies; we cannot reasonably expect that our readers will rest satisfied with our bare endeavouring to give them the best account that can be had of this long and perplexed epocha, clear of all the monstrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of b the *Grecian* writers have stuffed it. We shall therefore strive to make the best and shortest way we can through this long period of 900 years, whose ancient monuments, though disguised under the tales of the most unnatural actions of the gods, such as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, and the incredible exploits of their heroic offspring (A); yet when divested from the fable, afford at least so much light *Original of the* Greeks.

(A) It will not be amiss to begin our notes on this fabulous epocha, with offering some tolerable account for that heap of monstrous fables under which the history of it is couched; and it will, upon examination, appear to flow from some, if not all, of the following reasons:

1. From the genius of those languages in which these ancient monuments were written, which was altogether

light to those dark times, that an history of this country would be justly thought a imperfect without some short account of them.

*Geography of Greece.*

The limits of *Greece*, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by continual sending out of colonies, or by conquests, which still carried their name with them, which will be best seen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our present epocha, extended from north to south, that is, from the long ridge of mountains which divided it from *Macedonia*, and from the river *Strymon*, by which it was parted from *Thrace*, to the promontory of *Tenarus*, the utmost southern extent of *Peloponesus*, about 6 deg. 20 min. or 380 miles. And from east to west, that is from the *Ægean* to the *Ionian* sea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310. It contained the following kingdoms: In *Peloponnesus*, *Sicyon*, *Argos*, and *Messenia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia* b *Propria*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*. Out of it, or in *Græcia Propria*, those of *Attica*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, *Locris*, *Epicnemidia*, *Doris*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, *Ozolæa*, and *Ætholia*. In *Epirus* the *Molossi*, *Amphilochi*, *Cassiopæi*, *Dræopes*, *Chaones*, *Threspotii*, *Almeny*, and *Acarnania*. In *Thessaly* it contained the countries of *Thessaliotis*, *Estiotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, *Magnesia*, and *Phthia* [a]. All these have at one time or other been severally governed by kings of their own, whose names we only find occasionally mentioned in the history of the more considerable kingdoms of *Argos*, *Attica*, *Thebes* and *Sparta*, of the *Argonautic* expedition, and of the *Trojan* war [b]. The fuller description and history of those chief kingdoms will be seen in the following sections; the rest we must content ourselves with a bare mention, because we know very little except c their names.

*Their various names.*

For this reason it cannot be expected, that we should enter into a critical enquiry into the names and original of those various inhabitants of ancient *Greece*. The general names by which they were known, and mentioned by old historians and geographers, were those of *Graioi* and *Graicoi* [c] (B). These they quickly changed for those of *Achæi* and *Hellenes* [d], by which they are generally called in ancient authors (C). Another name by which they were known in several parts of *Greece* was that of *Pelasgi*, which the *Arcadians*, who are generally reckoned the ancientest people of

[a] De his Vid. Ptol. Herodot. D. Sicul. Mela. Cluver. & al. mult. [b] Pausan. Apoll. & al. [c] Callimach. Hymn. in Jov. Sophoc. & al. [d] Thucidid. l. i. Aristot. in Meteor. l. i. c. 14. Steph. Byzant. &c.

altogether figurative, and whose elegance consisted in the boldest and most sublime allusions and metaphors.

2. From the writers themselves, who being all poets, and recording these transactions in short sonnets to be learned by heart, and sung upon proper occasions, did still inhance upon their native idiom in poetic pieces, and made choice of the most strained, and surprising allegories, that they might make the deeper and more lasting impression both on those who sang, and those who heard them.

3. From an ambitious affectation of antiquity, equal or superior to other cotemporary nations, or perhaps rather, from a shame of their mean and low extraction, and of their rude, not to say brutish ancestors, who like wild beasts did live by preying upon one another, having no law or rule, but that of the strongest arm. The consciousness of which made some of them fetch their original from certain great heroes, begot by some leacherous god, either upon some kind goddess, or straggling nymph, whilst others contented themselves with pretending that they sprung like mushrooms out of their own native soil.

4. This might be also another reason, why they transformed into fictitious monsters, those real ones amongst them, whose cruel and infamous actions they could not either palliate or obliterate.

5. From the high esteem they had for those renowned heroes, who cleared the country of those pests of mankind. They could not, it seems, look upon the arduous, and yet successful labours of a *Minos*, *Hercules*, or a *Theseus* in this so beneficial a province, without supposing them to have been more than mortal men, or at least, without an ambition to make them pass in future ages for the offspring of some of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo the ancient *Hebrew* heroes, both in their extraction, and in their wonderful exploits; thus we find a great part of the character of *Hercules* to be a mere compound of those of a *Sampson*, *Gideon*, *Jephtha*, and other *Jewish* worthies. The same may be said of several others (1).

(B) From *Græcus* the father, or, according to others, the son of *Thessalus*, who gave name to *Thessaly* (2). But by a modern critic (3) derived from *Ragau* the same with *Reu* the son of *Peleg* (4). by the transposition of a letter, to soften the sound.

(C) The first supposed from *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Hellen*, and father of *Ion*; or according to the fable, the son of *Jupiter* (5); the other from *Hellen* abovementioned, the son of *Deucalion*, and father of *Dorus*, from whom came the *Dores*, afterwards a famous nation in *Greece*.

*Thucidides* observes rightly however, that the name of *Hellenes* did not universally obtain over *Greece*; since *Homer*, who wrote so long after the siege of *Troy*, doth only call them so who followed *Achilles* from *Phthiotis* (6).

(1) *Vid. Grot. de Verit. Hust. demonst. Evang. & al. mult.* (2) *Euseb. Chronic. Isidor. Orig. l.* xiv. *c.* 4. *Plin. Nat. Hist. l.* iv. *c.* 7. *Suid. & Steph. Bizant. in Voc.* Γραικος & Θεσσαλια (3) *Salmas. de re Hellenist. p.* 2. *c.* 1. *ap. Hind. introd. in Hist. Græc.* (4) 1 *Chron.* i. 25. *Gen.* xi. 18, 19. (5) *Vid. Byzant. sub voce* Ιωνια. (6) *Thucidyd. l.* 1.

a it, do challenge from their pretended founder *Pelasgus*, who, we find, did get such foot in *Peleponnesus*, that the whole peninsula was from him called *Pelasgia* [e]. We find these *Pelasgians*, for whom some critics and antiquaries have found a much older original (D), spread in many other parts of *Greece*, as in *Attica*, *Thessaly*, and *Epirus*; in which last they have been supposed by some [f] to have laid the foundation of the *Dodonean* oracle. But the most ancient name of all, is universally allowed to be that of *Iones*, which the *Greeks* themselves derive from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, or, as the fable hath it, of *Apollo* by *Creusa* the daughter of *Erichtheus*, and grandson to *Deucalion* [g]. But it is more probable, as *Josephus* affirms [h], that their original is of much older date, and that *Javan* the son of *Japhet*, and grandson b of *Noah*, and his descendants, were the first who peopled these countries, as the learned *Bochart* seems to have proved by very strong arguments [i] (E).

Iones *descended from* Javan.

It is true, indeed, that among the *Greeks* themselves, only the original *Athenians*, and such colonies as sprang from them, were called *Iones*, but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants of *Greece* by that name; witness the testimony of *Hesychius* [k], and the scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and those passages of holy writ mentioned in the last note. We omit the names of several other people among the ancient *Greeks*, which were supposed to have been the oldest of all, but which do not appear by far to have been the first peoplers of that country; such were the *Aones*, *Hyanthes*, *Leleges*, *Dryopi*, *Caucones*, *Jemmices*, and others, c mentioned by *Strabo* [m], but which may be better supposed to have been reliques of the old *Carians*, who, *Thucidydes* tells us, made frequent incursions into *Greece* [n].

*The manners of the ancient* Greeks.

If we look upon this infant state of *Greece*, with respect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confession of their own writers, to have been one continued uncultivated desart, inhabited by savage creatures, scarcely removed one degree from brutes; men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and lying either in the open fields, or at best, sheltering themselves from the inclemency of the weather, in dens, clefts, and hollow trees [o]. The first improvement they made to their way of living was exchanging their old food, for the more wholesome acorns, building themselves huts to sleep in, and covering their d bodies with the skins of beasts. All this it seems they were beholden for to *Pelasgius* abovementioned [p], whose memory was highly reverenced among them upon that account. But this reformation in their way of living wrought none upon their

[e] Id. sub voc. Πελασγοι. [f] Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. v. Vid. & Pausan. in Attic. & Byzant. sub voce Θεσπρωτια. [g] Vid. Herodot. l. viii. Apollod. l. i. c. 7. Pausan. Achaic. [h] Ant. l. i. c. 7. [i] Phaleg. l. iii. c. 3. [k] Sub voce Ιαονες. [l] Ap. Hind. Introduct. in hist. Græc. [m] Geogr. l. vii. [n] lib. i. [o] Vid. Horat. Satir. & Pausan. in Arcadic. [p] Id. ibid.

(D) These (7) suppose that the descendants of *Peleg*, the fourth in descent from *Shem* the son of *Noah*, whom they suppose to have been the father of the *Scythians*, were the first who peopled *Greece*; and that they only softened the name of *Peleg*, or according to the septuagint and vulgate, *Phaleg* their progenitor, and called themselves *Pelasgians*. The last of those authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity betwen the *Hebrew* and ancient *Greek*, from the various dialects and pronunciations of the latter, which in the *Doric* comes nearest to the eastern tongues; and from the remainder of those tongues, especially in those places where the *Pelasgians* have been, which *Bochart* thought of *Phœnician*, but our author will rather have of *Hebrew* extraction.

All this is further confirmed by a passage in *Epiphanius*, who says (8), that *from the age of* Therah *downward*, Phaleg *and* Ragau *removed towards the clime of* Europe, *to part of* Scythia, *and were joined to those nations from which the* Thracians *came*.

This last passage, wherever *Epiphanius* got it, has been sufficiently confuted by *Bochart* (9), who shews that both *Phaleg* and *Ragau*, and their descendants, continued still in the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. And we have elsewhere shewn †, that the *Scythians* were the descendants of *Magog*, and not of *Phaleg* or *Ragau*. They were the sons of *Japhet*, and not of *Shem*, who divided the isles of the gentiles (10). We shall therefore leave the *Pelasgians* to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the ancient *Greeks* in the following note.

(E) First from the authority of *Josephus* above quoted. 2. From the name itself of the patriarch, יון without the points, sounding more properly *Jon* than *Javan*. 3. From the authority of *Moses*, who says (11), that by these (the sons of *Japhet*) were the isles of the *Gentiles* divided; which according to the genius of the *Hebrew*, means, not islands properly so called, but all maritime countries, at any distance from *Palestine*, especially those which are along the *Mediterranean*. 4. From that of the prophets (12), who call *Græcia* by the name of יון, *Jon* or, as pointed, *Javan*. According to which the *Jews* have all along to this day called the *Greek* tongue יונית *Javanith*.

All this is further confirmed by our author from the clear remains of *Elisha Javan*'s eldest son (13), which were still to be found in that of *Elis*, one of the ancient kingdoms of *Peloponnesus*.

(7) *Grot. Salmas. & Stillingfleet. orig. Sacr. l.* iii. *c.* 4. (8) *Epist. ad Acac. & Paul.* (9) *Phaleg. l.* iii. *c.* 14. † *See before, Vol.* II. *p.* 243. c. (10) *See Gen.* x. *ver.* 2. *ad* 5. (11) *Gen.* x. 5. (12) *Vid. int. al. Isai. cap. ult. ver.* 19. *Dan.* viii. 21. x. 20. (13) *Gen.* x 4.

manners. On the contrary, they who had no occasion to fight for any thing but a a
hole to sleep in, began now to envy and rob another of these new acquisitions. This in time put them under a necessity of joining themselves into companies under some head, that they might either more safely plunder their neighbours, or preserve what they had got. Laws they had none except that of the strongest arm; so that they only lived safest and most quietly, who inhabited the most craggy and barren spots of ground, whilst those, who were more pleasantly or fruitfully seated, were continually liable to be dispossessed by new invaders. Hence it was that *Greece* for a long time had no settled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakest being always sure to be turned out by the strongest. Their gigantic size and strength, if we may believe *Plutarch* [a], added so much to their insolence and cruelty, b
that they seemed to glory in committing the greatest acts of violence and barbarity on those that unhappily fell into their hands.

The case did not alter much for the better after they came to form themselves into regular societies, and build themselves towns and cities for safety. *Attica* seems the only place that was free from those incursions, because it was destitute of every thing that could invite a plundering enemy; but those cities fared worse which were situate on the sea-coasts, because they were in continual danger of being plundered either by sea or land; for pirates did not less infest all those seas, than the robbers did the land. And this was one main cause why most of the ancient cities of *Greece* were built at some distance from the shore; but even in these, as all their safety c
consisted in the resistance they could make against an invader, so their inhabitants were under a necessity of going constantly armed, and to be ever on their guard.

*Pirates and robbers.*

Another mischef arising from these continual piracies and robberies was, that the far greater part of their land did lie uncultivated, so that men only planted and sowed as much as was barely necessary for their present support; and where there was such an universal neglect of agriculture, there could be as little room for any discoveries in other useful arts and trades at land, as in commerce and navigation at sea. Hence it is also, that whilst other ancient nations, as the *Jews*, the *Egyptians*, *Midianites*, *Phœnicians*, had improved them to a very great degree, as we have seen in d
their several histories, the *Greeks* alone seem to have been the only strangers to them; insomuch that one may reasonably question, by *Homer*'s making oxen the standard of the value of things, whether they knew the use of money even in his days. One art however one would have expected them to have been very expert in, that of war, and the only one indeed they seemed to have had a value for; but even here, the very reverse may be inferred from what the same poet tells us, of some of his heroes putting whole squadrons of them to flight.

*Neglect of agriculture.*

*Trades.*

*Art of war.*

We shall have occasion to shew in the sequel, that they had no letters till *Cadmus* brought them thither out of *Phœnicia*, whose alphabet consisting only of sixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty-four till many centuries after him. It e
was from him likewise that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce; as for other sciences they continued much longer strangers to them; and it was not till some of their great men began to travel into *Egypt*, and other kingdoms, and the *Celtes* made their frequent incursions into *Greece* †, that they began to have some knowledge and relish for them. We are indeed told, that *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, and some others, who went into the first of those countries much earlier, did bring a great deal of the *Egyptian* divinity, and religious rites from thence [c]. But as for astronomy, geometry, philosophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the first from *Babylon*, the next from *Egypt*, and the last from *Persia* [d]; so ignorant we find them of the first of these sciences, that they knew of no other way of f
dividing the day, than by dark and light, or time of sleeping and waking, nor the years, but by the time of sowing and reaping.

*Arts and sciences.*

*Their government.*

Their government was still more rude and barbarous; every city, and almost every village or obscure town, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheless they gave the name of king. Hence that vast number of small inconsiderable kingdoms with which this country swarmed, and of the greatest part of which we know little else than their names, and that of one or sometimes two of their petty monarchs, which are occasionally mentioned in the history of those of more

[a] In Theseo. † See before, Vol. II. p. 252. c. [b] Herodot. l. i. D. Sicul. Bibl. Hist. l. i.
[d] Vid. Tatian. Orat. cont. Græc.

note,

a note, into which they were afterwards blended either by alliances or conquest. Laws, at least a written body of them, we do not find they had till the times of the *Athenian* archons; till then all depended on the will and definitive sentence of their kings; only in dubious and important cases, it was usual for them to consult some oracle, of which they had variety; the two most famous were that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, and that of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, situated on the hill *Parnassus* (F). *Laws.*

THEIR

(F) It will doubtless be expected that we should say at least so much of these oracles, as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, since they were esteemed of such concern, that scarce any public affairs were transacted (or hardly any private ones, if the persons were in circumstances to pay for it) without consulting some of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we shall content ourselves with a short description of that of *Delphi*, as it was the most celebrated and frequented of any either in *Greece* or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, contending even with that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, but because *Apollo* was supposed more peculiarly to preside over, and to inspire men with the knowledge of futurity. Upon this account also it was esteemed to outdo all others in the clearness and certainty of its answers; and by the great concourse of people who resorted to and inriched it with presents, it did likewise outshine all the rest in splendor and wealth.

Its foundation, origin, and magnificence, shall be seen in its proper place: here we shall content ourselves with a short account of the manner in which it was wont to be consulted and delivered, and by way of specimen to the rest; as for those of other countries, or other deities, the reader may, if he please, see them in our learned bishop *Potter*'s *Grecian* archeology.

1st, Those who consulted the oracle, were to offer some considerable present to the god. 2dly, They offered also some sacrifices to him, and according as these carried a good or bad omen, so the *Pythoness* consented or refused to consult the deity. 3dly, The question to be asked, was to be couched in as few words as possible. We omit some other circumstances of less moment, and which varied according to time and place, the quality of the persons consulting, and the nature of the question to be asked.

2. The time for consulting the oracle was only one month in the year, and that was in the spring; the seventh day of that month was called *Apollo*'s birth-day, because originally the *Pythoness* gave no answers but on that day, so that they came so thick to her, that they were forced to lengthen the time; in latter ages it came to be once a month (1).

3. The person who delivered the answer was to be a woman. They were originally to be virgins, but one of them having been deflowered, they came at length to make choice of women above fifty years of age, that in case the same misfortune should happen to them, their shame might be out of danger of being discovered by pregnancy. Yet even these are obliged to go apparelled like virgins, but in a plain and homely dress, that they might give no temptation to their customers (2).

*Pythia*, the name that was given to the woman that delivered the oracle, is variously derived, by some, in memory of the serpent *Pytho*, killed by *Apollo*, by others otherwise; but most probably from *Pytho*, which was but another name for *Delphi*, the place where this oracle was given, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

When all the previous ceremonies had been performed on the inquirer's part, this *Pythia*, having washed herself in the fountain *Castalis* at the foot of *Parnassus*, and shaken the laurel tree that grew by it, she crowned herself with a garland of those leaves, and sometimes also did eat some of them; and then ascended the celebrated *Tripod* or *Tripus*, and sitting down upon it, waited for the impulse of the god.

What kind of machine this wonderful *Tripod* was, is variously canvassed, and to as little purpose. Some take it to have been a brass pot filled with dust, through which a miraculous vapour was conveyed into the belly of the *Pythoness*, and thence came out at her mouth; others say it was filled with pebbles, by the agitation of which she conceived the mind of the deity; others say that it was large enough for her to plunge herself into; but the most probable opinion is, that it was a table or seat on which she either leaned or sat (3).

It was called *Tripod* because it had three feet, alluding, according to some, to the three great celestial circles, *viz.* the two tropics, and the equinoctial line; but more probably, if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, past, present, and future. They had more than one of these *Tripods*. The most ancient of them was that which the people of that country caused to be set over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had found out its prophetic power. The next is said to have been wrought by *Vulcan*, and presented to *Apollo* by *Pelops* king of the *Eleans*; but the most famous one was that which the fishermen drew up with their nets, and being adjudged by the oracle to the worthiest of the seven wise men who flourished then in *Greece*, and through modesty refused by him, was dedicated to this *Delphic Apollo*. The two first appear to have been of brass, and the last was of gold; some think also there were likewise more than one *Pythia* at the same time, but without any good foundation (4); however, when she who officiated as such, had received the divine afflatus in her belly, from whence she was called γαστριμαντις and γηρομαντις, she began sometimes to swell, foam at the mouth, tear her hair and flesh, like one in the strongest phrensy, at other times her spirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the paroxysm has been so terrible, that it hath scared away the priests, as well as the consulters, and one of them is said to have died by the violence of it (5). Some add, that a dragon or serpent has been seen to return the answer from under the *Tripod*, and that the *Pythia* was once killed by him.

The answer was returned *viva voce*, and in hexameter, or heroic verse. *Pausanias* attributes this form of answering to the famed *Phæmonoe* the first *Delphic Pythia*. But the hymn of *Beon*, a *Delphic* lady, attributes it to *Olen*, who with his *Hyperboreans* instituted this oracle, and changed their rustic prose into the smooth and heroic verse.

But though this oracle was the most famed for the clearness and truth of its answers, insomuch that it was often applied to, to explain the more intricate ones of other places, yet was it not without its ambiguities, so as to be easily applicable to the event, let it fall which way it would. *Herodotus* gives us some instances of this kind of amphibolous answers given to *Crœsus*, of which that unfortunate king, a munificent votary to the *Delphic* god, justly complains,

(1) *Plutarch. Græc. Quæst.* 9. (2) *Lysistr. Scholiast. in Aristoph. ap. Potter Archæolog. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (3) *Cœl. Rhodig. lect. antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 15. *ap. eund.* (4) *Vener. de divinat.* (5) *Vid. Plutarch. de defect. Orac.*

*Religion.*

Their religion was still worse than all the rest, being little else than a corruption, a if we may be allowed that word, of the *Egyptian* theology, brought thither at first by *Cecrops* an *Egyptian* exile, and founder of the *Attic* monarchy, who, according to *Pausanias*, did first introduce the worship of *Jupiter* in his new kingdom. *Orpheus*, *Dedalus*, and *Melampus*, went and fetched new supplies of *Egyptic* idolatry and superstition; and *Greece* was soon after furnished with a number of deities, suited to the taste of their brutal votaries, and with a sanction and precedent for every unsocial and unnatural vice. To this desperate and universal degeneracy of the *Grecian* nation it is, that we have ventured in a former note to ascribe in some measure all the fabulous accounts which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of those famous heroes, who bestowed so much pains b and time to reform and abolish it. Of this number were *Minos*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many more, of whom we shall speak in the sequel, some of whom cleared the seas, others the land, of that pestilent race, and others, lastly, by wholesome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts and sciences, laid the happy foundations for the politeness and grandeur, for which they were so justly famed in after-ages.

*The chronology of this epoch.*

*Year of the flood, 910. Before Christ 2089.*

This fabulous epoch, as it includes all that the poets have sung, and historians recorded, concerning the foundation of all the ancient *Grecian* monarchies, the exploits of the *Grecian* heroes, their wars and other transactions from the end of the *Trojan* war and upwards, to the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom, the most ancient of all; amounts to 905 years, that is from *A. M.* 1915. when *Ægialeus* is said to have c laid the foundation of his kingdom, to the destruction of *Troy*, *A. M.* 2820. (G)[t]. But as under this period are contained the history of the several following monarchies; 1st, That of *Sicyon* abovementioned: 2. Of *Argos* and *Mycena*: 3. *Attica*: 4. *Bœotia*: 5. *Arcadia*: 6. *Thessaly*: 7. *Corinth*: 8. *Sparta*, and some others, from their foundation to their either becoming incorporate with others, or to their severally resolving themselves into commonwealths; this last circumstance will oblige us both to extend it beyond what is properly called the fabulous and heroic epocha, down to the times of their respective change of government, and to give a fuller chronology of each kingdom under each distinct head.

Other material transactions under this period are chiefly those that follow, the d *Ogygian* and *Deucalion* floods; the murder committed by the daughters of *Danaus* on their husbands; the labours of *Hercules*; the unfortunate adventures of *Oedipus*; the

[t] Vid. Usser. Ann. sub utroque an. ex Castor. ap Euseb. Chronic.

complains, as having more than once or twice misled him to his ruin (6).

The reader may see a number of other instances of the same nature in *Pausanias* (7), besides those which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, and which, though fulfilled contrary to the meaning and expectation of the consulters, yet seemed to be directed by some foreseeing being, because they still answered the prediction, though in a different sense. Of this nature was that which forewarned *Epaminondas* to beware of what the *Greeks* called the *Pelagos*; by which he, understanding it to mean the sea, which they called πελαγος, forbore to go into any ship or galley, whereas it was the *Mantinean* wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the same nature is the *Carthaginian* general said to have been deceived, when he was told by another oracle, that he should be buried in *Libya*; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the *Romans* he should return and die in his own country, whereas the oracle meant the town of *Libyssa* in *Bœotia*, but according to our author called by the *Nicomedians* *Libya*, in which he died.

It was for this reason that these predictions, attributed by the *Heathens* to some godhead, were by the primitive fathers ascribed to the devil, who, though uncapable to dive into futurity, yet could give a greater guess into it than any mortal; but we leave the disquisition of such questions to divines, as well as the times and causes of these oracles ceasing in the heathen world, though this last we may perhaps touch upon, when we come to resume the sequel of the *Jewish* history.

(G) We need not tell our readers that this chronology is far enough from being unquestionable; those who have read Sir *Isaac Newton* on this subject, will easily agree with him, that the reigns of the several kings of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, &c. are spun out to an unnatural length, they amounting one with another to thirty-five and forty years apiece, which is almost double the time that those of *Judah* and *Israel* reigned.

It is also not unlikely that the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom is vastly antedated, and that the eleven or twelve kings whom they pretend to have reigned between *Apis* and *Epaphus*, or *Epopeus*, whom our author thinks to have been two names for the same person, were only feigned, and interlarded here, to add the greater antiquity to that kingdom. We are told that it began 232 years before the time of *Inachus*, or 1313 years before the first *Olympiad* (8); but what certainty can there be in a tradition of such a length.

The same fault may be supposed to run through the whole chronology of the other kingdoms belonging to this epoch, since their foundation is likewise previous to the *Olympiads*, before which all computation of time is dark, precarious, and in many instances notoriously false.

(6.) *lib* i. (7) *In Arcad. Vid. & eund. in Phoc. & Potter ubi supra.* (8) *Castor ap. Euseb. Chron. Vid. Newt. Chronol.*

*Argonautic*

a *Argonautic* expedition; the wars of *Minos* and *Theseus*; the exploits and adventures of *Prometheus*, *Epimetheus*, and *Atlas*; those of *Perseus* and *Bellerophon*; the rapes of *Io*, *Europa*, and *Helena*; the war of the *Epigoni* or seven champions against *Thebes*; the *Trojan* war, spoken of in a former chapter; the fatal end of the greatest part of the *Grecian* chiefs; the infamous exploits of the gods; and in a word all the heroic deeds of their pretended offspring, in suppressing robbers and pyrates, pulling down tyrants, protecting the oppressed, and forming the *Greek* nation by degrees from anarchy, cruelty, and barbarism, into a polite, warlike, and glorious people.

## SECT. II.

### *The history of the ancient kingdom of* SICYON.

a SICYON has the first place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the rest, and because it boasts a succession of twenty-six kings, whose several reigns make up an epoch of nine hundred and sixty years and upwards. Its original name was *Ægiala*, given to it by *Ægialeus*, the supposed founder and first monarch of it. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain; but it exchanged it afterwards for that of *Apia*, from *Apis* the fourth king from *Ægialeus*, and in process of time it had that of *Sicyon* given to it, which was that of their 19th monarch, who reigned about 740 years after its supposed foundation, and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninsula of *Peloponnesus* was called *Sicyonia* until its dissolution, and b even beyond it[a]. *Names.*

THIS little kingdom was situate on the north part of *Peloponnesus*, since called the bay of *Corinth*. It had the province of *Achaia* on the west, and the *Isthmus* which joins the peninsula to the continent of *Greece* on the east. What its extent was cannot be known. The capital of it is supposed to have been situate upon the river *Asopus* in about thirty-eight degrees and a half of north latitude, and twenty-three degrees and a half of east longitude, having the bay of *Corinth* on the north, the rest of the *Peloponnesus* on the other three points[b]. *Situation.*

ITS territory is rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other commodities, besides some iron mines. It was in process of time very much adorned by c *Sicyon* and his successors, with temples, altars, monuments, and statues of all their gods and ancient monarchs. It would be justly esteemed the ancientest monarchy in the world, not excepting even those of *Egypt* and *Assyria*, were it true, that its founder lived about 150 years after the flood, that is, about 200 years before *Noah*'s death, as some have computed it from *Eusebius*, who affirms this monarchy to have been founded 1313 years before the first olympiad[c]. But that mistake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him cotemporary with *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father, and to have began his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later about *A. M.* 1236[d], which brings it somewhat lower than the year of the flood 900; besides it is not improbable, as Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, that chronologers d have split *Apis Epaphus* (the 4th in descent from *Ægialeus*) into two kings, and between them, have inserted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing, and thereby have made its founder *Ægialeus* 300 years older than his brother *Phoroneus*[e] (the son of *Inachus*, and founder of *Phoronicum*, since called *Argos*.) The truth is, we know nothing of those princes, but their names, and the years they are affirmed to have reigned. The same indeed may be said of the greatest part of their successors. We meet with no memorable action or conquest performed by any of them during the long space of 960 years; though this epocha, dark and remote as it is, is so fruitful of the most surprizing exploits in most other cotemporary kingdoms. However we shall here subjoin a list of those twenty-six monarchs, e with the length of their reigns, as we find it transmitted to us. *Natural and artificial rarities.* *Chronology.*

[a] STEPHAN. de Urb. STRAB. [b] STRAB. MELA, & al. [c] HEYL. ex EUSEB. Chronic. [d] USSER. RAWLEY & al. NEWT. Chronol. introd. p. 6.

a

Kings of *Sicyon*:

| | Reigned Years. | | Reigned Years. | | Reigned Years. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 *Ægialeus* | 52 | 8 *Leucippus* | 53 | 18 *Laomedon* | 40 |
| 2 *Europs* | 45 | 9 *Mossapius* | 47 | 19 *Sicyon* | 45 |
| 3 *Telchin* or *Selchin* | 20 | 10 *Peratus* | 46 | 20 *Polybus* | 40 |
| 4 *Apis* | 25 | 11 *Plemneus* | 48 | 21 *Inachus* or *Ianischus* | 42 |
| 5 *Thelxion* or *Thelasion* | 52 | 12 *Orthopelis* | 63 | 22 *Phæstus* | 8 |
| 6 *OEgirus* | 34 | 13 *Marathon* | 30 | 23 *Adrastus* | 4 b |
| 7 *Eurymachus al. Thurimachus* | 45 | 14 *Marathus* | 30 | 24 *Polyphides* | 31 |
| | | 15 *Æchyræus* | 55 | 25 *Pelasgus* | 20 |
| | | 16 *Corax* | 30 | 26 *Zeuxippus* | 32 |
| | | 17 *Epopæus* | 35 | | |
| | | | | In all | Years 962 |

THERE is little else to be found in history worth notice concerning these monarchs, besides what we hinted above. Those that are the most remarkable in the list are, 1. *Ægialeus* the founder; 2. *Apis* from whom the country was called *Apia*; 3. *Ægirus*, the supposed founder of the ancient city of *Ægira*, situate on a high and almost c inaccessible hill; once the capital of *Achaia*, properly so called, and now supposed to be the small village of *Hylocastro*; 4. *Marathon*, of whom the famous fields of *Marathon* had probably their name. *Epopæus*, who built a stately temple to *Minerva*, and adorned it with his own trophies; 5. *Sicyon* from whom the whole country and peninsula took the name of *Sicyonia*. He is likewise supposed to have either built or at least enlarged the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name.

AFTER the death of *Zeuxippus* the last king in the list, that estate is said to have been governed by the priests of *Apollo Carneus*, five of whom held the sovereignty only during one year each; after which *Amphyction* held it nine years successively, d and *Charidemus* the last of them continued in it eighteen years[f]. After this hierarchy had lasted thirty-two years the *Heraclidæ*, who were by that time returned into *Peloponnesus*, became masters of it, or, according to *Pausanias*, the kingdom was incorporated with the *Dores*, and became subject to that of *Argos*[g], the next ancient kingdom to that of *Sicyon*.

[f] EUSEB. Chron. [g] In Corinth.

## SECT. III.

### *The history of the ancient kingdom of* ARGOS.

WE have already hinted in the last section, that not the kingdom only of *Sicyon*, a but the whole *Peloponnesus* was called *Ægiala* and *Apia* from the first and fourth kings of it. There were likewise two kings of the same name in *Argos*; the one the younger son of *Inachus* the founder of the kingdom, and the other the son of *Phornutus* the elder brother of *Ægialeus*[a]. Hence these two have been confounded with those of *Sicyon*, and their kingdom thought to have been of as ancient, if not of older date than the *Sicyonian*, and the country to have received their name not from the *Sicyonian*, but from the *Argivic* monarch. In so dark a dispute we can only say, that the *Argivic Ægialeus* being only a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all there, seeing his brother *Phornutus* left the kingdom to his own son, it is not so likely that the country should receive its name from him, as from that of *Sicyon*. However b the kingdom soon changed its name for that of *Argolis*, from *Argos* the son of *Jupiter* by *Niobe*, who was sister to *Apis*, upon whom the kingdom devolved, because *Apis* died without issue. It was also called *Hippim* and *Hippoboton*, from the neighbouring pastures, in which *Neptune* is said to have fed his horses[b], or rather from an excellent breed of horses, which that country was famed for.

[a] APOLLODOR. l. ii. c. 1. Vid. HIND. hist. Græc. [b] PAUSAN. in Corinth.

THIS

a THIS kingdom is situate on the north-east side of *Peloponnesus*, surrounded on the east by the two bays of *Saron*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, and of *Argos*, and has the kingdom of *Sicyon* or *Achaia Propria* and *Arcadia* on the north and west, and that of *Laconia* on the south. What its ancient limits were is hard to say; but it was very much enlarged by some of its monarchs, so that it extended itself from east to west from 23 deg. 40 min. east longitude, or about seventy miles, and north and south from 37 deg. and and a half to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles. *Situation and extent.*

ITS chief river is the *Inachus*, so called from the founder of this kingdom. It empties its self into the bay of *Argos*, now called *Golfo de Engia* near the port *Asine*. On this river was situate the metropolis, called also *Inachus* from its founder and fourth b monarch, and famous among other things, for the death of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who having forced an entrance into it, was knocked on the head with a tile flung by an old woman from the top of a house. Here was also the brazen tower, into which *Danae*, being confined by her father, was defloured by *Jupiter*. It was likewise much inriched by its trade, and particularly that of a fine breed of horses bred about its territory, from which the name of *Hippium* was given to it. 2. Next to *Argos* was *Mycena*, which became in process of time the seat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by *Horace* for her riches, as her rival *Argos* was for her horses. 3. *Traezen*, once the royal seat of *Pitteus*, the grandfather of *Theseus*. 4. *Nemea*, famous for the *Nemean* games, supposed to have been instituted there in memory of *Hercules*'s c killing a lion which infested that neighbourhood; or, as others will have it, in memory of the son of *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, who had been killed by a serpent, whilst his nurse *Hysipyle* went to shew the *Argivi* to a spring of water. We shall have occasion to speak more fully of this adventure in the sequel. 5. *Epidaurus*, in which stood the so famed temple of *Æsculapius*, resorted to from most parts of *Europe* and *Asia* for the cure of all distempers. 6. *Nauplia*, so called from its founder *Nauplius* king of *Ebena*, and for its excellent situation and harbour, whence it had the name of *Nauplia Navale*, now *Neapolis*, from which the gulf on which it is situate hath its modern name[a]. *Natural and artificial rarities.*

THE government of *Argos*, and afterwards of *Mycena*, continued altogether d monarchical from its first foundation to its establishing itself into a downright democracy. *Pausanias* indeed observes, that the *Argives* were extremely jealous of their liberties, and were ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly clip it till after a long succession of princes; the *Heraclidæ*, who were of the family of *Perseus*, recovered the kingdom from that of *Pelops*, about eighty years after the taking of *Troy*, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that space that they gained so much ground upon their kings, that they left them little else than the bare name; but by what laws they were anciently governed, or by whom they were enacted, and how far these monarchs were tied by them, is what we will not venture to say. *Government.*

THIS kingdom *Eusebius* tells us out of *Castor*[c], was founded 1080 years before the e first olympiad, that is, according to *Usher*, in the year of the world 2148, so that *Inachus* the founder of it was cotemporary with *Abraham*, and with *Thurimachus* the 7th king of *Sicyon*. It continued under the name of the *Argolic* kingdom till the reign of *Acrisius* the 14th king of it, who transferred the seat of it to *Mycena*, a city of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700, and about the year 550 of its foundation, from which time that part of it continued to be called the kingdom of *Mycena* till the dissolution which happened about the year 2920, when the *Heraclidæ* made themselves masters again both of this and of the whole peninsula, after it had stood upwards of 77 years, and under the government of twenty-one monarchs. The *Argolic* kingdom, properly so called, retained likewise its own kings f after this division, until the *Heraclidæ*, whose family had been set aside by that of *Euristheus* the implacable enemy of *Hercules* and all his race, above an age before. These dividing the peninsula into three kingdoms, that of *Argos* had not continued above forty years, before *Meltas* their last king, having made a push to recover the royal prerogative, which was dwindled by that time to the lowest pitch, lost both his kingdom and life, after which the *Argivic* government was changed into a democracy. *Year of the flood, 1143. Before Christ, 1856 The chronology of* Argos.

[a] STEPH. de Urb. [b] MELA, HEYL. CLUVER. [c] Chronic.

a

A List of the Kings of *Argos* before its Translation to *Mycena*.

1 *Inachus*
2 *Phoroneus*
3 *Apis*
4 *Argus*
5 *Pirasus, al. Criasus*
6 *Phorbas*
7 *Triophas*
8 *Crotopus*
9 *Sthenelus*
10 *Danaus*
11 *Lynceus*
12 *Abas*
13 *Prætus*
14 *Acrisius*
15 *Perseus*

Founder of the kingdom of *Mycena*.

16 *Talaon*
17 *Adrastus*
18 *Ægialeus*
19 *Diomedes*

Kings of *Mycena*.

1 *Perseus*
2 *Euristheus*
3 *Atreus and Thyestes*
4 *Agamemnon*
5 *Ægisthus*
6 *Orestes* b
7 *Tisamenus al. Penthilus*

Kings of the *Heraclidæ* at *Argos*, after they had recovered *Peloponnesus*, and divided it into three kingdoms.

1 *Temenus*
2 *Cisus* c
3 *Lacidaus*
4 *Meltas*

Inachus. 1. *Inachus*, the supposed son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys* (A), is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his sister *Melissa*, by whom he had two sons, *Phoroneus* and *Ægialeus*: he is supposed to be the father of *Io*, and therefore the *Greeks* are sometimes called from him *Inachi*.

Phoroneus. 2. *Phoroneus* succeeded his father, enlarged his territories, and gathered the people who were before dispersed about the country into one city, which was called d from him *Phoronium*[f]; he is said to have had a son by the nymph *Laodice*, named *Apis*, and a daughter named *Niobe*, who became the first paramour of the lustful god *Jupiter*, by whom she had a son named *Argos*. From *Phoroneus*, his supposed sister *Io* is sometimes called *Phoronis* by the poets[g].

Apis. 3. *Apis* succeeded his father, but governing too tyrannically, a faction was formed against him, which was upheld by *Thekim* or *Thelxion* king of *Sicyon* (B), to whose treachery he was sacrificed. Some affirm that he fled into *Egypt*, where he taught that people the manuring of land, upon which account he was worshipped under the title of *Serapis*, and in the form of an ox. We have already observed in the history of that kingdom †, that *Serapis* was worshipped under a human form, bear- e ing a bushel on its head. As for their *Apis*, though he was indeed worshipped under the form of an ox, yet it doth not appear that he was of *Argolic* extraction. We meet with several of the name, one in *Sicyon*, one in *Argos*, and this in *Egypt*; all of them so confounded by *Mythologists*, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos. 4. *Argos*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, succeeded him; he is supposed to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it, and the whole kingdom, by his name[h]. He is said to have been a promoter of agriculture, altogether neglected

[f] Pausan. in Corinth. [g] Horat. & al. † See before, Vol. I. p. 205. e. 206. c. [h] Apollod. l. ii. c. 1.

(A) Or rather because he came thither by sea. We have had occasion in a former chapter to take notice of this extravagant vanity in the descendants of those first founders of kingdoms, of raising them such fabulous genealogies, in order to disguise the obscurity of their origin, by ascribing it to some god, to the sea, rivers, nymphs, and such like extraordinary progenitors. We shall refer the reader to the caution we gave them there concerning these miraculous offsprings †.

(B) This shews how little dependance there is in the writings of this epocha, since even this last reigned, according to *Eusebius*'s chronology, near 100 years before *Inachus* the founder of the *Argolic* kingdom, unless they have mistook him for *Peratus*, who flourished about the latter end of *Apis*'s reign.

† *Vid. sup. Vol.* II. *p.* 287. *sub fin. not.*

by

a by the *Grecians* before his reign, who came from that time to be called *Argivi* from him.

5. *Criasus*, by others called *Peirasus* the son of *Argos*. Criasus.

6. *Phorbas* the son of *Criasus*, supposed to have been cotemporary with *Atlas* and *Prometheus*. Phorbas.

7. *Triopas* the son of *Phorbas*, whose brother, named also *Phorbas*, settled himself in the island of *Rhodes*. Triopas.

8. *Crotopus*, in whose times the *Argives* felt the dire effects of *Apollo*'s anger on the following occasion, that God had had a private amour with *Psamathe* the king's daughter; and she to conceal the fruit of it from her father, went and hid it among the rushes, b where it was devoured by the king's hounds. *Apollo*, to punish the *Argives* for this crime, sent the monster, or fury *Pene*, who snatched their children from their mother's bosom, and destroyed them. This monster being killed at length by *Cærebus*, *Apollo* sent them a grievous pestilence. *Cærebus* having consulted the oracle how his anger might be appeased, was forbid to return to *Argos*, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god where-ever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did. Crotopus.

9. *Sthenelus*, son of *Crotopus*, reigned sixteen years, after which he, or as others think, his son *Geleanor*, was routed the kingdom by *Danaus* an *Egyptian*. Sthenelus.

10. *Danaus* had been driven out of *Egypt* by his brother *Ægyptus*, for refusing c to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty sons of his brother. His pretence for refusing the marriage was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle, that he should be killed by a son-in-law. Being therefore expelled *Egypt*, he came to *Argos*, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being descended from *Epaphus* the son of *Io*, who, as was hinted above, was the daughter of *Inachus*. Both he and *Sthenelus* agreed to have their title decided by the people, and upon the second meeting of the assembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, who was grazing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people who beheld it, took it for a fatal omen against the present possessor. *Sthenelus* was supposed to be meant by the bull, and *Danaus* by the wolf, because he was a stranger. Upon this he was imme- d diately proclaimned king [1].

As soon as *Ægyptus* heard of this election, he resolved to prevent his marrying his fifty ddaughters to neighbouring princes, and strengthening himself by so many alliances against him. He raised a powerful army, and sent it with his fifty sons at the head of it, against the new king of *Argos*; and these reduced him to such extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promise to stab their husbands on the very first night of their nuptials, which they all punctually performed, except one named *Hypermnestra*, who privately conveyed her bridegroom *Lynceus* to *Lyrcæa*, a town not far from the metropolis. *Danaus* was no sooner apprised of her disobedience, than he e would have put her to death for it; but she was honourably acquitted by the more humane *Argives*, was again received into favour, and *Lynceus* declared his heir and successor. As for his other forty-nine daughters, they are feigned to have been condemned to an endless punishment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw out water with buckets, bored with innumerable holes, and never to be filled (C).

11. *Lynceus*, the son of *Ægyptus*, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, and reigned in his stead. In commemoration of his wife's having saved his life, and of the *Argives* having acquitted her, they dedicated a statue to *Venus*, and the *Argives* instituted a feast in memory of the signal *Hypermnestra* had given to her husband of f his being out of danger, and called it the feast of *Flambeaus*. Lynceus.

12. *Abas* was the son of *Lynceus* and *Hypermnestra*, and father of *Prætus* and *Acrisius*, by *Ocalea* the daughter of *Mantineus*. These two sons, who were twins, are Abas.

[1] Pausan. ubi supra.

(C) This fable, some mythologists interpret of their being doomed to fill the cisterns of the citadel, which *Danaus* built at *Argos*, with water, and probably also those of the city, which, according to the description an ancient geographer gives us of it (1), seems to have wanted a considerable supply of that element. For though it be built upon the river *Inachus*, yet by reason of its nearness to the gulf, it is more than probable, that the waters of it were too brackish to be drank.

(1) *Strab. Geogr. l.* viii.

said to have struggled together in their mother's womb, a sure presage of that more a
fatal struggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two first who made use of targets in the battles they fought against each other [k].

Prætus. 13. *Prætus* found means to step first upon the throne, and held it about seventeen years. It was in some part of this time, that *Bellerophon* king of *Corinth*, having committed manslaughter, came to *Argos* to be expiated by *Prætus*, whose queen *Stenobæa* being charmed with the beauty of that prince, sollicited him often in vain to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his continency, did privately accuse him to her husband of having attempted her chastity. *Prætus*, not suspecting the truth of the accusation, sent immediately the young *Corinthian* prince b
to his father-in-law *Jobates*, with letters, in which he desired him to make away with the innocent stranger. *Jobates* sent him upon several dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithstanding, *Bellerophon* came off victorious, as we shall see when we come to speak of the kings of *Corinth* [l]. In the mean time *Prætus* met with something to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother *Acrisius*, who proving too strong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law *Jobates* king of *Lycia*. These two soon returned into *Argos* with an army, took the city of *Tyrias*, and obliged *Acrisius* to agree to a treaty, by which *Prætus* had *Tyrin*, and other maritime, and *Acrisius*, *Argos*, and the inland towns [m]. *Prætus* had forty-three daughters by his wife *Stenobæa*, or, as she is called by *Homer*, *Antæa*; c
and they with the rest of the women of that country, were seized with a destemper which they called the fury of *Bacchus*; but where cured by an excellent physician and soothsayer, who had one of the daughters given him in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom as a reward for his skill. *Melampus*, that was the physician's name, obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom for his brother *Bias*; but *Prætus* had soon after this partition, a son named *Megapenthes*, who succeeded him in the other third called *Tyrin*; but it is likely that these three were again reunited, and made a new kingdom of *Argos* after the death of those philosophers, as we shall see after we have ended the history of the kings of *Mycena*, whose part from that time makes the most considerable figure. d

Acrisius *king of* Mycena. 14. *Acrisius* on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife *Eurydice*, called *Danae*, and had been forewarned by the oracle, that she would have a son, by whom he should be killed. To prevent therefore that young princess having any conversation with mankind, he caused her to be close confined in a strong brasen tower, and under such strict watch, that she might in all likelihood have been out of danger of fulfilling the oracle, had not *Jupiter* melted himself, as the poets feign, into a golden shower, which sliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution (D) [n].

The fruit of these stolen embraces was *Perseus*, who was no sooner born, than *Acrisius* ordered him and his mother to be put into a chest, and thrown into the e
sea; but *Jupiter* took care to convey them safe to *Seriphus*, where *Dictys* the brother of *Polydectes* king of that island, brought *Perseus* up as his own son. By that time he was grown up, the king was fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had not her son prevented it. The king, highly provoked at this opposition, and resolved to be at once revenged and rid of him, sent him into *Africa* to fetch the famous *Gorgon*, *Medusa*'s head, not doubting but the attempt would cost him his life. But to his surprise he saw the young prince return with the *Gorgon* (E), and crowned with a two-fold success, having in that expedition saved *An-*

[k] Pausan. in Argolic. Apollod. l. 2. c. 2. [l] Idem, ibid. Ovid. Metam. &c. [m] Pausan. ubi supra. Apollod. ubi supra. [n] Apollod. ib. c. 4.

(D) This golden shower seems to have been only some considerable bribe to those who guarded the tower. Some think that it was her uncle *Prætus* who found means to corrupt them, and to get admittance to her.

(E) It is not improbable, that, according to the account an ancient writer gives us (2) of this expedition, *Medusa* had succeeded her father *Phorcus* in his kingdom, which was situate along the lake *Tritonis*, and that she was a *Virago*, who, for want of other employment, was much used to hunting, and to fight with her *African* subjects; and that *Perseus* coming upon her in the dead of the night with the choicest forces of *Peloponnesus*, surprised and beheaded her, and carried her head away into *Greece*, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty (3). The reader may see what has been said of it by the judicious author last quoted.

(2) *Vid. Paus. in Argol. Apollod. l. ii. pass. Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. l. iv. & al.* (3) *Pausan. ubi supra, & Corinth. Ch. xxi.*

*dromeda*,

a *dromeda*, the daughter of *Cepheus* king of *Joppe*, a maritime town in *Phœnicia*, from being devoured by a whale (F); in recompence of which service, she was given to him in marriage.

At his return into *Seriphus*, he thought on nothing but how to be revenged on the lustful and inhospitable king. Here he found that his mother and *Dictys* had been forced to run into a sanctuary, to skreen themselves from his brutish violence, and, as the fable goes on, having turned him and all his accomplices into stones at the sight of the *Gorgon*, set up *Dictys* upon the throne. From thence he went with his mother *Danae*, and his wife *Andromeda*, into *Agros*; but *Acrisius*, frightened at the news of his being alive, and having performed such noble exploits, had retired b into *Larissa*, a city of *Pelasgia*, situate on the river *Peneus*, whose king of *Tantalus* having soon after caused some funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceased father; *Perseus* came thither among a great concourse of *Grecian* princes, and by an unfortunate cast of the disk (G) which fell upon *Acrisius*'s foot, who was there present, killed him, and unwillingly fulfilled the oracle upon him [o].

15. *Perseus*, though next heir to the kingdom of *Argos*, in right of *Danae* his mother, yet chose to exchange it with his cousin *Megapenthes* for that small one of *Tyrins* which had been left to him by his father *Prætus*, rather than to return to *Argos*, after this unhappy death of his grandfather. Some affirm that *Perseus* restored his grandfather to his throne, after he had been driven out of it by his brother; but that is in- c consistent with their dividing the kingdom by treaty. However, after this exchange with *Megapenthes*, *Perseus* went and built the city of *Mycena*, and made it the seat of the kingdom. That of *Argos* was therefore said to have been translated thither, because this new metropolis became in a short time more populous and opulent than the other. After *Acrisius*'s death, the kingdom being thus divided into several pieces, and among different families, *Perseus* having reigned about eighteen years in that of *Tyrins*, left it to his son *Alcæus*, and he to *Amphitryon*, by whose wife *Alcmena*, *Jupiter* is said to have begot *Hercules*, and to have lengthened that amorous night as long as three, to add the more strength to the child [p]. In the mean time *Amphitryon* having unawares killed *Electryon*, who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was d forced to fly to *Thebes*. Here the child *Hercules* began to give such early proofs of his courage, extraordinary strength and fierceness, that he was sent to be brought up among some shepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age (G) [q]. Perseus.

16. *Eurystheus* the son of *Sthenelus*, who was come to the crown of *Mycena*, or, as others have it, succeeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye. His title to the crown, as being the reputed son of *Amphitryon* his cousin german, made him fear, lest he should in time find means to dispossess him of it. His fear and hatred of him soon grew to such a height, that he left no way untried to be rid of him. *Hercules*, who was not insensible of it, because he e was ever engaging him upon some desperate expedition; went to consult the oracle, and being answered that it was the pleasure of the gods that he should serve *Eurystheus* twelve years, was cast into so deep a melancholy, that it turned at length into a furious madness, during which, among other desperate deeds, he put away his wife Eurystheus.

[o] Pausan. ubi supra. Apollod. ubi supra. [p] Id. ibid. Diodor. Biblioth. hist. l. iv. [q] Apollod. ibid.

(F) This whale is supposed to have been nothing else than a ship so called, into which *Phœnix* had secured her in order to convey her away (4).

(G) The disk was a round piece of iron, lead, brass, or stone, with a hole in the middle, with which the gamesters used to exercise their strength and skill. He who could throw it farthest won the prize (5).

(H) We have already observed, that there were many fabulous heroes of this name. *Diodorus* and *Eusebius* mention three: *Diodorus* ascribes all these fabulous actions to the youngest, who was the son of *Alcmena* (6). *Servius* speaks of four, and *Varro* of forty-four; but the most remarkable of these are the six mentioned by *Tully*, as follows (7):

The first, begot by the most ancient *Jupiter* and *Lysito*, who contended with *Apollo* for the tripod.

The second the son of *Nile*, and an *Egyptian*, was the inventor of the *Phrygian* characters.

The third was a native of *Crete* (and the son of the *Celtic Jupiter*): he was one of the *Idæi Dactyli*, or *Curetes* of mount *Ida*.

The fourth was the son of the second *Jupiter*, and *Asteria*, sister to *Latona*, and father of *Carthage*; he was worshipped by the *Tyrians*.

The fifth was the *Indian Belus*. And

The sixth was this *Hercules* the supposed son of *Amphitryon*, but begot by the third *Jupiter* upon *Alcmena*.

(4) *Conon. Narrat.* 40. *Roff. Mystag. Poetic. Hind. Hist. Graec.* (5) *Potter. Archæolog. Vol. I. Ch.* 21. *p.* 443. (6) *Hist. l.* iv. (7) *De Natur. Deor. lib.* iii.

*Megara*,

*Megara*, and murdered all the children he had had by her, which are supposed to have been twelve, because the king imposed the same number of labours upon him as an expiation for their murder, after he had recovered his senses [r]. These labours being for the most part fabulous, and some of them, as we have observed more than once, being probably stolen from the history of *Sampson* and other *Hebrew* worthies, we shall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our history of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion (I).

Atreus. 17. *Atreus* the son of *Pelops*, and grandson of *Tantalus* king of *Lydia*, ascended the throne of *Mycena*, after the death of *Eurystheus*, who left no issue. As for the line of *Perseus* it only subsisted in *Hercules*. *Atreus* is always joined with his brother *Thyestes* as partner of the kingdom. These two are justly branded, the one for his incest, and the other for his horrid murders. *Thyestes* for defiling his brother's wife; and *Atreus* for murdering his sons, and feasting him with their flesh (K).

It was in his reign that the *Heraclidæ*, for so were called the sons and descendants of *Hercules*, came under the conduct of their champion *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*, and claimed the kingdom of *Mycena*, from which they had been driven by *Eurystheus*. The controversy was to be decided by single combat, and under these conditions, that if *Hyllus* killed *Euchemus*, who had undertook to be champion for *Atreus*, then this last should relinquish his kingdom to the *Heraclidæ*; and if *Hyllus* was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into *Peloponnesus* till fifty years were expired. It happened that *Hyllus* was killed by his antagonist, so that *Atreus* obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the *Heraclidæ* went to *Tricorinthus*, and others to *Dorus*, to whose father *Hercules* had left the region of *Hestiæotis* in trust for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the *Dores*. Their grandmother *Alcmena* disappearing about this time, as she was returning to *Thebes*, had divine honours instituted and paid to her [s]. *Atreus* was soon after their departure killed by *Ægyptus*, and succeeded by his own son,

[r] DIODOR. APOLLODOR. ubi supra. [s] PAUSAN. APOLLOD. ubi supra & al.

(I) The first labour imposed upon him was the killing of a lion in *Nemea* a wood of *Achaia*; whose hide was proof against any weapon, so that he was forced to seize him by the throat, and strangle him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his skin about his shoulders.

In the second he killed the *Hydra*, a monster with two heads, one of which was no sooner cut off, than two sprung up in its room.

In the third he brought the *Erymanthian* boar alive upon his shoulders, at the sight of which the king is said to have been so frighted, that he ran and hid himself in a brazen hogshead. It was likewise in this expedition that he overcame the famous centaurs 8).

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns, and of prodigious swiftness.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to cleanse *Augeus*'s stable in one day, which he did by turning the river *Alpheus* into it.

In the sixth he chased away the mischievous birds of the lake *Stymphalis*, who are feigned to have lived upon human flesh, and to have been at length destroyed by *Hercules*'s arrows, or according to others to have been only scared away from thence (9).

His seventh was to fetch a famous bull from the isle of *Crete*, with which *Pasiphe* the wife of *Minos* is said to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped *Jupiter* to overcome the *Titanick* giants, he reconciled *Prometheus* to him, and loosed him from mount *Caucasus*.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which were tied with iron chains to brazen mangers, and were fed with the flesh of the strangers that passed by that way. *Hercules* first threw their inhuman master to be devoured by them, and then brought the mules to *Eurystheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*. Their breed is said to have continued till *Alexander*'s time. Betwixt this and his next task he is supposed to have gone upon the *Argonautic* expedition, of which we shall speak in due time.

In the ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*; and

In the tenth the oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia* or *Spain*, in the furthest parts of which he erected his two pillars, as the utmost limits of the then-known world. These ten labours he atchieved, as the fable says, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is likewise affirmed to have killed *Antæus*, a famous giant of a monstrous size, who when weary with wrestling or labour, was immediately refreshed by touching the earth. *Pliny* makes him the founder of *Tangier*. *Hercules* overcame him in wrestling, and slew him; and after him the tyrant *Busiris* in his way through *Egypt*. This bloody man used to sacrifice all his guests and strangers upon his altars, and designing to have done the same by *Hercules*, was slain by him, together with all his attendants.

His two last tasks were fetching *Cerberus* out of hell, and the *Hesperian* golden apples, kept by a dragon, which last is interpreted to have been some fine herd of cattle kept by some stout man, and brought out of *Africa* to the king. As to his other exploits they will be mentioned in their proper place.

(K) The poets feign that the sun went back at the sight of this horrid feast. As for *Thyestes*, he went to consult *Apollo* how he might be revenged on his brother, and was answered, that if he would lie with his own daughter *Pelopea*, he would beget a son that should murder both *Atreus* and his son *Agamemnon*. He did so, and *Ægisthus*, the fruit of this second incest, fulfilled the prophecy.

(8) *Vid. Pausan. in Arcadic. c.* 22. (9) *Apollod. l.* ii. *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iv.

18. *Aga-*

a 18. *Agamemnon*, who was reckoned at that time the wealthiest and most powerful potentate in all *Greece*. His dominion extended not only through a considerable part of *Peloponnesus*, but also to several neighbouring islands. So that having a larger fleet, a greater number of sea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his cotemporary kings. This was the main reason of his being chosen general of the *Trojan* expedition for the recovery of *Hellena*, his brother *Menelaus*'s wife.

THE success of that expedition, the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, and other circumstances relating to this prince, have been seen in a former chapter †. After the taking of that city, besides several other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the parting of the booty, the disposition of their Forces, and the like, a fatal b quarrel arose between *Agamemnon* and his brother. The latter was for sailing homewards out of hand, and the other for staying to sacrifice to *Minerva*. The consequence was, that they parted in great anger. *Agamemnon* having weathered several storms, which the goddess *Pallas*, as the poets feign, had sent both to him and his confederates during their return homewards; arrived at last at *Mycena*, where he was murdered by his cousin german *Ægisthus*, and his wife *Clytemnestra*, who during his absence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

19. *Ægisthus* was the son of *Thyestes*, begot on his daughter *Pelopeia*, by the advice of the oracle mentioned in the last note. His mother, to conceal the foulness of her pregnancy, exposed him in the woods, where a shepherd finding him, c nursed him with goats milk, from which he was called *Ægisthus*. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with *Clytemnestra*, during *Agamemnon*'s absence, made them both fear lest they should fall a sacrifice to the resentment of that prince; and the oracle had pronounced him the murderer of both him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore soon determined to the fact, and having murdered *Agamemnon* seized upon the kingdom and held it about ten years, but both he and his paramour were at length murdered by *Orestes Agamemnon*'s son. Ægisthus.

20. *Orestes*, who was but a child when his father was killed, had been privately conveyed to *Strophius* in *Phocis* by *Electra* his father's sister; but as soon as he was come to riper years, he returned to *Mycena*, and having murdered the usurper, and d his own mother, took possession of the kingdom, and of that of *Argos*, whose throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of *Diomedes* into *Italy*, after his return from the siege of *Troy*. The occasion of this flight we shall see in the sequel of the remaining kings of *Argos*, after its being parted from that of *Mycena*. *Orestes* ran raving mad soon after at the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was tormented for it by the furies. Being again restored to his senses, and vexed to find that *Hermione* his uncle *Menelaus*'s daughter, whom her grandfather *Tyndareus* had promised to him in marriage, had been espoused to *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*, he went and killed him in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and married *Hermione*, by whom he got also the kingdom of *Sparta* *. Orestes.

e WITH *Orestes* we may mention here his faithful and constant friend *Pylades* the son of *Strophius*, with whom he had been brought up. These two are famed for having been so like each other in face, shape, temper, and affection, that they seemed to have had but one soul, and were not to be distinguished from one another. Insomuch that when *Thoas* king of *Taurica*, would have put *Orestes* to death, they both affirming to be the same person, and both ready to die each for his friend, the king could not possibly find out which was the right person, but admired their extraordinary friendship, which was indeed such, that it passed into a proverb.

21. *Penthilus*, or according to others *Tisamenus*, succeeded his father *Orestes* in both kingdoms; but in less than three years, he was killed in a battle which he fought f against the *Achei*, whom he had driven from *Argos* and *Mycena*, and had reduced to the necessity of driving the *Ionians* out of *Ægialia* into *Attica*. After his death the *Heraclidæ*, who had already got the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*, made themselves masters of these two kingdoms also, which they held until the conquest of that peninsula by the *Macedonians*. Penthilus.

AFTER the parting of the kingdoms of *Mycena* and *Argos*, and of the latter into three parts, as we have seen above; we find *Adrastus* the son of *Talaon* and *Eurinome* reigning in *Argos*, and descended from *Perseus*. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to *Polynices* prince of *Thebes*, and the other to *Tydeus*, Adrastus in Argos.

† See before, Vol. II. p. 318. & seq. * APOLLOD. PAUSAN. & ubi supra.

upon the following accident. These two princes were come to *Argos*, the former a
to beg the king's assistance against his brother *Etocles*, who had deprived him of his yearly share in the government, and the latter was fled thither from *Calydonia* for manslaughter. These two happened to have a squabble in some of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed *Adrastus*, and forced him to come and enquire the occasion of the disturbance. He had been formerly advised by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion, the other to a boar, and had been doubtless very much puzzled to find out the meaning of it; but at his coming out, he found, to his joy and surprize, an agreeable solution of it. *Polynices* bore a lion, and *Tydeus* a boar upon his shield, upon which he immediately gave his daughters *Argia* to the former, and *Deipyle* to the latter, whose son succeeded him afterwards in the kingdom. b

Soon after this, being resolved to assist *Polynices*, he raised a good army, and procured the best commanders he could to accompany him. Among these was one *Amphiaraous* a good officer and great soothsayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till *Polynices* bethought himself of the following stratagem. They offered to make his wife *Eriphyle* umpire whether he should go or not, and having bribed her beforehand with a costly bracelet, she decided in the affirmative; upon which *Amphiaraous*, who foresaw that none of the chief officers would escape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithless wife, left strict charge with his two sons, before he departed, that as soon as they were come of age, they should kill her, and make war against the king of *Thebes* [a]. c

*Adrastus* marching with his army through the wood of *Nemea*, met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate Daughter of *Thoas* king of *Lemnos*, whom she had saved, when the rest of the *Lemnian* women had killed by one consent all the males of that island, with intent to turn *Amazons*. For this her filial piety, they had sold her to pyrates, who brought her to *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, whose son *Archemorus*, or as others call him *Opheltes*, she was nursing, and had then in her arms. The *Argives* desired her to direct them to some water, and she laying down the boy went to shew them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child had been killed by a serpent, she went and hid herself for fear of her master's anger, and *Amphiaraous* sent her sons word soon after where their d
mother was. The *Argives* killed the serpent, and in memory of the dead child, they are said to have instituted the games called *Nemean*, in which *Adrastus* won the race by the swiftness of his horse *Arion*. *Tydeus* got the prize at whorlbats, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Amphiaraous* at running and quoits, *Parthenopeus* at shooting, and *Laodicus* at darting [b].

From the *Nemean* woods they went and encamped at the foot of *Cithæron*, a famed hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the priestesses of *Bacchus*, to whom the hill was consecrated, used to keep there. Here they sent *Tydeus* to *Thebes*, to demand of *Etocles* the performance of the contract between *Polynices* and him. Upon his refusal, *Tydeus*, desirous partly to shew his own courage, e
and partly to try that of the *Thebans*, gave several challenges to their most noted champions, in which he still came off conqueror. The *Thebans*, envious of his success, sent fifty of their choicest men to way-lay him in his return to *Cithæron*, who were all killed except one, whom he sent back to *Thebes*, to acquaint *Etocles* with his courage and success. The *Argives* on the other hand hearing what had passed, resolved upon the siege of the city; the ill success of which we shall see in its proper place. All that needs be said here is, that *Adrastus* owed his escape to the swiftness of his horse, and *Amphiaraous* is said to have been swallowed up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horses near the river *Ismene*, or perhaps drowned all together in that river. The other five generals did likewise lose their lives, so that it proved f
even as *Amphiaraous* had foreseen, that *Adrastus* alone should survive that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the *Athenians*, and to beg their assistance, that the *Argives* might at least be enabled to recover the dead bodies of his soldiers and subjects, which the *Thebans* refused to deliver up. The *Athenians* readily granted his request, and forced the *Thebans* into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.

[a] Diodor. Bibl. l. iv. Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. [b] Id. ibid.

He

a He was succeeded by his son *Ægialeus*, who about ten years after the defeat before *Thebes*, entred into a confederacy with *Diomedes* the son of his brother-in-law *Tydeus*, and with the five sons of the other generals who had lost their lives in that expedition, to revenge their deaths upon the *Thebans*, and if possible to level that city with the ground. Thence these seven captains were called *Epigoni*. The oracle being consulted, promised them success provided they chose *Alcmæon* the son of *Amphiaraous* their general. They did so, and came off victorious accordingly, as we shall see in the next section. Ægialeus.

After this *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, the son-in-law of *Adrastus*, who was also king of *Ætolia*, came to the crown of *Argos* in right of his wife, and was the last b king of it. After his successful enterprise against *Thebes*, he listed himself in that against *Troy*, and was one of that small number of princes which returned safe home. Upon his arrival at *Argos*, he found that his wife *Ægiale*, whom *Venus* had plagued with a *furer uteri*, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the siege of *Troy*, had entertained a criminal familiarity with *Cometes* the son of *Sthenelus*, one of the heroes that went to the siege of *Troy*. When she found that her husband had discovered her intrigue, she attempted to kill him, but he first retired to the temple of *Juno*, and thence into *Apulia*, then a small kingdom in *Italy*. Here he found *Daunus* the king of it straitly besieged, who promised him part of his kingdom, if he could beat his enemies. *Diomedes* did it with success, and built a city there, c which he called *Argos Hippium*, whence in process of time it changed its name into *Argyrippa*. He was afterwards killed by *Daunus*, and, according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into swans, or birds very much like them. Diomedes.

In the mean time the *Heraclidæ*, since their first expulsion out of *Peloponnesus*, by *Eurisbeus* king of *Argos*, had made several fruitless attempts to regain it. The first, as we have seen, was in *Atreus*'s time under *Hyllus*; another under his son *Cleodæus*; a third under his grandson *Aristomachus*. This last prince left three sons, *Temenus*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, who, when they came of age, consulted the oracle concerning the success of a new invasion, and received this ambiguous answer, that it d would succeed if they went by the way of *Stenygrus*; but they thinking the narrow passage of the *Isthmus* to be meant by it, invaded it by that way, and *Aristomachus* lost the battle and his life in the attempt*.

The *Pythoness* being upbraided with it by his sons, made answer, that their ancestors had brought their misfortunes upon themselves by mistaking her words. Thus when *Hyllus* was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he mistook it, the third crop; and that now by *Stenygrus* was not meant the neck of land, but the deep sea on the right hand of the peninsula. Upon this answer they went to build a navy at *Ætolia*, since called upon that account *Naupactus*. During their stay here, *Aristodemus* the youngest of the three was killed e by lightening, and left two twins, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*. Soon after this a more severe misfortune befel them, for their fleet was destroyed, and their army laboured under a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to afresh, and answered, that *Apollo* had sent those plagues upon them, because they had murdered his prophet *Carnus*. There had indeed been such a man among them whom *Hippotes* killed, because he took him to be some magician, who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be banished ten years.

The *Heraclidæ* were also promised better success, provided they put themselves under the command of a general that had three eyes, but where to find such a one was the difficulty; at length they met an *Ætolian* named *Oxylus*, who was return- f ing from *Peloponnesus* into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horse, or mule he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was immediately supposed to be the person pointed at by the oracle, upon which they chose him for their general, and promised him the country of *Elis* as a recompence†. They then gave out that they were going to enter the peninsula at the *Isthmus*, which drew all the *Peloponnesian* forces thither, and sailing up the *Stenygrus*, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at *Molycrium* without any opposition.

* Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. & seq. Pausan. in Bœotic. † Apollod. ubi supra. c. viii.

Three of the kingdoms of *Peloponnesus* they challenged as their undoubted right, a
namely *Argos*, *Mycena*, and *Lacedemon* (L). The first of these they got with some difficulty, and *Tisamenus* the king of it, was either killed [a], or escaped by flight [b]. *Mycena* they conquered with the sword, and expelled all the *Nestorian* family, who went and settled at *Athens*, where *Alcmæon* and *Pæon* became the heads of two considerable families in that city †. As for *Lacedemon*, *Sparta* being betrayed to them by one *Philonomus* [b], they entered it with the sound of the flute, which instrument became much in vogue, as it was thought, both to inspire the soldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks [c]. They also kept their promise with their three-eyed general, who being descended from *Ætolus*, had a right to the country of *Elis*, from which the latter had been banished by *Salmoneus* king of the *Ephei*, who were now b
in possession of it. These agreed with the *Heraclidæ*, that the pretensions of *Oxylus* should be decided by single combat, according to the *Grecian* custom, and the *Ephean* champion being killed, *Elis* was restored to its right owner. After these successes the three brothers having raised three altars to *Jupiter Patrius*, resolved to divide their conquest by lot. *Cresphontes* is supposed by some juggle to have made the kingdom of *Mycena*, the richest and most fruitful of the three, to fall to his share. *Temenus* had *Argos*, and *Lacedemon* was divided between *Eurysthenes*, and *Procles* the sons of *Aristodemus* [d], as shall be seen in its place.

Temenus *at* Argos.

*Temenus*, now fixed in *Argos*, betrayed such an extraordinary fondness for his son-in-law *Deiphontes*, who was descended from *Ctesiphus* the son of *Hercules* by c
*Dejanira*, that his other sons, who had reason to fear he would appoint him his successor, hired the *Titans* to murder their father. *Temenus* being dead, one author tells us, the army abhorring the parricides, set the crown upon *Deiphontes* and his wife [e]; but *Pausanias* tells us that it fell to his eldest son *Cisus*.

However that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to lose ground very fast, as we observed before. To *Cisus* succeeded *Lacidamus*, who had little else than the title of a king. His son *Meltas*, impatient of such restraint, endeavoured, when it was too late, to restore it to its ancient dignity, but the people were by that time grown so powerful and headstrong, that as soon as they found out his design, they put an effectual stop to it, and a final end to the kingly power, reducing d
the government into a downright democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death [f].

The kingdom of *Mycena*, or *Messenia* was not much longer lived. For though these two did outvie that of *Sparta* by far, at first, yet the latter soon grew to such a height of power and splendor, as both to eclipse and overpower them in the wars which they had afterwards with them. To avoid repetitions, we shall defer the further account of them till we come to speak of *Sparta*. All that need be added here is, that *Cresphontes*, who, as we observed before, had juggled himself into *Mycena*, soon lost his new-gotten kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles with two of his sons, for his extraordinary caresses to the people. His third son *Ægyptus*, or e
rather *Æpytus*, fled to *Cypselus* king of *Arcadia*, who was his grandfather by the mother's side, and when of age obtained his assistance to regain his kingdom, killed the usurper of it, and by wisely dividing his favours and largesses between the nobles and the people gained the affections of both to such a degree, that the kings who had till then been called *Heraclidæ*, were from thenceforth called *Æpytidæ* in honour of him [g]. But this popular liberality, though now so successful, proved fatal to the regal dignity; the subjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more tenacious of their prerogative, till it ended in the excision of monarchy and a total change of government.

[a] Pausan. Eliac. Strab. Geogr. lib. x. [b] Apollod. ubi supra. † Pausan. Argol. [b] Pausan. ubi supra. Strab. lib. x. [c] Id. l. viii. [d] Polyen. Stratagem. Vid. Hind. hist. Græc. lib. ii. [e] Polyen. ubi supra. Apoll. ubi supra. Pausan. in Messenic. [f] Apollod. ubi supra. [g] Vid. Pausan. in Messenic.

(L) The first of these was their right, as being the descendants of *Perseus*; whereas the then king *Tisamenus*, who was of the race of *Pelops*, had no right to the crown. *Mycena* and *Lacedemon* they claimed in right of *Hercules*, who having conquered them, had left the first to *Nestor*, and the last to *Tyndarus*, in trust for his own children.

SECT.

## SECT. III.

### *The history of the ancient kingdom of* ATTICA.

*ATTICA* was situate along the north coast of the gulph of *Saron*, bounded on the west by *Megara*, and part of *Bœotia*, on the north by the *Euripic* gulph, a now *Stretto de negro ponte*, and on the east by the *Ægean* sea. It reached in length from north-west to south-east, about sixty miles, that is from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. east longitude. Its breadth from north to south, where it is broadest was about fifty-six miles, and decreasing as it came nearer to the sea.[a] *Geography.*

THE soil is naturally barren and craggy, and made fertile chiefly by the indefatigable industry of the people; hence it was that it often enjoyed a profound quietness, when other more fruitful countries were exposed to frequent incursions. So that having above all others preserved its ancient inhabitants, gave rise to their extravagant notion, that they, like other insects, were the spontaneous product of the soil, and as a badge of it, *Thucydides* tells us, they wore a golden grashopper in b the curls of their hair. However they were much more advantagiously situated for commerce, having several good ports, the chief of which was that of *Pyreus*, whose haven, distant from *Athens* the metropolis of *Attica*, about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each side with two strong walls reaching from the one to the other, for the security of the merchandise that went up to that capital. It had moreover a wide harbour capable of containing above 100 ships[b]. There were some other ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief of which next to *Athens* was *Eleusis* on the same gulph, and near the coasts of *Megara*, upon which account it had been once so strongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable (A). 2. *Rhamnus*, famed for the temple of *Amphiaraous*, and the statue of c *Nemesis* (B). But the largest and most opulent was the metropolis, called at first *Cecropia* from *Cecrops* the founder of it; but afterwards *Athens* from the goddess *Minerva* (C), whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, and to whom that city was dedicated, and in whose honour were instituted the yearly games called *Panathenæa*. It was chiefly famed, besides its strength beauty, and opulence; 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence *Fides Attica* became a common proverb; 2. For being the nursery of the best scholars and orators, choicest wits, and greatest philosophers; and 3. For having produced the greatest number of brave generals of any city in the world, *Rome* not excepted, upon all which accounts it was justly esteemed one of the eyes of *Greece*. *Natural and artificial rarities.* *Cities.* *Athens.*

d THE chief river in this kingdom is the *Asopus*, flowing from the lake *Copais*, through *Bœotia* and *Attica*, and splitting itself into two streams, which divide the famous plains of *Marathon*, empties itself into the *Ægean* sea.

THE government from its first foundation to the *Archontes*, continued altogether monarchical, under a succession of seventeen kings. What is most remarkable of all is, that they did not reduce it like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, and out of a dislike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it out of a deep respect to the last monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having *Government.*

[a] MELA, CLUVER. BYZANT. & al. [b] THUCYDID. l. ii.

(A) This city is said to have been built by one *Eleusius*, who having entertained *Ceres* there, when she went in search of her daughter, she taught him agriculture as an acknowledgment for his hospitality. Hence that goddess is sometimes called *Eleusina* by the poets (1).

(B) The goddess of justice, called also *Rhamnusia* from this town where her temple stood (2).

(C) The occasion of it, as the story goes, is that *Cecrops* not knowing what name to give to his new-built city, an olive-tree, and a fountain of water, or, as others have it, a horse appeared. The oracle being consulted, answered, that *Neptune* and *Minerva* were contending for the honour of naming of it, that the olive was the gift of *Minerva*, and the fountain (or horse) that of *Neptune*; and that that which they esteemed the most beneficial to mankind should adjudge the prize to the giver. The men and the women being assembled to give their judgment, the former gave it for the god, but the women, who were more in number, gave it for the goddess, and the city was called from her *Athena*. *Neptune*, in revenge of the affront, drowned their territories about it, and the men to appease his anger, past three votes against the women, the one, that they should not be called *Athenians*, but *Atticans*; and the second, that they should have no vote in public matters; and lastly, that no children should thenceforth bear their mother's name. The poets have embellished this story after their way, by pretending that those deities did visibly contend for those places, as they did also for several others, and that either *Jupiter*, or themselves, left the arbitration of the dispute to some proper judges. We shall meet with some further instances of this kind of contention in the sequel (3).

(1) *Vid. Steph. de urb. in voc.* (2) *Id Plutarch, &c.* (3) *Apolled. ubi supra. Pausan. in Attic.*

generously sacrificed his life to the safety of his subjects, the grateful *Athenians* resolved that no man from thenceforth should bear the title of king, and gave that of *Archon* to his son and successor [c], which continued during ten successions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the *Archontic* government was, that the former descended by inheritance, and the latter by election, and that these were accountable to the people whenever it was required.

*Riches.* The riches of this kingdom occasioned by its great commerce and frugality, are said to have amounted to 1200 (*Attic*) talents a year [d]; this vast income gave them a *Coin.* considerable superiority over all their neighbours, not only as it inabled them to keep a greater army and navy than they, but also as they could make use of it to gain any other estates to their side; and as their coin was commonly stamped with the figure of an ox, hence was the phrase so frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen †. Hence also came the common proverb, *Bovem habet in lingua*, when a man was thought bribed to speak contrary to his own sentiments.

*Chronology.* This kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cecrops* an *Egyptian*, who brought hither a colony of *Saits* [e], a people who lived upon one of the mouths of the *Nile* called *Saiticum*, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 1443, or according to *Eusebius*'s chronology, 780 years before the first olympiad (D). It continued under its monarchs 487 years, according to the same chronology, during which time it doth not appear that the *Athenians* felt any grievances that could induce them to exchange that form of government for any other. The *Archontic* government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their last king 312 years longer, that is till the year of the world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of receiving the government into a commonwealth, *A. M.* 3412, there elapsed 160 years. The whole duration then of this government from *Cecrops* to *Solon* amounts to 960 years.

The ancient Kings of *Athens*:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 *Cecrops* | 5 *Pandion* | 9 *Ægeus* | 12 *Demophon* | 15 *Thymætes*, *al.* *Thymedes* |
| 2 *Cranaus* | 6 *Erectheus* | 10 *Theseus* | 13 *Oxyntes* | 16 *Melanthus* |
| 3 *Amphictyon* | 7 *Cecrops* II. | 11 *Mnestheus* | 14 *Aphydas* | 17 *Codrus*. |
| 4 *Erictbonius* | 8 *Pandion* II. | | | |

The Names of the thirteen *Archons* who succeeded these kings were,

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 *Medon* | the son of | *Codrus*. | 8 *Phereclus* | the son of | *Diagnetus*. |
| 2 *Accastus* | | *Medon*. | 9 *Aurithon* | | *Phereclus*. |
| 3 *Archyppus* | | *Accastus*. | 10 *Thespiæus* | | *Aurithon*. |
| 4 *Thersippus* | | *Archyppus*. | 11 *Agamestor* | | *Thespiæus*. |
| 5 *Phorbas* | | *Thersippus*. | 12 *Æschylus* | | *Agamestor*. |
| 6 *Megacles* | | *Phorbas*. | 13 *Alcmæon* | | *Æschylus*. |
| 7 *Diagnetus* | | *Megacles*. | | | |

1. *Cecrops* built the city of *Athens*, as we said before, married the daughter of *Actæus*, supposed to have been king of *Attica* before him, and in right of her, laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He is said to have been the first who deified *Jupiter*, and ordained sacrifices to be offered to him [f] as the supreme deity. He is

[c] Justin. lib. ii. 6. Achaic. Pausan. Achaic. [d] Thucydid. ubi supra. † Vid. Plutarch. in vit. Thes. [e] Diodor. Sic. lib. i. [f] Pausan. in Attic.

(D) Some authors, who make *Ogyges* to have been king of *Attica* at that time in which it was destroyed by the deluge which bears his name (4), place the foundation of this kingdom still further off, namely 200 years earlier. Who this *Ogyges* was is not easy to guess: Some make him an *Egyptian*, and some an *Arcadian*: Some think he reigned in *Attica*, and others at *Thebes*. Under this uncertainty we chuse to date the foundation of the kingdom from *Cecrops*, who, if *Ogyges* had really reigned there, may at least be reckoned the restorer of it, and the person from whom the succession of *Attic* princes is derived.

We must own however that according to this supposition of his being the first founder of the kingdom, those of *Thebes* and *Sparta* will stand foremost in point of antiquity, though in no other respect; but this is not worth inverting the order we gave them at first in our plan of this work.

This *Cecrops* is feigned by the poets to have been partly man and partly serpent or dragon (5), that is, according to *Justin* (6), because he was the first that coupled male and female in matrimony, or, according to *Demosthenes*, and the rest of the vain *Grecians*, because he had the wisdom of a man, and the strength of a dragon, or came a dragon or barbarian out of *Egypt*, and polished himself into a man in *Greece*; but more probably, either as he was the first institutor of marriage, or because he understood the *Egyptian* and *Greek* tongues. Some authors have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the *Red-Sea* with *Pharaoh*'s host, in whose time he lived.

(4) *De hoc vid. Hellanic. Castor. Thal. Polybist. Euseb. & al. Apolled. l. ii.* (5) *lib. ii. c. i.* (6) *Euseb. Chron. vid. Polybist. Rawleigh. Heyl. & al.*

likewise

a likewise affirmed to have been the first who set up altars and idols, offered sacrifices, and instituted marriage among the *Grecians*, who before his time it seems, lived promiscuously, and coupled as their fancy led them. *Pausanias* tells us that he forbid sacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any sort of offerings, except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the *Athenians Pelanous*, and in *Greek* Βοῦς, which signifies likewise an ox. This led *Eusebius* into the mistake which we find in the first book of his chronicle, where he affirms that *Cecrops* was the first who sacrificed an ox to *Jupiter*; whereas that creature, so esteemed by the *Athenians* on account of its serviceableness in agriculture, was not sacrificed by them till the time of *Erectheus*, who offered one to *Jupiter Polieus*, or protector of the city; and then *Pausanias* tells us that b the priest who knocked it down, being seized with horror at the fact, flung his hatchet down and fled out of *Attica*. From *Cecrops* the *Athenians* affected to call themselves *Cecropidæ*, during the five following reigns, after which they changed it for that of *Erectbydæ*, in honour of *Erectheus* their sixth monarch. *Cecrops* reigned fifty years, according to *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*, and left only three daughters, *viz. Herse*, *Aglauros*, and *Pandrosos*, of whom we shall speak in a following note. As for his son *Erysicthon*, he died before his father. So that after *Cecrop*'s death, *Cranaus*, one of the wealthiest citizens of *Athens*, and in the greatest credit, found means to ascend the *Attic* throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters.

2. *Cranaus* enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having Cranaus. c unfortunately married one of his daughters named *Attis* to *Amphictyon* the son of *Deucalion*, was by him dethroned and forced to retire into the city of *Lamprea*, where he led a private life to the last, and where the *Lampreans* shewed his tomb. From his daughter *Attis* the country, till then called *Actæa*, took the name of *Attica*.

3. *Amphictyon* (E) after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the last quoted Amphictyon. authors, twelve years, was himself deposed, and outed by

4. *Erichthonius*, who was the reputed son of *Vulcan* and *Tethys* (F). He is said to Erichthonius. have been the first inventor of coaches, being lame of his feet: He reigned fifty years.

5. *Pandion* the son of *Erichthonius*, and father of *Progne* and *Philomela*; whose hard Pandion. fate, so famous among the poets, is supposed to have broke his heart after he had d reigned about forty years.

6. *Erectheus*, *Pandion*'s son, was reckoned the most powerful prince of his time; Erectheus. wherefore *Boreas* king of *Thrace*, who sought his alliance, demanded his daughter *Orithia* in marriage, and being denied, carried her away by force. *Erectheus*, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle against the *Eleusians*. He left several sons, who equally contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the decision to their brother-in-law *Xuthus*, who adjudged the kingdom to *Cecrops*, who was the eldest. For this the other two brothers bore *Xuthus* such ill-will, that they forced him to fly their country, whither he had taken refuge, when driven from *Thessaly* by his brethren.

e 7. *Cecrops* II. the eldest son of *Erectheus*: this prince is generally allowed to have Cecrops II. been the first who gathered the people into twelve towns, who had till then lived in houses and cottages, scattered here and there, without order or regular distance; but he was after forty years reign, outed the kingdom by his two discontented brethren *Metion* and *Pandorus*, and forced to fly into *Ægialea*, and died there.

8. *Pandion* II. the son of *Cecrops* II. was likewise driven out of *Athens* by the sons of Pandion II. his uncle *Metion*, who took the administration for some time. *Pandion* fled into *Megara*, where *Pylas* then reigning gave him his daughter *Pelia*, and afterwards made him his successor. During his abode there he had four sons, with whom he came into *Athens* (G),

[1] Apollod. l. iii. c. 3.

(E) Not that who was the first institutor of the court of the *Amphictyons* or common council of *Greece*, but his uncle.

(F) He is feigned by the poets to have sprung *ex spermate Vulcani in terram delapso*, by the assistance of *Minerva* who also brought him up. The fable adds, that she having one day laid the child in a covered coffer, gave it in charge to *Cecrops*'s three daughters, with express orders not to open it upon any account *Pandrosos* obeyed the goddess; but her two sisters, more curious than she, having ventured to open it, were immediately taken with such a phrensy, or, according to the fabulous phrase, so tormented with furies, that they flung themselves down the steepest place of the citadel, and ended their lives.

(G) It is indeed much more likely that he never returned into *Athens*, but that after his sons were grown up, he sent them to recover that kingdom from the *Metionidæ*, so that having all shared alike the danger, they thought it reasonable to share alike in the conquest.

The space therefore of twenty-five years allowed by chronologists (7) to their father's reign, seems rather designed to mark the interval of the interregnum or usurpation from *Cecrops*'s expulsion to his grandson *Ægeus*'s reign.

(7) *Pausan. Apoll. ut i supra. Plutarch. in vit. Thes.*

whence

whence he expelled the sons of *Metion*, and after he had reigned a short time, a either left the kingdom among his four sons, or they agreed to divide it among themselves after his death; notwithstanding which the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldest[h] *Ægeus*.

9. *Ægeus*, when he came to the crown, finding himself despised by his subjects, because he could get no children by his wives, and sometimes insulted by his brother *Pallas*, who by that time had got no less than fifty sons besides daughters, went to consult the *Delphic* oracle, and was answered that he must forbear the use of women till his return into *Athens*[i]. This puzzling answer forced him to apply himself to *Pittheus* king of *Troezen*, who was then famed for his extraordinary wisdom and skill in expounding oracles, where this prince easily prevailed with him to lie with his b daughter *Æthra*, whom he got with child. As none but these three were privy to the secret, *Ægeus*, before his return to *Athens*, hid a sword and a pair of shoes under a stone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princess, that if the child proved a boy, she should send him to *Athens* with those tokens, as soon as he was able to lift up the stone. He charged her moreover to use all imaginable secrecy, lest the sons of his brother *Pallas*, getting knowledge of it, should way-lay and murder him in his way to *Athens*.

*Æthra* being soon after delivered of a son, *Pittheus* gave out that *Neptune* was the father of it; and when he was sixteen years old, she brought him to the stone, which she saw him lift up with ease, upon which she discovered to him the whole secret c of his parentage, bid him take up the sword and shoes, and prepare himself to go to his father. Both she and *Pittheus* however advised him to go by sea, alledging that since *Hercules*'s departure, who had been the great scourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again so infested with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. *Theseus*, this was the young prince's name, who had by that time shewed uncommon marks of courage and strength, no sooner heard *Hercules* named upon such an occasion, than he was fired with a desire to imitate so noble a pattern; so that all their intreaties could not dissuade him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his way to *Athens* having no connection with either his father's reign or his own, may be best seen in the margin (H). d

Whilst *Theseus* was still at *Troezen*, his father laboured under no small perplexities from his subjects and his haughty brother; and an accident happened which had almost driven him to despair. *Androgeus* the son of *Minos*, king of *Crete*, who was come to *Athens* to be present at one of their feasts, had unhappily contracted such an intimacy with the fifty sons of *Pallas*, that the jealous old king, fearing some fatal consequence from it, had caused that prince to be privately murdered. Others say that that young prince having undertaken to encounter the *Marathonian* bull, was killed by it. However that be, *Minos* having received the news of his son's death, and made several vain attempts to revenge it on the *Athenians*, prayed to the gods to do it for him; upon which the *Athenians* were punished with pestilence, e famine, and several other plagues; and were told by the oracle that they must expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the *Cretan* king. *Minos*, resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed a yearly tribute upon them of seven young men, and seven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur* (I), during the space of seven[k], or according to others nine years[l], these

[h] Pausan. Apollod. ubi supra. [i] Plutarch. in vit. Thes. [k] Diodor. ubi supra. [l] Plutarch. ubi supra.

(H) His first encounter after he left *Troezen*, was with *Periphetes* the son of *Vulcan*, firnamed also *Corynetes*, or *Club-bearer*, from the club he used to fight with, whom he slew in single combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next he overcame was *Sinnis* the son of *Polyphemon*, firnamed *Pityocamptes*, from his bending the heads of two tall pines, and tying passengers between the opposite branches, which by their sudden return, did tear them in pieces: him *Theseus* put to the same death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce *Cromyonian* sow called *Phæa*, which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for her thefts, murders, and lewdness.

*Sciron* a famous robber, who used to throw passengers down a steep rock, after he had made them wash his feet, fell the next victim to his valour. Having next signalized himself in the *Eleusian* games by killing *Cercyon* a famous *Arcadian* wrestler, he went to *Termione*, where he killed *Damastes*, otherwise called *Procrustes*, by distending his limbs to the length of his bed, as he used to do to those who unhappily fell into his hands.

Lastly, He went and fetched the famed bull of *Marathon* and brought him alive to *Athens*, where he sacrificed him to *Apollo* (8).

(I) Feigned by the poets to have been half man and half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Pasiphe Minos*'s queen; and who as soon as born, was by the king's

(8) *Philochor. ap. Hind. Hist. Græc. lib.* i.

a these unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot, and what heightened the people's murmurs was, that *Ægeus*, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person who was exempt from the punishment.

It was now the third time that *Minos* had sent his bloody messengers to exact the tribute, when *Theseus*, having performed all those glorious exploits abovementioned, was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received some years before into his court the famous inchantress *Medea*, in her flight from *Corinth*, and had been deluded with hopes that she would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children; had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. *Theseus*, whose birth was a secret to every one there, was soon discovered by *Medea*, b who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she easily filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger, and to poison him in a glass of wine. As soon as they were sat at table, *Theseus*, willing to give his father an agreeable surprize, did happily draw his sword, as if he designed to help himself with it, which the old king no sooner saw, than he hasted to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, he owned him for such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of *Theseus*, did so quash the sanguine hopes of *Pallas* and his sons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were soon after disconfited by him.

c After this *Theseus*, who resolved at any rate to deliver his father's country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, having encouraged his old father with hopes of killing the *Minotaur*, went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims, and embarking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two sails, the one black to sail by, and the other white, to be hoisted up at their return, in case he came off victorious. At their arrival at *Crete* he offered himself to *Minos*, and demanded the liberty to fight the *Minotaur*, or rather his champion *Taurus*, in single combat, which the king did the more readily grant, because he had some just reason to suspect that his queen, a woman of no singular chastity, had some criminal commerce with him. *Theseus* after this, had all the success he could wish: he killed his enemy, released all the *Athenian* captives, prevailed upon *Minos* to remit the tribute, d and obtained his daughter *Ariadne* in marriage, not indeed with her father's consent; but she having been an eye-witness of his valour, and address in the late fight, conceived such a passion for him, that she resolved to run away with him. He left her however in the isle of *Naxos*: and some add that after the conquest of the *Minotaur*, *Minos* fell in love with *Peribea*, one of the seven virgins which *Theseus* had brought with him, and would have detained her. *Theseus* strenuously opposed it, which so exasperated the *Cretan* king, that among other ill language which he gave him, he told him that he was not the son of *Neptune*, unless he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the sea. *Theseus* immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which *Amphitrite* had put upon his head. *Minos* however would not e be pacified without *Peribea*, and *Theseus* still persisting in his denial, was by his order cast into the labyrinth, in which the *Minotaur* used to be kept; but he stayed not long there, before *Ariadne* furnished him with a clue, by the help of which he extricated himself out of it, and setting out with his fleet for *Athens*, left *Ariadne* behind at the island above-mentioned, where *Bacchus* fell in love with her, and carried her off, whilst *Theseus* sailed homewards towards *Athens*. Unfortunately for them and for *Ægeus*, their extraordinary joy for their late success, made them forget to display the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed; and the old king, who went from time to time to espie them from a high rock, observing the ship afar off, still hanging out its sable colours, doubted not but that his son had like the rest fallen f a victim to the *Minotaur*; and in a fit of sudden despair threw himself into the sea, which from him was since called the *Ægean* sea; so that when *Theseus* landed

king's order thrown into a labyrinth, and fed with human flesh: but more reasonably supposed to have been a man of great strength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been surnamed *Taurus* or *Bull*. He seems also to have been in great power at the *Cretan* court, either for his constant victories at the games which *Minos* had instituted in memory of his son, or for some other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature; upon which account it may be reasonably supposed, that all the *Athenian* captives in particular were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told (9) that he was grown to such a height of insolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king also, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

(9) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

at *Athens* he found the city divided between grief for *Ægeus*'s death, and joy for a
the safe return of his valiant son and successor. *Ægeus* reigned forty years.

10. *Theseus* was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great *Hercules*, to spend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom; so that he began, upon his first accession to it, to think how to divest himself of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of *Attica* into the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this he divested himself of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianship of their laws. The rest he committed to proper magistrates, chosen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, husbandmen, and artificers. The first he b
invested with the power of interpreting and executing the laws, and regulating all things that related to religion. The other two chose their inferior magistrates from among themselves, to take care of whatever related to their separate orders: so that the kingdom was in some measure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greatest post; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority; the husbandmen had the greatest profit; and the artist excelled them in number. He instituted two annual festivals, the *Panathenæa*, in memory of the *Athenians* being now united into one, and that called *Metœcia*, besides the famous *Isthmian* games, in honour of *Neptune*, which we have mentioned formerly, and were so called from the *Isthmus* in which they were celebrated. All these were chiefly designed to draw c
a concourse of strangers thither, and as a further encouragement for them to come and settle there, he endowed them with the privileges of natives. He likewise abolished all their distinct courts of judicature, and built one common-council-hall, called *Prytaneum*, a sumptuous building which stood for many ages [m]. We observed before, that the *Athenian* money was stamped with an ox; this coin was supposed to have had that figure, either in memory of *Theseus*'s killing the bull of *Marathon*, or the *Minotaur*, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was most subservient.

After he had thus new modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of *Megara* to his own in right of his grandfather *Pandion* the second, who had succeeded *Pylus* his father-in-law, as we have seen above. It was then that *Theseus* erected that famous pillar in the *Isthmus*, which shewed the limits of the two countries which met there, and which had this inscription on the one side, *This is not* Peloponnesus *but* Ionia; and on the other, *This is* Peloponnesus *not* Ionia. What we read concerning his two expeditions against the *Amazons*, is so blended with fable, so differently related [n], and so uncertain, that we shall give it in a short note, because they do not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of *Athens* (K).

Sometime after these expeditions, *Theseus* contracted an intimacy with *Pirithous* the son of *Ixion*, and being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great num- e
ber of *Centaurs*, or rather *Thessalian* horsemen, as we shall see in the sequel, who in their cups had offered violence to their female guests; and drove the rest out of the country. These two went from thence to *Sparta*, and stole away the famed *Helena* out of the temple of *Diana Ortia*, where she happened to be a dancing [o]. This princess was the reputed daughter of *Jupiter*, by *Leda* the wife of *Tyndarus* king of *Œbalia* in *Peloponnesus*; and though then but nine years old was already famed for the greatest beauty in the world; insomuch that *Theseus*, though then, as is reckoned,

[m] Plutarch. ubi supra. Vid. & Thucydid. l. ii. [n] Conf. Herodot. Plutarch. & Meurs. in Thes. Justin. l. ii. c. 4. [o] Plutarch. ubi supra. Apollod. Pausan. in Attic.

(K) The first expedition was only undertaken in favour of *Hercules*, whose companion in all such exploits *Theseus* always affected to be. As a reward therefore for his assistance, that victorious hero gave him *Antiope* one of the *Amazonian* queens whom he had taken prisoner. *Justin* says, *Hippolyte* the other queen, and that *Hercules* kept *Antiope* for himself.

However this gave occasion to a second expedition, in which some affirm that the *Amazons* made a descent into *Attica*, to recover their lost queen, having with them besides their own forces obtained a powerful supply of horsemen from *Sagillus* king of *Scythia*, with his son *Panasagorus* at their head, who did afterwards upon some misunderstanding withdraw his troops, and left them in the lurch. Others say that *Theseus* went and attacked them near the *Caspian* sea: however they all agree that he gained the victory over them, and that in one of these two expeditions, he took the queen *Hippolyte*, whom he afterwards married. After this the *Amazons* were forced to clap up a peace with the *Athenians*, and these either in memory of this or of their late victory, erected a pillar near the temple of *Tellus Olympia*.

above

a above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof against her charms. However, the time and place, and circumstances of this rape are variously reported, we have followed *Plutarch*'s account of it as the most allowed. According to him the two ravishers were pursued as far as *Tegea*; but they happily made their escape out of *Peloponnesus*, and thinking themselves now secure of their prey; they agreed to cast lots for her, upon condition that he to whose lot she fell, should help the other in getting some other celebrated beauty in lieu of her; and fortune having declared for *Theseus*, he assisted his companion in the like attempt upon *Proserpina*, daughter of *Aidonius* king of the *Molossi* in *Epirus*, who being the next beauty to *Helena*, was guarded by the dog *Cerberus*, and was not to be won, but by the death of that mon-
b ster. However, when the king understood that they designed to steal her away, he threw *Pirithous* to be torn in pieces by *Cerberus*, and *Theseus* into prison, from which he was afterwards released at the intercession of *Hercules*.

During his absence *Mnestheus* the son of *Peteus*, grandchild of *Erechtheus*, had taken care to ingratiate himself so far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned, he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war which *Castor* and *Pollux* waged against him for the recovery of their sister *Helena*, raised a more powerful faction against him: and as soon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, *Mnestheus* harangued the citizens, and told them that since their quarrel was only against *Theseus*, their safest way was to open their gates to
c them, and *Theseus* finding it impossible to resist the torrent, conveyed himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard (L.) His design was to have sailed into *Crete*, and to have obtained either a succour or sanctuary there, from *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*, and his now brother-in-law (M); but he was unfortunately cast by a tempest upon the island of *Scyros*. Here he was at first kindly received by king *Lycomedes*, but was soon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the 40th year of his reign. Some say that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or as is most likely, at the instigation of his *Athenian* rival, threw him headlong down that precipice, tho' others say, that that place being
d his usual walk after supper, his foot unfortunately slipt in the dark. We omit for brevity sake many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may more fully find in *Plutarch*'s life of him. All we shall add here is, that the *Athenians* did sometime after dedicate a temple to him, and that *Cimon* the famous son of *Miltiades* did raze the whole island of *Scyros* in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to *Athens*, after he had, by the advice of the oracle been at a great deal of pains to find them out.

11. *Mnestheus* or *Menestheus*, was the son of *Peteus*, and great grandson of *Erectheus*, the sixth king of *Athens*, and consequently had a better right to the crown than *Theseus*, whose father was uncertain, and who was at best but the son of
e *Ægeus*, and this but the adopted son of *Pandion*, as we have seen above. Whilst therefore *Theseus* was either pursuing his amours, or was imprisoned for the rape of *Proserpine*, it was easy for his rival to persuade the *Athenians* to raise him to the throne. What gave him another lift to it was, that *Castor* and *Pollux*, taking the advantage of *Theseus*'s confinement, came and besieged *Aphidne*, a town in *Attica*, where he had sent his mother and his wife *Helena*; and these two heroes having taken and rescued their sister, out of revenge to her ravisher, helped his competitor to mount the throne.

(L) The ungrateful *Athenians*, who expressed more joy for their new king, than grief for their old one, were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that to appease his ghost they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecation against them, was from thenceforth called *Aratherion*, or the place of cursing (10).

(M) *Theseus* had a son by the *Amazonian* queen, named *Hippolytus*, and having soon after married *Phædra* the sister of *Deucalion* the son and successor of *Minos*, by whom he had two sons; he sent *Hippolytus* to be brought up by his own mother *Æthra* queen of *Troezen*; but he coming afterwards to be present at some *Athenian* games, *Phædra* fell in love with him, and having sollicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment, accused him to *Theseus* of having made an attempt upon her. The fable says that *Theseus* prayed to *Neptune* to punish him by some violent death, and that as *Hippolytus* was riding along the sea-shore, *Neptune* sent two sea-calves who frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add that the lustful queen hanged herself for grief, but as for *Hippolytus*, *Diana* being taken with his chastity, and pitying the sad fate it had brought upon him, prevailed upon *Æsculapius* to restore him to life, to be a companion of her diversions.

(10) *Plutarch. in Thes.*

*Menestheus*

*Menestheus* being thus chosen, was in no great care about the sons of *Theseus*, a but dreaded his known valour, in case he should ever get into his dominions again. To prevent which, he prevailed so far upon the *Athenians*, what with gifts and caresses, that they would not suffer him to come into *Attica*. And as soon as he heard that he was retired into the island of *Scyros*, he prevailed on *Lycomedes* to dispatch him by the stratagem we lately mentioned. *Menestheus* reigned twenty-four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the siege of *Troy*, where having lost his life, the kingdom of *Athens* returned again to the *Thesean* line.

12. *Demophon* one of the sons of *Theseus* by *Phedra*, succeeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the *Athenian* forces that were before *Troy*. He was one of those that came back safe from that siege: in his return he landed in *Thrace*, b where *Phyllis* king *Lycurgus*'s daughter entertained him for some time at bed and board. Upon his departure he promised to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the *Ephetæ*, consisting originally of fifty *Athenians*, and as many *Argivi*, for trying of wilful murders, and lying in wait to kill. The occasion of erecting this court, and of the *Argives* being admitted to sit as judges in it, was as follows: *Agamemnon*, others say *Diomedes*, returning with his forces from *Troy*, were driven one night into an *Athenian* port called *Phalerus*, and thinking themselves in an enemy's country, began their usual trade of ravaging and plundering, upon which the surprised *Athenians* fell upon them and killed a considerable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium c upon the ground among the slain, by which they knew that they were their friends the *Argives*. The oracle having been consulted, ordered them to give the slain an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple upon it, and dedicate it to *Minerva*, and to set up the palladium in it. Immediately after this it was ordered that this court should be erected to try all cases of murder, manslaughter, and chance-medly. It consisted of fifty members who were to be above fifty years old, men of sense and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its first setting up, *Agamemnon* insisting that there should be an equal number of *Athenians* and *Argives* to sit in it, the *Athenians* readily granted it. *Demophon* submitted himself afterwards to be tried by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his d subjects by the turn of his horse, as he was coming from *Troy*. It subsisted a considerable time in the same form; but *Draco*, one of their *Archons*, new modelled it, excluded the *Argives* out of it, and made it consist of fifty-one *Athenians*, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age[p]. *Demophon* reigned thirty-three years, and was succeeded by his son, or according to others his brother.

13. *Oxyntes* who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his son.

14. *Aphydas*, who was murdered by *Thymætes* in the first year of his reign.

15. *Thymætes* the bastard son of *Oxyntes*, betrayed his base nature in many things besides the murder of *Aphydas*, by which he got the crown. We shall only mention the last instance of it which justly bereaved him of it. He had reigned about eight e years when *Xanthus* king of *Bœotia* had a contest with him about one of their frontier towns. *Xanthus* offered to decide the matter in single combat, and *Thymætes* as cowardly declined it. It happened that *Melanthus* a noble *Messenian*, who had been driven out of his country by the *Heraclidæ*, was come to *Athens* about this time, and offered to answer the chartel. Upon their very first onset *Melanthus* called to his adversary, and asked him why he brought a second along with him contrary to their articles, and whilst *Xanthus* turned about to see who followed him, he ran him through with his lance[q]. This victory, though it was more owing to his cunning than bravery, did so please the *Athenians*, that they not only deposed their pusillanimous king, who was the last of the line of *Erechtheus*, and set their *Mycenian* champion upon the throne; but instituted a feast in memory of this action, f and called it *Apatheria* from the stratagem that gave occasion to it[r].

16. *Melanthus*, as soon as he had mounted the throne, persuaded the *Athenians* to receive the banished *Messenians* and *Nestoridæ*, and after a reign of thirty-seven years left the kingdom to his worthy son *Codrus*[s].

17. *Codrus* reigned about twenty-one years, during which time the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ* had regained all *Peloponnesus* and were entering into *Attica*. *Codrus* was informed

[p] Euseb. Chron. lib. i. [q] Vid. Frontin. Stratag. lib. ii. c. 5. [r] Polyen. Stratag. l. i. c. 9. [s] Pausan. Achaic.

that

a that the oracle had promised them victory provided they did not kill the king of the *Athenians*, and that they had taken all proper precautions against it; but he, who had resolved to sacrifice his life to the safety of his kingdom, took this method to elude them: he disguised himself like a peasant, went into his camp, fell a quarrelling with some of the *Athenian* soldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceased not fighting till he was killed. On the morrow when they found who he was, they were so terrified, that they decamped without striking a blow [1].

WITH *Codrus* ended the regal succession and title of kings of *Athens*. His subjects conceived such veneration for that magnanimous prince, that they esteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of b the estates to elective magistrates, to whom they gave the title of *Archons*, and chose *Medon* the eldest son of *Codrus* to that new dignity. His election however was opposed by his brother *Nileus*, who pretended he could not submit to *Medon*'s authority, because he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it [2], all the *Archons* that succeeded him were from him sirnamed *Medontidæ*, because they were all chosen by succession: so that the *Athenian* government continued in the family of *Codrus* under twelve perpetual *Archontes*, somewhat above the space of two-hundred years.

THEIR names need not be repeated here, having added them to the list of the *Athenian* kings: neither shall we dwell upon the transactions which happened under c each several archonship; this epocha having proved very unactive and barren, except that the people, always fond of a change, did shew from time to time their dislike to that dignity being made perpetual, as having too near a resemblance to monarchy, and giving its possessor too great a handle to tyrannize over them. They began to give some marks of their discontent under their first *Archon*. *Attica* had enjoyed so much quiet during a long season, that it swarmed with exiles and foreigners, who flocked thither from other parts which are more harrassed with wars, so that they were forced to discharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coasts of *Lesser Asia*. Upon the very first of these expeditions *Nileus* and the rest of *Codrus*'s sons, who could not brook to be under their brother *Medon*, drew d a great number of *Athenians* to them, joined with the *Ionians* and *Thebans*, and left *Athens* for *Lesser Asia*, where they dispersed themselves in different parts, and founded the twelve following cities, viz. *Ephesus*, *Miletum*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myus*, *Teos*, *Lebedos*, *Clazomenæ*, *Erithræ*, *Phocea*, *Chios* in the isle of that name, and *Samos*. These were at first each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became afterwards very famous, as will be seen in due time.

THIS perpetual archonship however upheld itself so long, in spight of the people's dislike to it, that it passed through thirteen hands, from *Medon* the son of *Codrus*, to *Alcmon* the last who bore that dignity; but the people at length, impatient to put an end to it, took the advantage of his short reign, which lasted but two e years, to clip the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years: so that *Charops* the son of *Æschylus*, was forced to accept of it upon those terms or none. This change happened about the begining of the seventh olympiad, and in the year of the world 3252, the year in which *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* was born. *Year of the flood, 2247. Before Christ, 752.* This new decennial dignity had scarce passed through four hands, before they began again to call for a fresh reduction of it; for *Hippomenes* the last of *Codrus*'s line, in whose archonship this tumult happened, had scarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the people, and more particularly to his son and daughter (N), caused him to be deposed. However they did not then gain their point; it continued still through three different hands, till at length *Eryxias* the last of them f either dying, or being deposed in the last year of his archonship, the *Athenians* appointed new archontes to be chosen from among the most considerable citizens for birth, wealth and interest, and voted that dignity annual from thenceforth. From that time their government dwindled into a downright democracy, which *Solon* did afterwards new-model and confirm, as we shall see in the next chapter.

[1] JUST. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 6.

[2] CASTOR. ap. EUSEB. ubi supra.

(N) He caused his son to be torn in pieces by horses for adulery, and his daughter he shut up with a horse without food, to be devoured alive, for having suffered herself to be debauched by a citizen. In memory of this barbarous punishment, *Suidas* (11) tells us there was a place in the city called Ἱππο-κῆς κόρης, *Hippo kai-Kyres*, in memory of the horse and the young lady.

(11) *Sub voc.* ἱππομανής.

## SECT. IV.

### *The history of the ancient kingdoms of* Bœotia *and* Thebes.

*Ancient names.* WE find two ancient kingdoms called by the name of *Bœotia*, the one, and by far a the more ancient and considerable of the two, founded or rather restored by *Cadmus*, and named by him *Bœotia* from the ox which is said to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of *Thebes*. The other was in *Thessaly*, and is said to have been founded by *Bœotus* the son of *Neptune*, and brother of *Æolus*, by *Arne* the daughter of *Æolus* king of *Æolis*. This last having sent his daughter to *Metapontium* a city of *Italy*, she was there delivered of those two sons, the eldest of whom she called after her father's name *Æolus*; and he possessed himself of the islands in the *Tyrrhenian*, now *Tuscan* sea, and built the city of *Lipara*. *Bœotus* the younger son went to his grandfather and succeeded him in his kingdom, and called it by his own b name, and the capital city *Arne* from his mother. All that we know of these is, that they held this settlement upwards of two-hundred years, and that the *Thessalians* did expel them from it, and forced them to seek for a new one; upon which they came and possessed themselves of that country which had been till then called *Cadmeis*, and gave it the name of *Bœotia*. *Diodorus* and *Homer* tell us that these *Bœotians* did signalize themselves at the *Trojan* war, and the latter adds, that five of *Bœotus*'s grandsons, *Peneleus*, *Leitus*, *Prothoenor*, *Arcesilaus*, and *Clonius*, were the five chiefs who led their *Bœotian* troops thither.

ACCORDING therefore to *Diodorus**, this last country, though founded into a kingdom, at least ever since the time of *Cadmus*, was not called *Bœotia* till the c banished sons of *Bœotus* gave it that name, about three-hundred years after the building of *Thebes*; but the most current account, especially among the poets is, that this name had been given to it by *Cadmus* himself in memory of the ox, by whom he had been directed thither, according to the command of the oracle (A). However it is owned that it had had several other names, according to those of its supposed founders: those who ascribed it to *Ogyges* called both it and its capital *Ogygia*; others called it *Cadmeis* from *Cadmus*, *Aonia* from *Aon* the son of *Neptune*, and *Hyanthis* from *Hyas* the son of *Atlas*; but the far greater part say it was originally called *Calydna* from *Calydnus*, the first founder of the capital and kingdom; that province is now called *Stramulippa*, and *Thebes* its ancient capital, *Stibes* or *Stives*. d

*Geography.* IT bordered on the east to *Attica*, and was in time joined to it, as we have seen in the last article, and was parted from it by the mountain *Citheron*. On the north by the streight *Euripus*, now called the *Negroponte*, said to flow seven times in twenty-four hours, or rather, according to *Livy*, supposed to do so, because its tides are boisterous and uncertain. On the west it had the kingdom of *Phocis*, and on the south the gulph of *Corinth*. Its utmost extent from east to west was 1 deg. 10 min. and near the same length from north to south; but coming near to a point east-

*Natural rarities.* ward*. Here is the large lake *Copais* about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two considerable rivers which water the far greater part of the country eastward. These are the *Asopus*, which divided the territories of *Thebes* e from those of the *Plateans*, and running through those of *Attica* falls into the *Ægean* sea; and the *Ismenus*, which empties itself into the *Euripus* abovementioned. The country is partly hilly, especially *Aonia* properly so called; the rest is low and flat, abounding with excellent pasturage; but whose air is so thick and foggy, that *Horace* thought it the occasion of the inhabitants being such famous dunces.

* Bibl. lib. iv. * STRAB. MEL. & al.

(A) The fable goes, that *Cadmus* tired with going in search of his sister *Europa*, whom *Jupiter*, in the shape of a bull, or as is supposed, in a ship, which had a bull painted on the deck, had carried into *Crete*, was advised by the oracle of *Delphos* to follow the track of the first ox he saw, and where he rested himself to build there the city of *Thebes*, which he did accordingly (1).

(1) *Pausan. in Bœot. & al.*

PLACES

a PLACES of note in *Bœotia*, were; 1. The *Trophonian* cave (B), and the oracle said to have been there given by *Jupiter*, whence he was firnamed *Trophonius*. 2. *Thespia*, a town situate on the river of that name, and shadowed on the north by the famous *Helicon*, whence the muses to which these were dedicated, were called *Thespiades*. 3. *Aulis*, a sea-port on the *Negropont*, famous for being the place where the *Grecian* chiefs swore the destruction of *Troy*. 4. The famed streights of the mountain *Oeta*, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the streights of *Thermophilæ* from the hot waters in that neighbourhood; but the most famed place was the city of *Thebes*, situate near the river *Isinenus*, and firnamed *Heptapylos* from its seven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cadmus*, b as we observed before, and to have been made by him the capital of the *Bœotian* kingdom, from which his successors, who did adorn it with many stately temples, palaces, and other sumptuous buildings, some of whom we shall have occasion to mention by and by, were also called kings of *Thebes* [b]. *Places of note.*

THE government was altogether monarchical like those we have seen already, but perhaps more despotic here than in the rest, and having no other laws than the kings's will; some of whom governed more like tyrants than natural monarchs. We have nothing left of their ancient customs, except what *Plutarch* tells us in his morals, of their manner of introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought thither in a kind of chariot or cart, the axle-tree c of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to understand that she was fixed with her husband for life, and must not expect to return to her parents. The foundation of this ancient kingdom, we shall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by *Cadmus*, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period, and concerning which, whether we make *Ogyges* or any other hero to have reigned in *Bœotia*, we cannot gather any light from even what we have left out of the fable writers. Even the times which elapsed between *Cadmus*, and the celebrated war between the two contending sons of *Œdipus*, and which is the most ancient piece of history that we have of all *Greece*, are so stuffed with the vilest and most absurd fables of gods turned into satyrs and devils, and of men turned into d monsters of cruelty and lust, that we hope we shall be excused for skipping over all that has not some affinity with the history itself. The time in which chronologists place the rape of *Europa* being about the year of the world 2550 [c], and of the flood 1545, the rebuilding of *Thebes* may be supposed to have been within a very few years after. From thence to the time of its being totally destroyed by the *Epigoni* it had stood above 230 years, under the government of eleven kings, two whereof were not of the *Cadmean* race, but usurpers. After this there reigned in *Thebes* two kings more of the race of *Œdipus*, and three of the race of *Peneleus* the great grandson of *Bœotus*. Besides these we find *Homer* mentioning *Etion* as king of *Thebes*. We have spoken of him in another place †, and shall omit him here in our list, because it doth e not appear that he was of the *Cadmean* race, nor is he mentioned by *Pausanias* among the *Theban* kings, though he may have signalized himself in the defence of that city. *Laws and customs.* *Chronology.* *Of the flood 1545.*

The LIST of the Kings of *Thebes*, according to our Author, is as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 *Cadmus* | *Lajus* restored. | 12 *Tisamenes* |
| 2 *Polydorus* | 7 *Œdipus* | 13 *Autesion* |
| 3 *Labdacus* | 8 *Eteocles* and | 14 *Damasichton* |
| 4 *Lajus* | 9 *Polynices* | 15 *Ptolomeos* |
| 5 *Amphion* an usurper. | 10 *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*. | 16 *Xuthus* |
| 6 *Zethus* his brother. | 11 *Thersander* son of *Polynices*. | |

f After this last the *Thebans*, grown weary of kingly government, resolved themselves into a commonwealth, as shall be seen in the next chapter.

*Cadmus*, according to the *Greeks*, was the son of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, or, according to others, of *Tyre*; but according to the *Sidonians* his country men, he was no more than the king's cook: these add that his wife *Hermione* was likewise a mere

[b] PAUSAN. in Bœot. [c] Vid. HIND. Hist. Græc. † Vol. II. p. 342. f.

(B) So called from an old soothsayer, who inhabited it, and used to be consulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many washings, anointing, and the like superstitious preparations. It is added that those who had once been in it, were never seen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was over melancholy, he has been in the *Trophonian* den.

minstrel

minstrel at court, with whom he ran away into *Greece* †. The former tells us a
that his father sending him and his two brothers in quest of *Europa*, had forbid them to return without her. *Cadmus* therefore, having sought her far and long in vain, and despairing of success, came into *Bœotia*, where, as we have seen above, he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of this new kingdom. He was at first opposed by the *Hyantes* and *Aones*, who were then in possession of that territory: the former he overcame in fight, and forced them to retire into *Locris*; but the latter he admitted, upon their submitting themselves to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people (C). Here he built the city of *Thebes*, and a citadel, which he called by his own name *Cadmea*[d], which name it retained many ages after. b

The fable adds, that when *Cadmus* married his wife *Hermione*, whom the poets make the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, the gods came to *Cadmus* and assisted at his wedding; and that he had by her one son named *Polydorus*, and four daughters, *Semele* the mother of *Bacchus* by *Jupiter* (D), *Ino Autonoe*, and *Agave*. After this the *Enchelæ*, who were at war with the *Illyrians*, being commanded by the oracle to chuse him their general, he left *Thebes* to his son *Polydorus*, and headed them; and here it was that he and his wife are feigned to have been turned into serpents (E), or, as some interpret it, to have degenerated from their pristine civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another son, whom he either called *Illyrius* from the name of the *Illyrians*, his new conquered subjects, or else that people took their c
name from him.

*Brings letters into* Greece.

*Cadmus* is universally allowed to have introduced the use of letters into *Greece* from *Phœnicia*. The alphabet at first had but sixteen letters, and was not compleated till a long time after. He also was the first that set up schools there: he taught them moreover trade and navigation, and brass had the name of *Cadmean* given it, in memory of his being the inventor of it, or rather of his introducing the use of it into those parts[e].

*Cadmus* being retired to *Illyrium*, as we have seen, left the *Theban* government to his son *Polydorus*, in whose reign his great favourite nephew *Pentheus*, the son of *Echion* by *Agave*, having had the insolence to profane the rites of *Bacchus*, was torn in pieces by his mother and sisters. *Polydorus*, whose son *Labdacus*, was as yet under d
age, when he found himself dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to *Nycteus*, whose daughter *Antiope* (F), the greatest beauty then in all *Greece*, being

† Vid. Athenæus. l. xiv. c. 22. [d] Pausan. ubi supra. [e] Vid. Herodot. l. v.

(C) Who and whence those people were whom *Cadmus* brought hither, is variously conjectured: some think that he and they came from *Thebais* in *Egypt* (2), and that he therefore gave that name to his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of *Phœnicians*; but we think *Bochart*'s conjecture (3) the most reasonable, that they were *Canaanites* driven out of their land by *Joshua*, whose time falls in with *Cadmus* exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the *Cadmonites* mentioned by *Moses* (4), who were the same with the *Hivites*, and were called *Cadmonim*, or *Easterlings*, because they inhabited mount *Hermon*, the most eastern part of *Canaan*, from which the same author supposes *Cadmus*'s wife to have been called *Hermione* or *Harmonia*.

The fable of these two being turned into serpents, he thinks to have sprung from their retaining their common name of *Hivites*, which in the *Syriac* signifies a serpent.

These conjectures are further confirmed by the name of his capital *Thebes*, for the above quoted book mentions a city of the same name in the land of *Canaan* (5), and written in the plural Θηβαι by *Josephus* (6): this is therefore a much more probable etymon, than that of those who derive it from *Theba* the daughter of *Prometheus* (7).

(D) The reason why the poets make *Cadmus* grandfather to *Bacchus*, is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into *Greece*: for it is intirely contrary to the chronology of those, who make *Bacchus* to be the same with *Nimrod*, and of those who make him the son of *Jupiter Ammon*, since in either opinion, he must have been vastly more ancient (8).

However *Bacchus* is feigned to have been the first who found out the use of wine, to have gone upon a three years expedition, at the head of an army of men and women into *India*, even to the utmost parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the *Barbarian* inhabitants of those parts: and lastly, to have returned in triumph upon an elephant (9).

(E) Another fable of him is, that having killed a great serpent, he strowed the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, and fell a fighting against each other till they were all killed except five; hence a dear-gotten victory came to be called *Victoria Cadmea*.

(F) This young princess who was married to *Zethus*, is supposed to have been carried off by her own consent, because her dying father gave him orders to punish her, if ever he got her into his hands. But when he had got her, and found that she was pregnant, he contented himself at first with divorcing her, though he was afterwards persuaded by his next wife to clap her into a prison, out of which she was afterwards released by her two sons (10).

(2) *Vid. Usser. an. sub. A. M.* 2549. (3) *Canaan. l.* i. *c.* 19. *See before, Vol. I. p.* 396. *& seq.* (4) *Gen.* xv. 19. (5) *c.* ix. 50. (6) *Ant. l.* v. *c* 5. (7) *Vid. Steph. Byzant. sub Thebæ.* (8) *Vid. Bochart. ubi supra, Ch.* xviii. (9) *Vid. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iv. (10) *Pausan. in Corinth. c.* v.

soon

a soon after carried off by *Epopeus* king of *Sicyon*, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother *Lycus*, whilst he undertook a war against the ravisher of his daughter. He went soon after him at the head of his *Theban* troops, and a bloody fight ensued, in which *Nycteus* received a mortal wound and lost the battle; upon which he caused himself to be brought back to *Thebes*, where he left once more his brother guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on *Epopeus*, and to rescue his daughter *Antiope*. In the mean time *Epopeus*, flushed with his victory (G), neglected a slight wound, which he had received, and which gave him his death some time after, and put an end to the war. *Lycus* recovered his niece, and as she was coming back to *Thebes*, she b fell in labour, and was delivered of two sons, *Amphion* and *Zethus* (H), of whom we shall have occasion to speak by-and-by.

3. Labdacus, *when of age, finding that* Laomedon, who had succeeded *Epopeus* in *Sicyon, was attacked by two powerful enemies*, Archandes *and* Architeles, *the sons of* Achæus, thought it a proper time to demand his aunt *Antiope* to be restored; and *Laomedon*, though then assisted by *Sicyon*, whom he had invited from *Athens* (I), yet chose rather to deliver up that princess, than to exasperate the *Theban* king by a refusal *. We have seen what reception she met with in a late note. *Labdacus* dying soon after, left his son *Lajus* and the government to the care of *Lycus*.

4. *Lajus* being then very young, *Amphion* and his brother *Zethus*, taking the ad- c vantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. *Lycus* having made it his first care to secure the person of the young prince, the only surviving one of the *Cadmean* race, went and gave battle to the invaders, and lost the day. *Amphion* seized the *Theban* crown, and called its metropolis, or at least the lower city, *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt by the mother's side (K), whilst the upper city or citadel retained its ancient name of *Cadmea*. It is to these two heroes that *Homer* attributes the inclosing and fortifying the former with a famous strong wall, with seven gates, and a number of stately towers at a convenient space from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long against the *Theban* forces (L). A grievous plague raged soon after which destroyed great d multitudes, and among the rest *Amphion* and his family. His brother *Zethus*, who succeeded him, fell under other misfortunes; his only son was killed by his own mother, the grief of which shortened his days, and gave the *Thebans* an opportunity of setting *Lajus* again upon his throne.

*Lajus* having married *Jocasta*, or, as she is called by others, *Epicaste*, the daughter of *Creon*, was forewarned by *Apollo*'s oracle, that if he had a son by her, he should be killed by him. *Œdipus* was the unhappy fruit of this marriage, whom *Lajus* there-

* Pausan. in Corinth. ch. vi.

(G) He is said to have built a temple to *Minerva*, as an acknowledgment for his late success, and that when it was finished, he prayed to the goddess, that if she accepted of it, she would shew some particular token of it; upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (11).

(H) These twins, *Homer* says (12), were begot, not by *Epopeus*, but by *Jupiter*, who fell in love with *Antiope*. The first exploit was to murder *Zethus* and his wife, and to rescue their mother out of her confinement. After this they seized on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we shall see in due time.

*Antiope* is also called *Nycteis* from her father *Nycteus*, and the ancient *Samotic* poet celebrates her in verses to this purpose; *That she had* Asopus *for her father*; Epopeus *and* Jupiter *for her gallants*; *and* Amphion *and* Zethus *for her sons* (13).

(I) Who, the *Sicyonians* say, was not the son of *Marathon*, the son of *Epopeus*, but of *Metion* the son of *Erectheus* (14). *Hesiod* makes him the son of *Erectheus*, and another of *Pelops* (15). We are all in the dark about it; the reader may see what we said of him in the second section of this chapter.

(K) Some pretend that she was one of the three daughters of the river *Asopus*, or rather of *Asopus* the *Philasian*, from whom that river had its name; but the *Bœotians* affirm that she was the daughter of *Asopus* the *Bœotian*, probably the same which was also called *Nycteus* the father of their mother *Antiope*, whom *Asius* above quoted calls *Asopus*.

(L) What the fable adds concerning the miraculous effects of *Amphion*'s lyre in the building of those walls, is so well known, that we need not say any thing further about it, than that *Amphion* had first brought music into *Greece*, from *Lydia* where he had learned it (16), and that it was so admired for its novelty and excellence, that he easily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilst he diverted them with the music of his harp; and probably also by his eloquence, which he was no less a master of, persuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live sociably and in community.

(11) *Id. ibid.* (12) *Odyss. l.* ii. (13) *Asius ap. Pausan. ubi supra.* (14) *Id. ibid.* (15) *Hyg. ap. eund.* (16) *Vid. Plin. lib.* vii. *Ch.* lvi. *Pausan. in Bœotic. & al.*

fore gave to a shepherd to be slain (M); but he, moved with compassion, left him a exposed in a place, where he was soon after taken up by the herdsman of, and presented to *Polybus* king of *Corinth*, who healed his feet, and from the swelling which the boring and anguish had left in them, called him *Œdipus*, and brought him up as his own[f]. When he came of age, and understood that he was not the son of the *Corinthian* king, he went to the oracle of *Delphos* to enquire after his parents, and at the same time *Lajus* led by his fate went likewise to enquire what was become of his son. They met at *Phocis*, and some scuffle happening between them, *Œdipus* unwittingly killed his father and went to *Thebes*, where he married his mother *Jocasta*, and obtained the kingdom, by expounding the *Sphinx*'s riddle (N). *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, were the unhappy fruit of their incestuous embraces (O). Some add that he b had also two daughters by her, but others say they were by another woman.

As soon as *Œdipus* was apprised, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and incest, the horror of his guilt threw him into such a fit of distraction, that he tore his own eyes out, and having cursed his unhappy posterity, was led by his daughter *Antigone* to *Attica*, where he took sanctuary in *Eumenides*'s grove, and soon after ended his miserable life. As for *Jocasta* she hanged herself for grief even before he left the kingdom.

His two sons, after his departure, agreed that each of them should reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other; but *Eteocles* having refused to resign, after he had reigned his year; *Polynices* went to *Argos*, where having c married *Adrastus*'s daughter, as we have seen in a former section, he ingaged that prince to assist him in the recovery of his right: these two came soon after with a powerful army, and besieged *Eteocles* at the seven gates of his capital. *Eteocles* at the same time put himself in the best posture of defence, and went and consulted an old blind *Theban* soothsayer about the success of the war; and was answered, that victory would infallibly fall on his side, if *Menecæus*, the son of *Creon*, and the last of the *Cadmean* race would voluntarily sacrifice himself to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of it, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city and sacrificed his life to the safety of his country[g]. This did not however prevent hostilities being carried on with the utmost fury, and with such terrible slaughter on both d sides, that it was at length agreed that the contending princes should decide the contest by single combat, which they did with such desperate fury, that both fell by each other's sword. The *Argives* ventured to give the *Thebans* a second battle, wherein both sides lost several of their brave commanders, and such a number of men, that though the latter got the victory, yet they were almost ruined by it. A treaty was then expostulated by the *Argivic* king for burying of their dead, but *Creon*, who had then taken the government upon him, was so exasperated against them, that he not only absolutely refused it, but caused the princess *Antigone* to be buried alive, because she had caused the body of her brother *Polynices* to be decently interred. For this cruel deed he was soon after killed by *Theseus*, who came with an army against him, e and obliged the *Thebans* to permit the *Argives* to bury the slain, as we have seen elsewhere.

[f] Conf. Plutarch. in Thes. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. Pausan. ubi supra. Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. & al.
[g] Id. ibid. Vid. & Cicer. Stat. & al.

(M) Or according to others to have his feet bored, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beasts.

(N) This was a mischievous monster, which infested the neighbourhood of *Thebes*: it had a face and body like a dog, and destroyed all the passengers that could not expound her riddle. *Creon* the father of *Jocasta*, ruled then at *Thebes*, and having consulted the oracle, was answered, that there would be no end of this mischief till somebody gave her a solution; whereupon he caused it to be proclaimed through *Greece*, that the man that expounded it should have *Jocasta* to wife; and *OEdipus* proved the person who gained the fatal prize, and from that incestuous marriage had the two sons who were the occasion of this bloody war.

(O) This is at least the account which all the ancient poets except *Homer* have left us of it, probably to inhance the horror of that marriage, and to raise the greater compassion for that unhappy couple, and their progeny; but *Homer* on the contrary, who introduces *Ulysses*, saying, that he had seen in hell the fair *Epicaste*, who through imprudence had married her own son, who became at once the unhappy murderer of his father, and husband of his mother, makes him add, that *the gods, by hastening this prince's death*, prevented the sad effects of that incestuous marriage. For as *Pausanias* justly observes (17), how could they be said to stop the course of that incest if *OEdipus* had had four children by his mother?

He adds upon the authority of a poem, intitled, *OEdipiad*, or the adventures of *OEdipus*, that he had those children by *Euriganea* the daughter of *Hyperbas*.

(17) *In Bœotic. cap. vi.*

In

a In the mean time the sons of those seven generals who fell before *Thebes*, resolving to revenge themselves on that city for the ill success of the last expedition, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called *Epigoni*, and renewed the siege afresh. *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*, who by this time came to age, and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed *Ægyaleus* one of their chiefs. But being himself soon after killed, or forced to fly into *Illyrium* [a], the *Thebans* began to sue for a treaty, and whilst that was transacting, conveyed themselves away with their families and effects by night, and went and built the town of *Hestiæa*, leaving *Thebes* to the mercy of the *Epigoni*. Some say that these being apprised of their flight, plundered the city, and quite erased her b walls. Others affirm, that *Thersander Polynices*'s son dissuaded them from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; soon after which he led them to the *Trojan* war, and in the way signalized himself at *Mysia*, and was killed by *Telepus*. His son *Tesumenes*, being then too young to command the *Theban* forces, *Peneleus* was chosen their chief, and was also killed there by *Eurypilus* the son of *Telepus*. After his death *Tesamenus* took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably enough; but the fates which pursued the unfortunate offspring of *Œdipus* did not prove so favourable to his son *Autesion*, who, we are told, was seized with such a dreadful phrensy, or, according to the poetic phrase, was persecuted by the furies to such a degree, that he was forced by the oracle's advice to retire among the *Dorians*.

c After his departure the *Thebans* raised *Damasichton*, the grandson of *Peneleus*, to the throne, who left it to his son *Ptolomeus*, and he was succeeded by *Xanthus*, who was the last who enjoyed the regal dignity in *Thebes*, and was treacherously killed by *Melanthus* in single combat, as we have seen in the history of *Athens*. After his death the *Thebans*, weary of a kingly government, resolved to put it into many hands, and to settle themselves into a commonwealth [b], as we shall see in the next chapter.

[a] Conf. Pausan. Bœotic. & Apollod. l. iii. c. 7. [b] Pausan. ubi supra.

## SECT. V.

### *The history of the ancient kingdom of* Arcadia.

a *ARCADIA*, so called from *Arcas* the son of *Jupiter* and *Calisto*, was anciently called *Pelasgia*, being inhabited by the ancient *Pelasgi*, who boasted themselves to be descended from *Pelasgus* their pretended founder, of whom we have spoken in a former section of this chapter †, as having been supposed by a late author to be the same with *Peleg* the son of *Eber* in scripture. The *Pelasgians* did also surname him *Autochton* [a], which was a name the *Grecians* gave to those whose original was not known. It is true we find the *Pelasgians* on several other parts of *Greece*, as was there observed; but their chief and primitive seat is generally supposed to have been this of *Arcadia*, whose inhabitants are universally allowed the ancientest people in *Greece*, and boasted themselves to be older than the moon. *Names.*

b This country was situate in the heart of *Peloponnesus* (A), having *Elis* on the west, *Argolis* on the east, *Laconia* and *Messenia* on the south, and *Sicyon* and *Corinth* on the north [b]. Its ground, which afforded excellent pasturage, made it famous for the vast number of herds it bred; for the tuneful strains of its shepherds, who excelled all others in their pastoral performances, and the sweetness of their vocal and instrumental music; and for the extraordinary worship that was paid here to their god *Pan*. Here was also a famous temple of that deity in the city of *Tegea*, and an- *Geography.*

† See before, Vol. II. p. 345: a. [a] Xenoph. Strab. Mel. & al. [b] Strab. D. Sicul. Pausan. Mela, & al.

(A) The *Arcadians* were consequently at a distance from the sea, and accordingly *Homer* tells us that they had neither ships, nor any knowledge of sailing (1), so that when they are said to have imbarked for the siege of *Troy*, we must understand it of *Agamemnon's* fleet, which transported them thither.

(1) *Iliad. lib.* ii.

other

*Natural rarities.*

other dedicated to *Minerva* in the city of *Stymphalus*, situate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name. Here also bred upon the lake *Stymphalis* a kind of fowl, called from it the *Stymphalian* birds, which grew to such size and number, that they darkened the sun-beams at noon-day, and terribly infested this territory, till they were all either killed or driven hence by *Hercules*, as we have seen elsewhere. a

Here was also the famed lake *Phenaus*, from which springs the river *Styx*, famous for the coldness of its waters, which chills them to death that drink it; it is also of such corrosive nature that it will eat iron and brass[c]. The poets feign it to be the river of hell, whose name is so sacred among the gods, that if any of them broke his oath after he had sworn by it, he was deprived of his deity, and of the use of *Nectar* for a hundred years. b

The *Arcadians* were at first a rude wild people, living in the woods and fields, and feeding indifferently on the product of the ground, till taught by *Pelasgus* to build huts, live sociably, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or beech-mast (B), and to cloath themselves with the skins of wild beasts. They began afterwards to give themselves up to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their soil. But as this country abounded with excellent pasture grounds, so it was exposed to continual incursions from those, who were either forced out of their own country, or were discontented with it. And this put them upon the necessity of exchanging the crook for the sword, and to inure themselves to some warlike discipline in their own defence, who would otherwise in all likelihood have preferred a pastoral life to any other. Hence it was that they, especially the highlanders, became such excellent soldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other estates. They commonly used to come to the wars clad with the skins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they used with a pecular dexterity. Their very women became at length such expert warriors, especially in a defensive war, that they have sometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was in all appearance wholly leaning on the other side. Witness that famous expedition of the *Lacedemonians* against *Tegea*, when, flushed by a dubious oracle, with hopes that they should take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives, but were in the heat of the battle discomfited by a party of women, who had lain in ambush, and their king *Charilaus* with a great number of his men bound with those very chains they had brought with them[*]. Having therefore such brave females to defend their country in case of invasion, they used to be hired as mercenaries by all their neighbouring estates, in the same manner as the *Suizzers* do now; and this made them some amends for their want of commerce, occasioned by their distance from the sea. c d

This extraordinary change in so rude a nation was as quick as it was surprizing. *Lycaon* the son of their founder, of whom we shall speak more fully in the following note, improved what his father had done towards civilizing his subjects, by introducing the worship of *Jupiter* among them, though not with the same prudence that *Cecrops* had done among his *Athenians* (C). His sons, of whom he had a considerable number, set themselves on building each of them a city which they called by their own names, and which we shall mention in their proper places[d]. In these they e

[c] Id. Ibid.. [*] Herodot. l. i. & Pausan. in Arcad. [d] In Arcad. ch. iii.

(B) Which kind of food, *Pausanias* tells, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, insomuch that the *Lacedemonians*, consulting the oracle about a war which they were going to wage against them, received this answer from the pythoness, That though *Jupiter* and the gods were on their side, yet could they expect no success against a warlike people, whose chiefest dainties were the fruit of the beech (2).

(C) *Cecrops*, as we have seen in a former section, forbad the sacrificing of any living creature, whereas *Lycaon* is reported to have sacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god changed him into a wolf.

The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its rise only from the savage nature of that prince implyed in his name, Λυκος, signifying a wolf: the account which *Ovid* gives of him is as follows:

*Jupiter*, desirous to know whether the wickedness of men answered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to *Lycaon*'s palace, where having made himself known, the people were going to sacrifice to him. *Lycaon*, not believing his guest to be what he gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having missed his blow, he killed and dressed a *Molossian* youth, whom he kept as a hostage, and set him before his guest to eat, for which the exasperated god, overthrew his palace with thunder and lightening, and turned his inhuman host into a wolf.

(2) *In Arcadic. ch.* i.

gathered

a gathered the people into bodies, and brought them still nearer to a social life; and in the next reign they began to sow corn, make bread, spin wool, and to make themselves garments of it[e]. Another author adds[f], that they learned the use of bees, honey, and milk, of rennet for making of cheese, of oil, and some other conveniencies of life (D). Thus in four generations, the *Arcadians* from being but one remove from wild beasts, became civilized, industrious, inured to society, husbandry, and a regular government. To all these we may add, that these advantages, which exposed them to frequent invasions from abroad, put them likewise upon the necessity of cultivating the martial arts, first in their own defence, and afterwards for interest and gain, whence they became such brave soldiers, and expert b warriours, as we observed they were. Hence it was that most of the *Grecian* princes courted their alliance above that of any other nation; but especially the *Messenians*, with whom they seem to have maintained an inviolable friendship. But *Hercules*, of all the ancient heroes, had the greatest confidence in them, insomuch that we seldom find him engaged in any extraordinary exploit without having some *Arcadian* forces to assist him. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their pastoral life, for which they have been so highly celebrated by the poets above all other *Grecians*[g].

*Arts and husbandry.*

THEIR government, like those of all their neighbours, was at first altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the subjects began to claim something c like a negative power, especially in matters of great moment, so that their kings could not well undertake any great affairs, such as a war, alliances, or foreign expeditions without their consent. This may perhaps be one main reason why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other estate of *Greece*; but this will be best seen in the next chapter. We shall confine ourselves here within our epoch, and to that series of kings which that nation pretended to be descended from *Pelasgus* their first founder, and which *Pausanias* has given us from their tradition and record. And herein if he differs sometimes from *Apollodorus*, *Justin*, and other ancient writers, we may suppose he had his reasons for so doing, and if we except the remotest times which were wrapped up in inextricable darkness, the standing monuments of each d country to direct and confirm his judgment. However, they were not always united under one king; for it sometimes happened that the kingdom was divided by the father between his sons, and continued so till want of issue, alliances, or some other circumstance, united it again. Besides this, the several cities built by the sons of *Lycaon*, seem to have been divided into cantons under their several chiefs; but whether always under one sovereign or not, is not sure. Hence it is that we read of these cantons, as of separate people, who made alliances, not only among themselves, but with foreign estates, and signalized themselves during several centuries under their respective names, such as *Tegeans*, *Trapezans*, *Mantineans*, *Peretheans*, and many more, which we shall give our readers in its proper place, to prevent e their being mistaken in the sequel of the *Grecian* history for so many distinct people from the *Arcadians*.

*Government.*

[e] Id. ibid. [f] JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. xiii. c. 7. [g] APOLLOD. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. &c.

(D) This last author says, that *Aristæus*, who taught the *Arcadians* all these things, was the son of *Jupiter* by *Cyrene*, a beautiful *Thessalian* princess, whom that lustful goddess carried off to the top of mount *Pelion*, and of whom he got four sons, the three first of which settled in *Thessaly*, and the other, viz. *Aristæus* came and reigned in *Arcadia*. This story however is contradicted by *Pindar* and *Siculus*, who affirm that she had but one son by *Jupiter*, namely *Menius*, who was also surnamed *Agrius*, as being a lover of hunting and feeding of cattle; and *Pausanias* says, that this *Aristæus* instructed *Arcas* the 4th king of the country, without taking any notice of his regning there. We shall have occasion to say something more of this *Cyrene* when we come to speak of *Thessaly*.

The succession of the kings of *Arcadia* who reigned from their founder to *Aristocrates*, who was murdered by his subjects for his treachery to the *Messenians* [h]; is as follows: a

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 *Pelasgus* | 8 *Aleus* | 14 *Cypselus* | 20 *Eginetes* |
| 2 *Lycaon* | 9 *Lycurgus* | 15 *Lajus* | 21 *Polymestor* |
| 3 *Nyctimus* | 10 *Echemus* | 16 *Bucolion* | 22 *Echmis* |
| 4 *Archas* | 11 *Agapenor* | 17 *Phialius* | 23 *Aristocrates* I. |
| 5 *Clitor* | 12 *Hyppothous* | 18 *Simus* | 24 *Hicetas* |
| 6 *Azan* | 13 *Epytus* II. | 19 *Pompus* | 25 *Aristocrates* II. |
| 7 *Epytus* I. | | | |

b

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning. If *Pelasgus*, the supposed founder of this monarchy, were the same with *Phaleg*, or *Peleg* the son of *Eber*, in whose days the earth is said to have been divided [i]; it must have begun at least as early as *Terah*'s time; but we hope we have sufficiently confuted this opinion heretofore †, as well as the other conjecture of the same learned man, that *Peleg* was the father of the *Scythians**. Those who place the foundation of it about *Moses*'s time seem still to have antedated it [k], neither would we venture to place it before the expulsion of the *Canaanites* out of their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in search of some c more peaceful habitations. But whether in *Joshua*'s time, or after it, were hard to determine. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Pelasgus* was cotemporary with *Inachus*, *Cecrops* I. *Lelex*, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of *Egypt*; according to him this was about 1120 years before Christ, but according to our chronology, in the year of the flood 1443, or before Christ 1556, at which time we have placed the foundation of *Athens* by *Cecrops*. And it can hardly be supposed that *Pelasgus* could be of recenter date than he, if we consider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the successions of their kings; and that *Pausanias* thinks that *Lycaon* was cotemporary with the *Athenian* founder [l]. Upon this supposition therefore that they began near about the same time, it will follow that this of *Arcadia* lasted d in the line of *Pelasgus* about 880 years, that is till the year of the flood 2351, and first of the 28th olympiad, in which *Aristocrates* II. and the last of that race was stoned to death. This is the utmost we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, whose beginning is so dark and remote. We shall in the next place subjoin what we find most material concerning these monarchs.

We have already said all we know concerning *Pelasgus* and his son *Lycaon*, except that this last built a city on the mountain *Lycæus*, and called it *Lycosura*, caused *Jupiter* to be worshipped there under the name of *Jupiter Lycæus*, and instituted the *Lycæan* games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous issue, the reader may see them in the margin (E). Among e so many sons, *Lycaon* had but one daughter named *Calisto*, with whom *Jupiter* having

[h] Pausan. ubi supra. ch. ii. & seq. [i] Gen. x. 25. vid. & Stillingfl. Or. Sacr. l. iii. c. 8. † See Vol. I. p. 169. d. * Vol. II. p. 243. & seq. [k] Vid. int. al. Rawl. hist. of the world, l. ii. c. 6. sect. 4. [l] Arcad. c. i.

(E) These cities were *Pallantium* built by *Pallas*, *Orestheasium*, by *Orestheus*, *Phigalia* by *Phigaleus*, afterwards called *Phialia* from *Phialus* the son of *Bucolion*. *Trapezonte* from *Trapezeus*, and so of the rest which were built by his other sons *Daceates*, *Macareus*, *Helisson*, *Acacus*, (from whom this last tribe pretends *Mercury* has that surname, in *Homer*, which signifies without evil, implying that the good he doth is without any mixture of ill) and *Thocbnus*. *Hypsus* built *Hypsuntes*, *Menelea*, and *Thyrea*, *Menalus*, *Tegeates*, and *Mantineus*, the three cities of their name. The rest of those cantons bearing their founders names, are the *Cromians*, *Charisians*, *Tricolones*, *Peretheans*, *Asteatians*, *Lyceatians*, *Sumatians*, *Hercans*, and *Alipholians*. *Orchomenos* the father of the *Orchomenians*, the richest canton of all in cattle, was the only one who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of *Methrydion* †. The youngest of *Lycaon*'s, called *OEnotrius*, instead of following the example of the rest, obtained a sum of money and forces from his brother *Nictymus* who succeeded *Lycaon*, sailed into *Italy*, and settled there, and was the first who brought a colony from *Greece* thither (3.) Hence that of *Virgil*:

*Est locus Hesperiam Graii Cognomine dicunt,*
*Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ* (4),
*OEnotrii coluere viri.*

† *De his Vid. St. Byzant. sub voc. & Pausan. ubi supra.* (3) *Pausan. in Arcad. ch.* iii. (4) *Vid. Geilsyr. Not. in eund. ch.* iii.

had

a had an intrigue, *Juno* turned her into a she-bear, and *Diana*, to please that jealous goddess, shot her to death (F). *Lycaon* was succeeded by his eldest son

3. *Nyctimus*, and he dying, we suppose childless, left the kingdom to

4. *Arcas*, the son of *Calisto* by *Jupiter*, who gave his name to the kingdom; he it was whom we mentioned above for having introduced and improved husbandry. He had three sons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called *Erato* (G), besides a natural son he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. *Azan* the eldest called his portion by his name *Azania*. *Apbydas* had the canton of *Tegea*, and *Elatus* had mount *Cyllene* (H), from which he went afterwards and settled in *Phocis*, and built a city b which he called by his name.

5. *Azan* was succeeded by his only son

6. *Clitor*, who instituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was the powerfullest prince of his time, but died childless; so that his share of the *Arcadian* kingdom fell to

7. *Epytus* eldest son of his brother *Elatus*, who was bit to death by a venemous serpent, as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his cousin

8. *Aleus* the son of *Apbydas*. This prince made *Tegea* his metropolis, and built in it a temple to *Minerva Alea*. He had three sons, *Lycurgus*, *Amphidamas*, and *Cepheus*; and a daughter named *Auge*, whom he condemned to be drowned for her c criminal converse with *Hercules*, during his abode at *Tegea* (I). He was succeeded by his eldest son

9. *Lycurgus*, whose two sons dying before him (K), he left the kingdom to *Echemus*, that great grandson of *Aleus*.

10. *Echemus* assisted *Atreus* the son of *Pelops*, against the *Heraclidæ*, who first entered *Peloponnesus* with a powerful army, and with *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules* at their head. We have spoken of this expedition in a former section, and of the success of *Echemus* against that champion whom he killed in single combat, he left his kingdom to a son of *Ancæus* the son of *Lycurgus*, named

11. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadian* troops at the siege of *Troy*, and in his d return thence, being like the rest of the surviving *Grecian* chiefs, tossed about by contrary winds and tempests, was cast at length upon the coasts of *Cyprus*, and settled at *Paphos*, where he built a temple to *Venus*, who, till then, if we believe *Pausanias*, was only worshipped at the small city of *Golgos* [m]. From him the kingdom passed to the line of *Stymphalus* the son of *Elatus*, who was the youngest son of *Arcas*.

12. *Hippothous* the great grandson of *Stymphalus* was the person who succeeded him, of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the seat of the kingdom from *Tegea* the ancient metropolis to *Trapeza*; he was succeeded by his son

[l] Arcad. c. ii. [m] Arcad. c. v.

(F) The fable adds that *Mercury*, out of compassion to the young princess, and by *Jupiter*'s order, saved the infant she was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in Heaven, where she became a constellation, or, if you please, that constellation was called by her name in honour of her.

(G) Not the muse of that name who presides over matters of love; but a wood nymph, such as they called *Dryades*. Those who inhabited the fields were called *Oreades*; those of the water *Nereides*; and those of springs and rivers *Najades* (5).

(H) Which name it did not receive till afterwards from *Cyllen* the son of *Elatus*. This is the same mountain on which *Jupiter* is said to have begot *Mercury* on *Maja* the daughter of *Atlas* †.

(I) This princess having captivated the famous *Hercules* whilst he was at *Tegea*, was left with child by him, which her father no sooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a chest with her child, and flung into the sea; she was taken up about the mouth of the *Caicus*, by *Teuthras* king of *Mysia*, who was so charmed with her beauty, that he married her and brought up her son *Telephus* as her own, and made him his successor (6).

Others say that *Aleus* committed his daughter to *Nauplius*, to be drowned in the sea, and that she being delivered in her way to *Nauplia* an *Argolic* port, she left her child there, and that he, instead of drowning the mother, sold her to *Teuthras*. The child was suckled by a deer, from which he was called *Telephus*, and when of age, having been directed by the oracle who his parents were, went into *Mysia*, where he was adopted by his father in-law (7).

(K) These were *Ancæus*, who being returned from the *Argonautic* expedition, was killed by the *Calydonian* wild boar, and *Epochus* who was carried off by sickness.

(L) Most probably as an auxiliary hired by *Agamemnon*, by whose Ships they were transported to and from that siege, as we observed in a former note.

(5) *Vid. Serv. Comm in Virg. Pausan. ubi supra. c. iv.* (†) *See before, Vol. II. p. 263. b.* (6) *Pausan. ubi supra.* (7) *Apollod. l. ii. Diod. Sicul. l. iv. Pausan. ubi supra.*

13. *Epytus*

13. *Epytus* II. in whose days *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, being warned by the oracle, retired into *Arcadia*, and died, and was buried in or near the city of *Tegea* [a] (M). *Epytus* was afterwards struck blind for his presumption, in venturing into the temple of *Neptune* at *Mantinea*, and dying soon after it, left the crown to his son a

14. *Cypselus*, in whose days *Cresphontes* having by indirect means gotten the kingdom of *Messenia*, was murdered with two of his sons. The third named *Æpytus*, by others *Ægyptus*, fled to *Cypselus*, who was his grandfather by the mother's side (N), and by his assistance, regained the *Messenian* kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the usurper *Polyphontes*. We find nothing considerable during the reigns of his four next successors, *Lajus*, *Bucolion*, *Phialius*, and *Simus*, except that in the time of this last, an antient statue of *Ceres*, surnamed the *Black*, was set on fire, which was looked upon as a presage of that monarch's speedy death, which happened accordingly soon after: he was succeeded by his son b

19. *Pompus*. This prince, by the help of the *Æginetæ*, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the sea-port of *Cyllene*, to and from which the merchandizes used to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved so beneficial to the kingdom, that in gratitude to those islanders, *Pompus* called his son and successor by their name *Æginetes*. This last was succeeded by his son

21. *Polymestor*, in whose days happened that fierce invasion we spoke of at the beginning of this section, in which the *Lacedemonians* being come against *Tegea*, were discomfited by the help of the *Arcadian* women, and both they and their king *Charilaus* bound with the chains they had brought for the *Tegeans*; however *Charilaus* was soon after released, upon his oath and promise that the *Lacedemonians* should not fight against them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple of *Minerva Haliea*, where they still continued in *Herodotus*'s time [b]. *Polymestor* was succeeded by his brother c

22. *Echmis*, who assisted the *Messenians*, the old and constant allies of the *Arcadians* against the *Lacedemonians*, and was succeeded by his own son

23. *Aristocrates* I. This prince, among other wicked actions, being fallen in love, with a young virgin, priestess of *Diana Hymnia*, a deity highly reverenced by the *Arcadians*, and having in vain tried to debauch her, went and ravished her at the very altar of the goddess. For this fact he was stoned to death by his subjects, who, to prevent the like sacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained that from thenceforth, none but married women should be admitted to the priestly function. d

We know nothing concerning his son *Hicetas*, except that he was father to

25. *Aristocrates* II. the last of the royal line of *Cypselus*, and with whom we shall close this section; he was stoned to death by his own subjects for his treachery to the *Messenians* his allies, whom he betrayed to the *Spartans*, with whom they were at

[a] Vid. Herodot. l. i. c. 66. Pausan. ubi supra. [b] Herodot. ubi supra.

(M) *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Lacedemonians* having proved unsuccessful against the *Arcadians*, were told by the oracle that they would continue so till they had brought back the bones of that prince. The difficulty was to find them out, and here they were forced to consult the oracle again, from which they received the following remarkable answer, as it is englished by *Littlebury*.

*In the* Arcadian *plain lies* Tegea,
*Where two impetuous winds are forced to blow;*
*Form resists form, mischief on mischief strikes;*
*Here mother earth keeps* Agamemnon's *son,*
*Carry him off, and be victorious.*

The solution of this puzzling answer was afterwards accidentally found out by *Lichas*, an eminent *Spartan*, who being one day at *Tegea*, and observing with some attention a smith working at his shop, was told by him, that in the sinking of a well, he had found a coffin seven cubits long, and that having had the curiosity to open it, to see if the body answered the length of the coffin, he had found it exactly fitting, and had laid it again where he found it.

*Lichas* comparing the place he was in, and the answer of the oracle, did easily conceive that by the smith's bellows were meant the two winds, by the hammer and anvil the two contending forms, and by the doubled mischief those which are caused by *Iron*; upon which having acquainted the *Spartans* with this discovery, it was agreed that he should be banished for some fictitious crime, that he might be the less suspected, and return to *Tegea*, which he did accordingly, and having with some difficulty hired the smith's inclosure, did privately dig up the bones, and carried them away to *Sparta* (8).

(N) About the beginning of his reign the *Dorian* fleet having invaded *Peloponnesus*, not by the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle; but by landing above the cape of *Rhion*, *Cypselus* was forced to make an alliance with *Cresphontes*, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head against them, in consideration of which his son helped *Æpytus* to regain his father's kingdom (9).

(8) *Herodot. l.* iv. *c.* 66. (9) *Pausan. ubi supra.*

war.

a war. We shall see the sequel of it in the next chapter: and all that we shall add here is, that the *Arcadians*, not content with his death, cast his body out of their territories, left it exposed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of mount *Lycæus*, on which they caused an inscription to be engraved, the purport of which you may read in the margin (O), as we find it englished by Mr. *Hind* in his *Grecian* history [p].

[p] P. 167. Vid. & Pausan. ubi supra, & in Messenic.

(O) The base betrayer of *Messene*'s state,
Has met at length a well-deserved fate.
In vain perfidious traitors justice shun;
Hail, mighty *Jove!* save the *Arcadian* throne.

## SECT. VI.

### *The history of the antient kingdom of* Thessaly, *with a short account of that of* Phocis.

1 *THESSALY* is supposed to have received its name from *Thessalus* [a] the father [b], or, according to others [c], the son of *Græcus*, an ancient king of an obscure village, from whom the *Greeks* are said to have been descended [d]. It was also antiently called *Æmonia*, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of *Deucalion*, or perhaps rather from *Emon* the son of *Chlorus*, the father of *Thessalus* and grandson of *Pelasgus* [e]. From this last it was also called *Pelasgia*, and *Pyrhæa* from *Pyrrha Deucalion*'s wife; but it was most commonly known by that of *Thessaly*, as it is now by that of *Janna*. *Name.*

It was antiently divided into four districts, or perhaps kingdoms. *Thessaliotis*, *Istiæotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, and *Phthiotis*. *Deucalion* was king of this last when the deluge b which goes by his name happened, which destroyed all the inhabitants of this, and the neighbouring countries, except only such as happily escaped into the high mountains of *Thessaliotis*, and *Deucalion* and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and rested at length upon *Parnassus*, from which they are feigned to have repeopled the country by throwing of stones behind them [f]. However the name of *Thessaly* and *Thessalians* in time prevailed, and came to signify all the four parts. Sometimes it included *Magnesia* and *Phthiotis*, and sometimes not; sometimes it was joined with *Macedonia*, and sometimes severed from it, and again rejoined to it [g]. *Division.*

*Thessaly*, properly so called, had on the east the provinces of *Magnesia* and *Phthia* c abovementioned, and these two were bounded by the *Ægean* sea. On the west it had *Illiricum* and *Epirus*, now *Albania*; on the north *Macedonia* and *Mygdonia*, and on the south *Grecia Propria*. It extended from west to east about one deg. 40 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25 and a half east longitude, and from north to south, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude *Situation and extent.*

It was famous for its twenty-four hills, the most remarkable of which were those that follow: *Natural rarities.*

1. *Olympus*, celebrated among the poets, for its extraordinary height: 2. *Othrys*, where king *Pirithous* reigned over the *Lapithæ*: 3. *Pelion*: 4. *Ossa*, which with *Nephele* were, according to the fable, inhabited by *Centaurs*, who were afterwards killed or d driven away by *Hercules* for their lustful attempt upon the women that assisted at *Perithous*'s nuptials. Here were also the plains of *Pharsalia*, and the delightful valley of *Tempea*, about six miles in length, and five in breadth, so pleasantly situate between the mountains of *Ossa*, *Pelion*, and *Olympus*, so beautified with nature's gifts, and watered by the river *Peneus*, which ran through the midst of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the muses. On the south borders of *Thessaly* were seated the *Dolopes* and *Myrmidons* (A), whom *Achilles* led to the *Trojan* war.

[a] Steph. Byzant. sub voce Θεσσαλ. [b] Euseb. Chronic. vid. & not. Scalig. in eund. [c] Vid. Byzant. sub voce Γραικος. [d] Id. ibid. & Cluver. lib. iv. c. 8. [e] Byzant. sub voce Αιμον. [f] Ovid. Metam. init. Apollod. l. i. c. 7. [g] Cluver. ubi supra. Mela, l. 2. c. 3, & 4.

(A) The latter were so called from μυρμηξ a pismire, not, as the poets feign, because *Æacus* the son of *Jupiter*, seeing his country dispeopled by a grievous plague, obtained a fresh supply of subjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but because, as *Strabo* says, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the pismires in their diligence and œconomy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other husbandry from that insect.

*Rivers.* The whole kingdom of *Thessaly* was very pleasant and fruitful, being watered a by several great rivers which run quite across the country. The chiefest of them are the *Peneus* abovementioned, the *Aliacmon*, *Erigon*, and *Axius*; all which empty themselves into the *Ægean* sea, by the gulph of *Thessalonica*, anciently called *Sinus Thermaicus*. This country seems also to have been above others productive of poisonous weeds and drugs. Hence *Plautus* makes use of the word *Thessalus* to express a poisonous thing; but upon the whole it was so fruitful and delicious a country, that, like many others of the same rich nature, it was seldom free from foreign invasions, from some neighbouring nation or other.

*Cities of note.* Cities of note were; 1. *Larissa*, famed for giving birth to *Achilles*, called from thence *Larisseus* (B). Its situation was excellent, being near the gulph above- b mentioned, and upon the river *Peneus*, near the foot of *Olympus*, and at one end of the valley of *Tempea*: 2. *Demetrias*, situate on the *Sinus Pelasgicus*, now *Golpho dell Armiro*, and strongly fortified by art and nature: 3. *Pegesa* on the same gulph, famous for being the place where the ship *Argo* was built, which carried the *Argonauts* to their famed expedition of the golden fleece, of which we shall speak by-and-by. *Pythion*, celebrated for the *Pythian* games, which were instituted here in honour of *Apollo*, and, as some say, in memory of his killing the serpent *Python* (C). The metropolis of *Thessaly* was, according to *Heliodorus* [h], called *Hypatha*, and situated near the *Sinus Maliacus*, now *Golfo de Ziton*, and at a small distance from mount *Oeta*, upon which *Hercules* ended his life, after he had put on the poisoned c shirt.

*Thessaly* was famous among other things, for such an extraordinary breed of oxen, that *Neleus* king of *Pylus* refused to give his daughter in marriage to *Melampus* king of *Tiryus*, except he procured him some of them, which he soon after did by the *Rarities.* help of his brother *Bias* (D) [i]. What fine horses they bred, and how expert they were in the use and management of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, since the fiction of the centaurs (E) is allowed to have taken its origin from them [k]. This fable however reflects no less a brand upon them for their brutish incontinency, than it commends them for their skill in horsemanship. The attempt which they made upon the women at the nuptials of their neighbours, *Pirothous* d king of the *Lapithoe*, mentioned a little higher, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the history of their wars with other nations affords us a constant proof of the latter, so that in spight of their debauchery, they have still shewed themselves a warlike nation, and as such, their alliance, as well as assistance, especially that of their cavalry, was ever highly courted by contending powers. And indeed if we consider how liable the pleasantness and fertility of their country made them to foreign invasions, it will be no wonder they should be be so well inured to the trade of war.

[h] Hist. Æthiop. ap. Heylin. [i] Pausan. in Messenic. c. xxxvi. [k] Osor. Serv. Vattabl. & al.

(B) Others say that he was born at *Phthia*, especially the poets. This difference might be owing either to the nearness of those two places, or perhaps to his being born in the one, and making his residence in the other.

(C) We have already spoken of some others instituted upon particular accounts, and celebrated in several parts of *Greece*. The four most considerable were, the *Isthmian*, the *Olympic*, *Nemean* and the *Pythonian*; these made four annual meetings for all the *Grecians*, who resorted to those places in great number, but which were still much more esteemed for the concourse of the noblest and greatest youths, who came to signalize themselves there, some for their strength, others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable Accomplishments.

The prize which was given to the victors at these *Pythian* games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may see the fuller account of all these games in *Potter's* antiquities (1).

(D) We have already spoken of these two brothers in a former section, and shew how they came to their share of the *Argolic* kingdom †. Our author adds that *Bias*, to oblige his Brother, having undertaken to fetch the oxen from *Thessaly*, was caught in the attempt, and flung into prison. But being a famous diviner, he plied his art so well with *Iphiclus* the owner of them, by foretelling many surprizing events to him, that he obtained them as a recompence of his extraordinary skill. *Bias* brought them to *Melampus*, who presented them to *Neleus*, and he left them to *Nestor*, who caused them to be kept in a stable under ground, which was still to be seen in our author's time.

(E) The centaurs were fabled to have the upper part of their bodies, that is, from the navel upwards like a man, and from thence downwards like a horse, and to have been the monstrous offspring of *Ixion*, when he embraced a cloud instead of *Juno*. The ground of this story was, that these people did manage their horses so well, that they were supposed by other nations, to be but one creature with them, and as the most famous of them dwelt in a canton called in *Greek* Νεφέλα, which signifies a cloud; hence came the fable of their being begotten of *Ixion* on a cloud.

(1) *ch.* xxi. *& seq.* † *Sect.* iii. *p.* 354. c. *de his vid. & Pausan. in Messenic. ch.* xxxviii.

a Nor can it be supposed that any thing but their extraordinary valour could have saved them from being swallowed up by some of their neighbours, considering that their scanty territories consisted only of four small kingdoms or districts, as often disjointed from each other under different princes, as united together under one.

For this reason we shall not pretend to give here a list of their kings, much less of those petty tyrants, who reigned, some over one or more, others over all the four districts; but shall content ourselves with mentioning what we find most remarkable under any of them during this fabulous and heroic epocha (F). At the head of all must be placed the celebrated *Argonautic* expedition, which happened in the reign of *Pelias* king of *Thessaly* about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred b years before the taking of *Troy*. We do not however pretend to settle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbishop *Usher*, without entering into the difference between Sir *Isaac Newton* and him. The occasion of this expedition was as follows:

*Year of the World 1714. Before Christ 1285.*

*Æson* the third in descent from *Æolus*, being either worn out with age, or weary of government, whilst his son *Jason*, whom he had by *Polymela*, or according to others by *Alcimede*, was yet very young, appointed *Pelias* his brother by the mother side guardian of the kingdom till his son came of age. *Pelias* on the other hand, who had resolved to secure the government to himself, sent to consult the oracle about it, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one shoe. It happened some time c after that as he was sacrificing to *Neptune*, he called his nephew to him, who was on the other side of a rivulet, and *Jason*, making more haste than good speed to cross the brook, dropped one of his shoes, and gave him occasion to think that he was the person, pointed at by the oracle. He then asked him what course he would take with a person of whom the oracle had bid him beware, and *Jason* readily answered, that he would send him to *Colchis* in search of *the Golden Fleece* (G). His uncle took him at his word, and sent him immediately upon that enterprize[1]. *Jason* made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a considerable number of young noblemen, the flower of all *Greece*, to this expedition; he procured a ship to be built for his purpose at *Pegasa*, by one *Argus*, from whom he called it *Argos*, and hence d he and his gallant company were called *Argonautæ*.

*Argonautic expedition.*

These adventurers, after many strange difficulties and exploits, which the reader will find in the margin (H), arrived at length at the land of *Colchis*, where the golden

[1] Lib. i.

(F) Among the fabulous exploits of the gods we must not omit the rape of *Cyrene* a beautiful virgin, daughter to *Hypseus* king of *Thessaly*, by *Jupiter*, who conveyed her from the mountain of *Pelion* to that of *Cyra*, upon which *Battus*, so called from his stammering, settled a colony, and built a city which he called by the name of that princess, after which he is said to have recovered the free use of his speech, as the oracle had obscurely foretold (2). There is also a fountain of the same name near that city, which was dedicated to *Apollo* (3).

(G) This fabulous fleece was then in possession of *Æetes* king of *Colchis*, a country lying between the *Euxine* sea and *Iberia*, and now called *Mengrelia*. It then had some considerable mines of gold which gave rise to the fable of the fleece. The country abounding also with poisonous drugs and plants, which *Medea*, king *Æetes*'s daughter, knew how to prepare and make use of; the poets thought fit to turn her into an enchantress. The fable adds that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of *Mars*, and was guarded by a dragon who never slept.

(H) The first place they touched at was the island of *Lemnos*, in the *Ægean* sea, inhabited by female warriors, who though they had killed their husbands, in order to lead an *Amazonian* life; yet were so charmed with these brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They sailed next to the country of the *Deliones*, where they were kindly received by their king *Cyzicus*, but loosing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were mistaken for *Pelasgians*, with whom they were then at war. A fierce engagement ensued, in which *Cyzicus*, and a great number of his men were killed on the spot. The return of day light having discovered the unhappy mistake, they only stayed to bury the dead, and sailed to *Mysia*, a country in *Asia Minor*, near the *Hellespont* †.

Here *Hercules* plying his oar with more might than skill, unluckily broke it, and whilst he was gone into the wood to cut himself a new one, *Hylas*, his beloved boy, was stolen by a nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain, so that whilst he and his brother-in-law's son *Polyphemus* went in search of him, the *Argonautæ* left them behind, and sailed into *Bithynia*.

Here *Amycus* the son of *Neptune*, king of the country, a man of prodigious strength, having obliged them, as he did all strange comers, to fight with him at hurlebats, was killed by *Pollux* one of the *Argonautic* heroes. The *Berbraces* seeing their king fallen would soon have revenged his death on the victor, had not his brave companions rescued him from the danger, after which they sailed imdiately to *Salmydessus* a city in *Thrace*, where they consulted the famous blind soothsayer *Phineus*, concerning the success of their expedition.

This person, who, according to the fable, was continually infested with *Harpyes* a monstrous kind of bird, with

(2) *Justin. l.* xiii. *c.* 7. (3) *Pausan. in Lacon.* † *See before, Vol. II. p.* 323. b.

golden fleece was kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where *Jason* a
acquainted *Æetes* king of the country with *Pelias*'s command, and demanded the fleece of him. *Æetes* promised to deliver it to him provided he could yoke together by his own single strength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brazen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and had been presented to him by *Vulcan*) and plow the ground with them, sowing it with the dragons teeth which *Minerva* had given him, and were the remainder of those which *Cadmus* had sown at *Thebes* *.

*Jason*, perplexed how to perform these conditions, was happily relieved by *Medea* the king's daughter, who was fallen in love with him. She promised him that if he would marry her, she would assist him in it, and he had no sooner agreed to it, than she gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he b
was to be proof against the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, she taught him how to tame those fierce creatures, so as to be able to yoke and make use of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to sow, would presently spring up into armed men, which would infallibly destroy him, unless he raised an immediate dissention among them, by throwing stones at them, during which he might easily cut them off. *Jason* having successfully performed the task, went and demanded the fleece according to *Æetes*'s promise, whilst he, instead of delivering it, was contriving how to destroy him and his company, and burn their ship. To prevent this mischief, *Medea* went, and by her inchantments, cast the watchful dragon into a deep sleep, stole the fleece, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at c
her desire, also her brother *Absyrtus* into his ship, and sailed away immediately with his companions. *Æetes*, who was soon informed of his daughter's treachery, pursued immediately after them, which when she perceived, she cut her brother in pieces, and scattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to stop his further pursuit, as it actually did. For the disconsolate king, surprized at her unnatural barbarity, stayed to gather up the fragments of his son's body, and buried them in a place called from thence *Tomi*, and in the mean time she and the *Argonauts* escaped into *Thessaly*, not without having first felt the effects of *Jupiter*'s anger for the murder of *Absyrtus* (I), and after having spent four whole months in this expedition.

During his absence, *Pelias*, who never expected his return from *Colchis*, had taken d
some means to cut off his father, in order to fix the kingdom upon himself and his son *Acastus*, and the old king being apprised of his plots, had poisoned himself by drinking a draught of bull's blood. His queen likewise, oppressed with grief for his death, and the supposed loss of her son and kingdom, had hanged herself, so that *Pelias* now thought himself secure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, *Jason*

* Id. ibid. Vid. Hind. ubi supra, l. i.

with womens faces, and foul long claws, who devoured one part of his provisions, and poisoned the rest, with the stench they left upon it, promised to direct them safely to *Colchis*, provided they would rid him of that infectious vermin, which they accordingly did. He then, among other directions, bid them beware of the *Simplegades*, two rocks, or, according to others, two islands, about half a league distant from the straits of *Bosphorus*, and so near together, that at a distance they seem to run against each other, and which the poets say were often pushed so close by the force of the winds, that they shut up the passage. He therefore advised them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the straight, unless they saw him got safe to the other side; they followed his advice with some success, the pigeon having lost only one part of his tail, and the ship received a small bruise on its hinder part.

From this straight they sailed to the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, and were honourably received by *Lycus* king of that country. Here *Idmon* the son of *Apollo* and *Asteria*, and a soothsayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. *Typhis* their pilot did likewise die here, and was succeeded by *Ancæus*. At length having crossed the river *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, they arrived safe at *Colchis*, which was the end of their journey *.

(I) The fable adds that *Jove*, having pursued the *Argonauts* with dreadful storms, and cast them upon unknown coasts, the ship *Argos*, to their great surprise, spake to them, and assured them that that god would never be appeased till they were cleansed from their murder by *Circe*, a famed sorceress, supposed to have been the daughter of *Sol* by the nymph *Perse*, who lived in the island of *Æea*. They had no sooner obeyed this miraculous order, than, sailing by the coasts of the *Syrens*, they were delivered from the danger of their inchanting music, by the more charming voice of *Orpheus*. Thence they sailed between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* invironed with the fire and smoke, which seemed to issue out of those and the neighbouring rocks. They were however delivered from this danger also, by *Tethys* and the *Nereids* at *Juno*'s command, and came at length to *Corcyra*, the island of the *Phæaces*, where *Alcinous* then reigned. Here they were overtaken by the *Colchians*, whom *Æetes* had sent in pursuit of them. These went immediately to the king, and demanded *Medea* to be delivered to them, which he promised to do in case she was not already married to *Jason*. But his queen being apprised of this promise, went and married them privately and out of hand, so that the *Colchians*, being forbid to return home

* *Apollon. Argonaut. l.* ii. *Apollod. l.* i. *Vid. Hind. Hist. Græc.*

a *Jason* returned successful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him (K). However, he had so well strengthened himself in it, that *Jason*, brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare undertake any thing against him openly. *Medea* was forced to have recourse to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as some say, restored *Jason*'s father to life. After this she persuaded *Pelias*'s daughter to boil their old father, on pretence she would restore him to life and youthful vigour, but upon her non-performance *Acastus* mounted the throne, and having performed his father's funeral obsequies, banished *Jason* and his wife from *Thessaly*, who went and dwelt at *Corinth*, where we shall find them again in the next section.

*Acastus* is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his b wife *Hippolyta*, or, as she is called by others, *Cretheis*; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with *Peleus* the son of *Cacus*, and had solicited him in vain for some time, till inraged at length at his constant refusal, she accused him to her husband for having made some attempts upon her honour. *Acastus* believing her, and endeavouring to kill *Peleus*, was himself and his unchaste wife slain by him.

The next *Thessalian* prince both in time and fame was the celebrated *Achilles* the son of *Peleus*, and *Tethys* the goddess of the sea. This hero was king of *Phthya*, one of the four provinces of *Thessaly*, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river *Styx* (L) when he was a child, and to have become invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel, by which she held him. After this she c sent him to be brought up by the centaur *Chiron*, where he learned music, arms, and the riding of the great horse. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went to the *Trojan* war he should meet with his death there, she dispatched him privately in womans apparel to *Lycomedes* king of *Scyrus*, an island in the *Ægean* sea, and one of the *Cyclades*, where among other exploits, he debauched *Dejanira* one of the king's daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated *Pyrrhus*, afterwards king of *Epirus*. This transaction, as *Pausanias* observes, seems to have been designedly omitted by *Homer*, as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preserved by all the other poets.

In the mean time the *Grecian* chiefs being likewise forewarned by an old prophecy, d that their enterprise against *Troy* would prove unsuccessful, unless they had *Achilles* with them, *Ulysses* undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, which he accordingly did. *Tethys* finding that her son was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of *Troy*, to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon *Vulcan* to make him an unpenetrable armour, with which he went at the head of his bold *Myrmidons* to the fatal siege. Here he forbore acting for some time upon a pique he had taken against *Agamemnon* on account of a beautiful female captive; but his resentment being at length swallowed up in the death of his dear friend *Patroclus*, who had been killed by *Hector*, *Achilles* thenceforth sought nothing but to revenge it, which he soon after did. *Hector* was not only slain, but most barbarously used by him e after his death, he having caused his body to be tied to his chariot, and dragged thrice round the walls of *Troy*. This inhumanity did not go long unpunished, and

home without her, were forced to settle in this island, whilst the *Argonauts* sailed towards *Crete*.

Here *Medea* was again forced to make use of her inchantments to deliver the ship from being sunk by the stones, which *Talus*, a man of brass, and the present of *Vulcan* to *Minos*, then king of that island, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his heel, the end of which was closed with a brazen pin; hence they pretend that *Medea*, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin and let out all his blood; others say she poisoned him with some deadly potion. From *Crete* they came to *Ægina*, an island inhabited by the *Myrmidons*, whom they were forced to fight to get a supply of fresh water. Hence sailing by *Eubea* and *Locris*, they arrived at length at *Jolcos*, the place whence they first set out *.

(K) We have observed already in a former note, that by this golden fleece was understood some mines in the country of *Colchis*. These are supposed by some mythologists to have been contiguous to some of those torrents which fall from the neighbourhood of mount *Caucasus*, and to have brought down with them some quantities of gold dust, which the inhabitants saved by setting fleeces of wool across some of the narrow passages of those currents. This is indeed the most rational account that can be given of that matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards disguised after their custom, and embellished with the stories of dragons, brazen bulls, dreadful seas, dangerous passages, and many such difficulties which attended the search after that precious metal.

As for the account which *Suidas* gives of it, that it was a parchment book made of sheeps skin, and in which was written the whole secret of transmuting all metals into gold; it scarcely deserves to be mentioned.

(L) We have already spoken of this river in the history of *Arcadia*.

* *Id. ibid. vid. & Pausan. Pass.*

*Priam* having redeemed his son's shattered remains at an excessive price, *Paris*, another of his sons, soon after shot *Achilles* in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable*. a

The two most memorable things which the *Thessalians* are since recorded for, are, their driving the *Bœotians* from the country of *Arne*, a small territory in *Thessaly*, so called from its metropolis built by *Bœotus* the son of *Neptune*, by *Arne*, the daughter of *Æolus* (M), the second of that name, who was the son of *Hyppotes*, and grandson of *Mimas* king of *Æolis*; and their constant wars against the *Phocians*. The former of these happened according to *Thucidydes*[1] sixty years after the taking of *Troy*, and about a hundred after their first settlement in that territory; when, the *Bœotians* being driven thence, went and possessed themselves of a country then named b *Cadmeis*, and called it by their name *Bœotia*. We have elsewhere spoken of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader.

As for their wars with the *Phocians* (N), it is not easy to guess at the true ground of them, only we find that there was an irreconcilable hatred intailed between those two nations, which proved a constant source of fresh and bloody encounters, in which the *Thessalians*, though superior in strength, especially on account of their cavalry, were very often worsted by the policy of their enemies, witness those statues of *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, and other trophies which *Pausanias* tells us they set up both on their borders, and at the temple of *Delphos*, in memory of their signal victories over them. The truth is the kingdom of *Phocis* was very c mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged, so that the *Thessalians*, who seem still to have been the aggressors, could receive but little benefit from their horse. On the contrary, the same author gives us a remarkable instance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We shall give it our readers pretty near in his own words[2]. The *Phocians* having got intelligence that the *Thessalians* were invading them by the road of *Hyampolis* (a city situate near the mount *Parnassus*) they strewed all that way with empty pots and potsherds, which they covered however so well with earth, that the *Thessalian* horse, who came riding full speed, did not perceive it will they were so intangled in it, that they were all cut in peices by them[3]. Their desire of revenge, soon made them raise a more powerful army than the former, d which so alarmed the *Phocians*, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable for their famed dexterity than for their number, that they sent to consult the *Delphic* oracle concerning the event of this invasion. The answer they received was, *That a mortal and a deity were going to engage in a bloody fight; that both would come off victorious; but that the mortal would get the better*. Upon receiving this answer, they sent *Gelon* with 300 men in the night to observe the motions of the *Thessalians*, but with express orders not to engage with them, but to return by some by-ways. But he falling unfortunately into their hands with his men, they were all either trampled to death by their horses, or put to the sword. The news of this threw the *Phocians* into such consternation, that they resolved either to conquer or perish to e the last man. Their first care was to secure their wives and children, the statues of their gods, and what else they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all these to some thirty of their most resolute men, with orders that if they lost the day, they should murder their wives and children, and set fire to the pile of wood, and fling all their other riches into it.

This desperate resolution, which gave rise to the proverb of the *Phocian* despair, was no sooner taken, than they marched directly against their enemies, and the

* See before, Vol. II. p. 321. c. [1] lib. i. [2] In Phocid. c. xiii. [3] Ibid. c. i. Vid. & Herodot. l. i. & viii. Justin. Diod. & al. [4] Herodot. l. viii. Pausan. in Phocid.

(M) This *Æolus* finding his daughter pregnant, is said to have sent her to *Metapontium*, a city in *Italy* (4), where she was delivered of two sons *Æolus* and *Bœotus*, the former of whom possessed himself afterwards of the isles in the *Tyrrhenian* sea, since called by his own name *Æolides*, in one of which he built the city *Lipara*. *Bœotus* went to *Æolis* to his grandfather and succeeded him in his kingdom, calling the country *Arne* from his mother, whilst his people retained that of *Bœotians* from him (5).

(N) The *Phocians* were a people who inhabited the tract of land which lies between the south border of *Thessaly*, and the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*. It seems therefore that this their neighbourhood was a constant source of their wars, whatever other motives there might be for their invincible hatred. We shall give a fuller account of this warlike nation in the close of this section.

(4) *Id. sub voc.* Μεταπον.

(5) *D. Sicul. c.* 4.

remembrance

a remembrance that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was dear to them, depended on the success of this combat, made them engage with such desperate fury, that they gained a complete victory, which soon unfolded the meaning of the oracle. For upon enquiry they found that the *Thessalian* word for the onset was *Minerva Itonia*, and that of the *Phocians* was the name of *Phocus* their founder; in gratitude therefore to the *Delphic* god, they erected a statue to him, together with those of their most famous heroes and generals in his temple at *Delphos* [p].

The *Thessalians* were still more strangely outwitted, upon another expedition against the *Phocians*, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as mount b *Parnassus*, they were routed by the following stratagem, devised by *Telias*, a famous diviner, who was then in the *Phocian* army, and highly esteemed amongst them. They took six-hundred chosen men, and covered their armour and faces all over with plaister, and sent them into the *Thessalian* camp in the dead of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plaistered over like themselves. These in their march being first perceived by the outguard, and afterwards by the whole camp, and mistaken for some strange army of ghosts, threw their enemies into such pannic fear, that they killed 3000 of them upon the spot, routed the rest, and got a considerable spoil, the tenth of which they sent to the *Delphic Apollo*, together with one-half of the shields of the slain; the other half was hung up as a trophy c in the city of *Aba* [q]. These frequent foils however did but the more heighten their implacable hatred against them, insomuch that they never ceased their hostilities against each other till each ceased to be a nation. But this as well as their affairs with the other estates of *Greece*, will be best seen in the following chapter.

*The ancient kingdom of* Phocis.

Having said so much of the *Phocians* war against the *Thessalians*, we shall here subjoin an account of that brave nation, and of their territories, inconsiderable indeed with respect to the smallness of them, yet richly deserving our notice upon several accounts, though not worth being treated of in a separate section, considering how little we do know of its original foundation, succession of kings, d government, and laws, and other such-like particulars.

*Situation and limits.*

¶ *Phocis* was situate in *Græcia Propria*, and, as we lately observed, between *Thessaly* and the bay of *Corinth*, having the former on the north, and the latter on the south. On the west it was bounded by *Ætolia*, *Locris*, and *Ozolea*, and on the east, by *Bœotia* and *Megaris*, so that it was hemmed in from the sea on all but the south side. Its greatest length was from north to south, that is from 38 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 20 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from east to west, scarcely extending 30 miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 20 deg. 40 min. at the widest, but about 23 miles towards the *Corinthian* bay, and much narrower still towards the north.

*Names.*

e This country is generally allowed to have took its name from *Phocus* the son of *Ornytion*, a native of *Corinth*; but having been soon after invaded by the *Eginetæ*, under the conduct of another *Phocus*, who was the son of *Æacus* king of *Ænopia* (O), the memory of the first did insensibly give way to that of the second.

*Mountains.*

*Phocis* is famed for several celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, 1. that of *Parnassus*, sacred to *Apollo*, and extolled by all the poets. Its height was such, that *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* with many others are said to have saved themselves on the tops of it, from the deluge which happened in that prince's time, and has since gone by his name. 2. *Helicon*, and 3. *Cytheron*, both consecrated to the muses, and on that account highly celebrated also by the poets. They are said f to contend with that of *Parnassus* for height and bigness [s]. *Phocis* had no rivers of any note except the *Cephisus*, which runs from the foot of *Parnassus* northward, and empties itself into the *Pindus*, which last was near the boundary of that kingdom.

[p] Id. ibid. [q] Herodot. ubi supra. [r] Strab. Pausan. Mela, Cluver. &c. [s] Id. ib. Vid. & Virg. Ovid. Pers. &c.

(O) This *Æacus* was the reputed son of *Jupiter* by *Ægina* queen of *Ænopia*, called afterwards from her *Æginea*. He is recorded to have been a prince of such strict justice, that after his death, *Pluto* appointed him one of the three judges of hell. It is no wonder therefore if his son *Phocus*, whom he had by his second wife, who was the daughter of *Nereus*, one of the gods of the sea, did quite eclipse and obliterate the fame of his predecessor.

IT had several considerable cities, the chief of them was that of *Delphos*, or *Delphi* (P), famous for the temple of *Apollo*, whose oracle was resorted to from all parts of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. We have had occasion to speak something of the name, antiquity, richness and magnificence of it in a former section, and there given an account of the manner in which that oracle was consulted and delivered; and shall now add such other particulars as we find recorded concerning the original of it. We have already hinted that *Apollo* was the deity who presided over it. How he came by it is variously reported, that may be seen in the margin (Q). Its first discovery was owing to some goats who were feeding on mount *Parnassus*, upon which was a miraculous, deep and large cavern, but with a narrow entrance. These goats having been observed by the goat-herd, whom *Plutarch* calls *Coretas*, to frisk and leap after a strange and unusual manner, and to have uttered strange and unheard-of sounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, had the curiosity to go and view it, and found himself seized with the like fit of madness, skipping and dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this whole multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were possessed with such phrenetic enthusiasm, that they threw themselves headlong into the vorago; insomuch that they were forced to issue an edict to forbid the approach of the cavern. After this they placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being seated, received and returned the answers of the deity in the manner we have elsewhere described[c]. We meet with some different accounts of this wonderful place, which *Pausanias* has given us upon the credit of the *Phocians*, and which the readers may see in that author[d]. This miraculous place was soon after covered with a kind of chapel, which the same author tells us was originally made of laurel boughs, and was more like a large hut. This, if we may credit the *Phocian* tradition, was succeeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this a third was built of solid copper, and said to have been the workmanship of *Vulcan*. This last was destroyed by an earthquake according to some, or by fire which melted the copper, according to others, and then a sumptuous one, all of stone was erected by *Agamedes* and *Trophimus*.

*Delphos* among several other cities of *Greece*, and *Peloponnesus* contended for being situate in the middle, or, as the *Greek* expresses it, the navel of the world (R)[e], because the navel is in the middle of the body. It had so convenient a harbour, and was so excellently well situate, being rather in the heart of *Greece* than of the world, that it became in time a sessions town for all the *Grecian* estates. Here sat the court of the *Amphictyones*, chosen out of the prime cities of *Greece*, and called so from *Amphictyon* the first founder of this high court[f]. The time of their assembling was in spring and autumn; causes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of *Grecia*, and their sentence was deemed definitive. We shall have frequent instances of the power of this court in the course of the *Grecian* history. The following one which relates to the *Phocians* shall suffice for the present.

THE *Phocians* having presumed to plow the territories of *Cyrra*, which were consecrated to the *Delphic* god, were summoned by the other *Grecian* estates before this court, and had a considerable fine imposed upon them for their sacrilege. They

[c] Vid. DIOD. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. iv. [d] PAUSAN. in Phoc. [e] Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. ix. PAUSAN. ubi supra, & Corinth. [f] PAUSAN. in Phocid. ch. ii.

(P) So called, as is supposed from the *Greek* Ἀδελφοι, brethren, because *Apollo* and his brother *Bacchus* were both worshipped there. The fable says, that *Bacchus* having been terribly torn and mangled by the *Titans*, was brought to *Apollo*, who both restored him, and ordered divine honours to be paid to him in this temple.

(Q) Some say that this oracle did originally belong to the earth, and used to give its answers by dreams. Others, that *Neptune* and the earth were at first partners in it, but that he resigned his share to the earth, who was succeeded by her daughter *Themis*, the same who was consulted, according to *Ovid*, by *Deucalion* and his wife after the flood, and taught them how to repeople the earth. *Themis* in time resigned it to her sister *Phœbe*, and she to *Apollo* (1).

Some antient poets do indeed tell us that he did not come so fairly by it, but that he took it by main force from the earth, for which she was like to have precipitated him into the infernal regions, had not *Jupiter* come to his assistance (2), who seems on all hands to have confirmed the possession of the oracle to him.

(R) The fable says that *Jupiter*, desirous to know the exact middle of the earth, let loose two eagles, *Pindar* says crows, and others swans, the one from the east, and the other from the west, and that they met in this place. The city of *Philus* and some others pretend to the same; but *Strabo* places it in the middle of *Greece* (3).

(1) *D. Sicul. lib.* xvi. *Pausan. in Phocid.* (2) *Pindar. Euripid. in Iphigen. Scholiast. in Æschyl.* (3) *Geogr. l.* ix. *Vid. & Pausan. in Corinth.*

refused

a refused to pay it on pretence that it was too large, and the next session their dominions were adjudged confiscated to the use of the temple. This second sentence did but exasperate the *Phocians* the more, who at the instigation of one *Philomelus*, or, as he is called by *Plutarch*, *Philomedes*, went and seized upon the temple, plundered it of its treasure, and held the sacred depositum for a considerable time. This second crime brought all the estates of *Greece* upon them. A war was decreed against them, which was called the holy war, and lasted ten years, during which the *Phocians* having hired a number of foreign troops, made a noble defence, and would in all probability have held out much longer, had not *Philip* of *Macedon* given the finishing stroke to their total defeat and punishment. The war being ended the b grand council assembled again, and imposed an annual fine of sixty talents upon the *Phocians*, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had sustained from them; and till this was done, they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand assembly. They did not however continue long under this heavy sentence; their known bravery made their assistance so necessary to the rest, that they were glad to remit it; after which they continued to behave with their usual courage and gallantry, and soon obliterated their former guilt, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Considering therefore the great concourse of people which this *Amphictyonic* court, the *Delphic* oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, brought into c the city of *Delphi*; to say nothing of the vast offerings, and presents which were sent from all parts of the world, even by the very *Scythians* unto that oracle, we shall not need wonder at its having been one of the richest and most opulent of all *Greece*; though that proved likewise the occasion of its being so often plundered by other nations, as we shall see it was, in the very next chapter.

The next in dignity both for its antientness and grandeur was the city of *Elatea*, situate on the river *Cephisus*, and said to have been built by *Elatus* the son of *Arcas* the fourth king of *Arcadia*, and to have been peopled by a colony of that antient nation, which came with him into *Phocis* t. *Aba* was likewise considerable for having *Abas* the son of *Lyncæus*, and *Hypermnestra* for its founder, d and for having also an oracle of *Apollo*. This was also the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the rest were destroyed; but whether spared out of respect to *Apollo*, to whom it was consecrated, or, as *Pausanias* affirms, because it had no hand in the plundering of the *Delphic* temple, we will not affirm. *Cirrha*, on the sea-side of *Delphi*, was the port-town to it, and *Crissa*, so called from *Crissus* the son of *Phocus*, was another sea-port. These were both situate on the bay of *Corinth*, which was sometimes called *Sinus Crisseus* from the latter. The last city of any note was *Daulis*, not so much for its bigness or richness, as for the tallness and stoutness of its inhabitants, and much more for the inhuman repast which was served there to *Tereus* king of *Thrace*, by the women of e this city, by whom he was soon after murdered for the double injury he had done to his sister-in-law *Philomela*, daughter of *Pandion* king of *Athens* (S). As for the other exploits of the *Phocians*, they will be best seen in the next chapter.

t Ibid. c. Vid. & Byzant. sub. voc. Ελατεια.

(S) The fable goes that *Tereus* after having married *Progne*, did likewise ravish her sister *Philomela*, cut out her tongue and cast her into prison, to prevent her discovering his villany, but she found means to acquaint *Progne* with her double misfortune, by working the whole story of it on a piece of embroidery, which she sent to her. *Progne* took the opportunity of the approaching feast of *Bacchus* when they were all to meet together, and having got her sister out of prison, made her kill her son *Itis*, whom she had by *Tereus*, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be set before him. When *Tereus* was apprised of this, he endeavoured to kill both his wife and her sister, but they by the help of the *Daulian* women, got the start of him and killed him. *Ovid* has since turned him into a lapwing, *Itis* into a pheasant, his mother into a swallow, and *Philomela* into a nightingale, who is still bewailing the misfortune of her family.

*Pausanias* adds, that no swallows do hatch or breed in all that canton, either in chimnies or houses, as they do every where else (4).

(4) *Phocid. c.* iv.

## SECT. VII.

### *The history of the antient kingdom of* CORINTH.

THIS little estate was situate on the isthmus of *Corinth*, having the bay of that name, now called *Golfo de Lepanto*, and the isthmus or neck of land, which joins *Peloponnesus* to the continent on the north, *Sicyon* on the west, the gulph of *Saron* on the east, and the kingdom of *Argos* on the south. Its utmost extent from east to west was about half a degree, that is, from 23 deg. 50 min. to 24 deg. 20 min. east longitude, and from north to south about half that space, that is, from 38 deg, 21 min. to 38 deg. 36 min. north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called *Acrocorinthium*, at the foot of which the city of *Corinth*, and on the top of which the citadel were built. It was also famed for the mountain *Pyrene*, sacred to the muses, and supposed by some to be the same that was called *Fons Caballinus*, in *Greek Hippocrene*, or the fountain of the horse, which was feigned by the poets to have sprung from the horse *Pegasus* striking his foot against the rock. Others place this last fountain on the hill *Helicon*, but the greatest part on that of *Parnassus*. As for that of *Pyrene* we shall speak more of it by-and-by.

*Corinth* is said to have been founded by *Sisyphus*, the son of *Æolus*, and grandfather of *Ulysses*. This *Sisyphus* is the same who was killed by *Theseus* for the many robberies he committed in *Attica*, and afterwards condemned by *Jupiter* to an endless punishment in hell (A), for having caught that intriguing god in the heighth of an amour with *Ægina*, the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*. The antient name of this city was *Ephyra*, which it took from a nymph of that name, said to have been the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, or, according to others, of *Myrmex*, the wife of *Epimetheus* the son of *Japetus*, and brother of *Prometheus*. The time of its foundation by *Sisyphus* is placed about the year of the world 2490, or six years before *Deucalion*'s flood [a].

ITS new name of *Corinth* is variously traced, some thinking that it was so called from the *Greek* κορεσθος, satiety or abundance, implying the opulence of the place; others go still farther for its etymon [b]; but the antient inhabitants, pretended it had its name from *Corinthus* the son, as some of them said of *Jupiter*, or as others of *Marathon*, and brother of *Sicyon* (B). But most authors ascribe the name and building, or rebuilding of it to *Corinthus* the son of *Pelops*. Among other names it antiently had, we find that of *Heliopolis* or city of the sun, for which this reason is commonly given, that the poets feign *Apollo* and *Neptune* to have contended for it, and that *Jupiter* having appointed *Briareus* the cyclop their umpire, he adjudged the isthmus to the latter, and the promontory which commands the city to the former (C) [c].

However,

[a] Vid. HIND. hist. of Greece, lib. i. [b] Id. ibid. [c] Vid. APOLLOD. DIO. PAUSAN. & al.

(A) This punishment, as it is feigned by the poets, consists in the rolling of a great stone to the top of a hill, which he has no sooner reached, than it tumbles down again, so that his labour is never to be at an end.

(B) *Pausanias* quotes an antient *Corinthian* poet called *Eumelos* (some fragments of whose poems are still preserved in that author, and in the works of *Athenæus*) according to whom, *Marathon* was the grandson of *Aloeus*, who was the son of the sun. And being for some reason afraid of his mother *Epope*'s anger, he retired into some of the maritime coasts of *Attica*; but after his father's death, being returned into *Peloponnesus*, he divided the territories of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* between his two sons *Sicyon* and *Corinthus*, from whom they took their names. *Sicyon* being formerly called *Asopis*, and *Corinth* *Ephyra* (1).

(C) If *Dion Apollodorus*, and other mythologists, may be believed, the gods were so fond of *Greece*, that in *Cecrop*'s time each of them contended to have, at least, one city, where he might be particularly worshipped. *Neptune* came the first into *Attica*, where striking the ground with his trident, he formed a sea. *Minerva* came soon after, and in *Cecrop*'s presence planted an olive-tree, which the last quoted author tells you was still to be seen in his time (2). These two deities disputing their claims to the country on account of the present each had made to it, *Jupiter* caused the controversy to be decided by the twelve gods, who adjudged the city of *Athens* and all *Attica* to *Minerva*.

But whether *Corinth* was called ΗΛΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ from its being adjudged by *Briareus* to *Apollo*, or from *Corinthus*'s being reputed the great grandson of the sun, or from the heighth and dryness of its situation

(1) *Pausan. in Corinthiac. c.* i. (2) *Apollod. l.* iii.

a However, we meet with a number of other antient cities of that name, or rather appellative, it being common in those days to dedicate cities to some of the gods, and firname them accordingly, without losing their original name.

*Corinth* had, besides the abovementioned citadel on the eminence called from it *Acrocorinthus*, two port towns, namely *Lecheum*, situate on the bay of *Corinth*, and *Cenchrea* (D) on that of *Saron*. These were the only two havens, and indeed the only two cities of any note next to *Corinth*, that belonged to this territory. And these were so well situate for naval commerce, and so near the metropolis, that they made ample compensation for the barrenness of the soil. These two naval roads which opened a way into the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas, might easily have gained them b a superiority, if not a command over all *Greece*, had not this advantagious situation inclined them more to a commerce than war. For their citadel being almost impregnable by nature, and commanding both those seas, they could easily cut off all communication from one-half of *Greece* to the other, so that it was not without reason called one of the fetters of *Greece*. But their genius leading them to improve these advantages more to navigation and commerce than to martial exploits, they became in time exceeding opulent, so that the little influence they had over the other estates, was rather owing to their wealth, than to their valour.

As their opulence daily increased, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of strangers that flocked thither from *Europe* and *Asia*, their city became c in time one of the finest in all *Greece*; being adorned with sumptuous buildings, such as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them inriched with a beauteous kind of columns, capitals, and bases, from which the *Corinthian* order took its name, with numberless statues done by the most famous artists [a]. Insomuch that with respect to its riches (E), greatness, and excellent situation, it was thought by the *Romans* equally worthy of empire with *Carthage* and *Capua*. Among other artificial rarities we may reckon the sumptuous embellishments of the fountain of *Pyrene*, we mentioned a little higher (F), consisting of several caves in form of grottos all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large bason, and is very pleasant to d drink. 2. The theatre. 3. The stadium or course, both which are of white marble. 4. The temple of *Neptune*, whose avenue was lined on one side with the statues of all those who had won the prize at the *Isthmian* games (G), and on the other with stately

[a] Pausan. in Corinth. c. ii. & seq.

tion and territory, is scarce worth enquiring. Only we can't omit a conjecture of the learned *Gronovius* (3), that it was originally called Ηλιοτολις from the ruggedness and barrenness of its situation and territory, for such *Strabo* tells us (4) it really was.

(D) That this last was a distinct city from *Corinth*, at least in St. *Paul's* time, we may gather from *Acts* xviii. 18, and from his epistle to the *Romans*, *Ch.* xvi. p. 1. though it had the epithet of *Corinthiaca* in the poets for being one of the havens of that little estate, as *Corinthus* had that of *Bimaris*, for being so conveniently situated between two seas.

(E) We need not a more pregnant instance of their wealth and luxury than that of the courtesan *Lais*, who usually exacted 10,000 drachms for every night's lodging, which made the famous *Demosthenes* say that he did not design to buy repentance at so dear a rate. But she met with a worse fate in *Thessaly*, whither she went in search of fresh customers; for there the women, envious of her beauty, and jealous of their husbands and sons, put her to death.

(F) *Pausanius* tells us this fountain owed its first origin to the tears which *Pyrene* shed for the death of her son *Cenchreus*, who was unfortunately killed by *Diana*. He adds, that it was commonly believed that the *Corinthians* dipped their copper in that water, as soon as it came out of the furnace, to give it a better temper; but he assures us that it was a vulgar error, since they had no copper among them (5)

(G) The origin of these games is variously reported; some say they were instituted by the *Corinthians* in honour of *Melicertes*, the son of *Athamas* and *Ino* (6). The fable says that *Athamas* king of the *Orchomenians*, having taken *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus* in second marriage, after he had had two sons by his first wife *Nephele*, *Ino* proved so cruel a step-mother to them that her husband grew enraged at her, and having put *Learcus* one of the sons he had by her to death, would have killed her and her other son; but that she, to avoid her husband's fury, having thrown *Melicertes* down into the sea, and herself after him (7), a dolphin took the young prince upon his back and swam with him to *Corinth*, where the *Corinthians* received and highly honoured him, changing his name into that of *Palæmon*, and instituting these games in memory of his deliverance. The victors were, according to our author, crowned with pine leaves.

But the generality attribute them to *Theseus* in honour of *Neptune*; the reader may see what we have said of that hero in a former section †.

They were afterwards obliged to appoint new games accompanied with sacrifices in honour of the sons of *Medea*, whom they had unjustly put to death, and for which it seems they had been punished by the gods with the death of their own children, who used to expire unaccountably in their cradles, till

(3) *Not. in Byzant. sub voc. Corinth.* (4) *Geogr. l.* viii. (5) *Corinth. c.* iii. (6) *Id. ibid.* (7) *Apollod. l.* i. † *Vol. II. p.* 366. c.

ſtately pines ſet in regular rows. The temple itſelf, which was not very ſpacious, a
was adorned with a multitude of brazen *Trytons*, or *Sea Gods*. Here were alſo the chariots of *Neptune* and of his wife *Amphitbrite*, both drawn by horſes covered all over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were carved in a ſtanding poſture, and *Neptune* had young *Palæmon* riding on a dolphin by his ſide. The baſes of the chariots were likewiſe adorned with curious baſ-reliefs, and the temple with a multitude of other embelliſhments. It were endleſs to deſcribe all the other edifices, and maſter-pieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with which this ſmall ſpot of ground was inriched, the reader, if he pleaſe, may ſee them deſcribed more at large by *Pauſanias* abovementioned.

But while the *Corinthians* ſeemed ſo wholly given up to traffick and luxury, b
that they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and ſciences, and even that noble thirſt for glory and conqueſt, for which their neighbours did ſo much value themſelves; they did not forget to cultivate a good diſcipline, both in peace and war, their wealth and opulence, which made them inſolent at home, and envied abroad, made both indeed very neceſſary. And though they ſeldom, if ever, engaged in any war with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending their territories, or to protect ſome neighbouring eſtate, or to maintain the liberty of *Greece*; yet has this little kingdom furniſhed many brave and experienced generals to the reſt of the *Grecian* cities, inſomuch that it was common for theſe to prefer a *Corinthian* general to one either of their own, or of any other eſtate. The truth is, the *Co-* c
*rinthians* were of all others the greateſt aſſertors of liberty, and though they continued ſome centuries under a monarchical government, yet they always ſhewed an averſion to tyranny, and a readineſs to aſſiſt thoſe who groaned under it.

The *Corinthian* monarchy did not however continue in the lineal ſucceſſion of their founder *Siſyphus*, who is ſuppoſed to have began it about the year of the world 2490; above ſeven or eight generations, or about 470 years, when his line became extinct, or, as others affirm, was dethroned, and expelled the kingdom by *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, about the year of the world 2920. From him we meet with a long ſucceſſion of kings of his line, concerning the greateſt part of whom little elſe remains but their names, and the years they are ſaid to have reigned; for this d
reaſon we think it needleſs to give here a liſt of thoſe monarchs, whoſe names the reader may ſee in *Euſebius*'s chronicle, and ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened during this epocha. After the ending of *Siſyphus*'s line, the kings who deſcended from *Aletes* affected to call themſelves *Heraclidæ*, he being the great grandſon of *Antiochus* the ſon of *Hercules*[e]. This name however they changed for that of *Bacchiadæ*, from *Bacchis* the fifth in deſcent from *Aletes*, whom we may therefore ſuppoſe to have been upon ſome account or other more famous and eſteemed than his anceſtors. Theſe *Bacchiadæ* held the kingdom of *Corinth* near as long as the *Heraclidæ*, by which time they grew ſo numerous on the one hand, and on the other ſo weary of kingly government, that they e
intirely diſſolved it in the reign of *Teleſtes* their laſt king. This prince being become very odious to his ſubjects, his two kinſmen *Arieus* and *Perantas* formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and at once deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had reigned twelve years[f], and in the year of the world 3104. After his death two hundred of the principal *Bacchiadæ* ſeized upon the government (H), and ſhared the adminiſtration of affairs among themſelves, electing a ſupreme magiſtrate out of their own body whom they called *Prytanis*, to preſide over the reſt. *Corinth* continued under the *Bacchiadal* ariſtocracy till the year 3349, when *Cypſelus* deſcended from them by the mother's ſide (I), having received ſome obſcure hint from the oracle

*Year of the flood* 1915. *Before Chriſt* 1084.

*Year of the flood* 1099. *Before Chriſt* 1900.

[e] Pausan. ubi ſupra, c. iv. [f] Id. ibid. vid. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

till the murder was, by the advice of the oracle, expiated by thoſe annual ceremonies. In further memory of this murder they erected a ſtatue repreſenting fear, in honour of *Medea*, and their children uſed to go in black, and with their hair cut, and this cuſtom laſted till all the old race of the *Corinthians* was extirpated with their city (8).

(H) Some antient authors do indeed tell us that *Automenes*, the ſon of *Teleſtes*, did reign one year after the death of his father (9), and it is not unlikely that he made ſome vain effort to keep the crown; but *Pauſanias* takes no notice of him, but tells us the diſſolution of their monarchy did immediately follow the murder of that king (10), but whether in the laſt year of this or in the firſt of that, 'tis agreed that the government was then changed into an ariſtocracy.

(I) His mother *Labda* the daughter of *Amphion*, one of the *Bacchiadæ*, was lame, and ſo deformed, that none of her tribe cared to marry her. Wherefore her father gave her to one *Eetion*, a man deſcended at a great diſtance from the *Lapithoe*, contrary to the ſettled maxim of the *Bacchiadæ*, who had

(8) *Vid. Pauſan. Cor. c.* iii. (9) *Euſeb. D. Sicul. & al.* (10) *Corinth. c.* iv.

a oracle that he would be king of *Corinth*, and that he should be succeeded by his son, but not by his grandson; found means to wrest the power out of their hand. The time of this usurpation, which according to the oracle continued only in *Cypselus* and his son, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontat of *Athens*, and is therefore beyond our present epoch. From *Sisyphus* the first founder, to this *Cypselus*, the *Corinthian* government had stood almost 860 years, or 430 years in the line of *Sisyphus*, 130 in that of *Aletes*, 130 in that of *Bacchis*, and about 150 under the *Aristocratic* government of the 200 *Bacchiadæ*.

*Sisyphus* is generally allowed the first founder of the *Corinthian* kingdom (K), he was the son of *Æolus*, and was killed by *Theseus* for the many inroads which he b made into *Attica*, as we hinted at the beginning of this section. He left several sons, and amongst them *Glaucus* who succeeded him, and *Ornythus*, or, as he is generally called, *Ornytion* the father of *Phocus*, who carried a colony into *Phocis*, and called the country after his name, as we have shewn before.

*Glaucus* called by *Euripides Creon* (L), received *Jason* and *Medea* into *Corinth*, after they had been both expelled *Thessaly* by *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*. Here they lived about ten years quietly enough, till *Creon* having married his daughter *Glauce* to *Jason*, the slighted sorceress *Medea* was so inraged at it, that she set the palace on fire, murdered all the children she had had by *Jason*, and fled to *Athens*[a]. *Pausanias* adds, that *Glaucus* having assisted at the funeral games, which *A*- c *castus* had instituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horses[b], and that *Glauce* flung herself into a fountain in hopes that the water of it would preserve her from *Medea*'s inchantments, and that that fountain was since called by her name[c].

*Bellerophon*, so called from his killing a man named *Beller*, was the son of *Glaucus* or *Creon*. We have seen in a former section how he was forced to retire into *Argos*, for that manslaughter, and there falsely accused by *Stenobæa* of an attempt upon

[a] Vid. Apollod. l. i. c. 9. D. Sicul. Bibl. Hist. l. iv. & Eurip. in Medea. [b] Elid. c. iii.
[c] Id. in Corinth. c. iv.

had till then refused to intermarry with other families the better to secure the government to their own.

This *Eetius* having no children, went to consult the oracle of *Delphi*, where he was told, though in very obscure terms, that he should have a son by his lame wife that would prove a scourge to *Corinth*. On the other hand the *Bacchiadæ* having likewise been forewarned by the same oracle, and in the same intricate terms, against *Eetion*'s offspring, sent ten men of their own body to murder the boy, *Labda* had lately brought forth; and as these were going to *Eetion*'s house, they agreed that he to whom the child was delivered should kill him. Their pretence was to congratulate *Eetion* on the birth of it in the name of their whole body, and *Labda*, ignorant of their real intent, readily gave him to the first that asked for it; but the infant at that instant smiling in his face, and he not having the power to strike the blow, gave it to his next companion, and he, moved with the same pity, gave it to a third. The child was thus handed through all the ten, and restored unhurt to the mother, after which they withdrew.

They were no sooner got out of the house, than they began to blame each other for not performing the deed, and agreed to go in again and be equal sharers in the murder; but the mother, who had overheard their discourse, took care to convey the child under a bushel or corn-measure, called in *Greek* Κυψέλη *Cypsele*, from which he afterwards took his name. *Pausanias* calls it a coffer or chest, and adds, that it was made of cedar, and adorned with some fine carvings in gold ivory, and that it was afterwards consecrated by his descendants to *Juno Olympia*, in memory of his wonderful escape (11). However that be, the bloody deputies having searched the whole house in vain, returned to their brethren, and being ashamed to own their weakness, made them believe that they had executed their orders, and *Cypselus* thus wonderfully preserved, became in time the tyrant of *Corinth*, as shall be shewn in the next chapter (12).

(K) *Pausanias* doth indeed quote an antient poet named *Eumelos*, who pretends that this country had been given by the sun to *Æetes*, and that he, accompanying *Jason* in the *Argonautic* expedition, left the government to *Butus* the son of *Mercury*, from whom it having pass'd in time to *Corinthus* the son of *Marathon*, who died without issue, or according to *Apollodorus* left only one daughter, the *Corinthians* invited *Jason* and *Medea* to come and reign over them; and that *Jason* having taken a dislike at *Medea*, and gone away from her, she appointed *Sisyphus* her successor (13).

But there are two solid arguments against this poetic fiction, the one that *Sisyphus* was the brother of *Cretheus*, and this the grandfather of *Jason*, so that these two could not be cotemporaries. The other is that *Sisyphus* must have been dead some time before *Jason* came to *Corinth*, since *Euripides* tells us in his *Medea*, that *Creon* did then reign there, who is supposed to be the same with *Glaucus* the son and successor of *Sisyphus* (14), as we shall see immediately.

(L) The author above quoted supposes him to be so called, not as it was his real name, but as it implied his regal dignity, *Creon* in *Greek* signifying the same as *reigning* or *governing*.

(11) *Pausan. in Elid. c.* xvii. (12) *Id. in Corinth. c.* iv. *Vid. & Herodot. l.* v. (13) *Corinth. c. iv.*
(14) *Vid. Paulmier. & Gedoyn. in eund. ibid.*

her, for which he was sent by *Prætus* to *Jobates* king of *Lycia*, to be put to a death (M). The first dangerous expedition which the *Lycian* king sent him upon, was to subdue the *Solymi*, a neighbouring people, against whom he sent him with a very small number of forces; but that defect being supplied by his bravery, he overcame them; and, as the learned *Bochart* supposes, their three gods, which they painted on their ensigns[k], one in the shape of a lion, a second of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own in memory of this conquest; gave birth to the fable of his killing the monster *Chimæra* (N). His next expedition was against the *Amazons*, from which he not only came off victorious, but extricated himself also from an ambush of *Lycians*, which *Jobates* had set to way-lay, and murder him in his return; and killed every one of b them. *Jobates* at length, struck with admiration at his bravery and success, sought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his services, which he did by giving him his daughter *Philonoe* in marriage, and declaring him his successor[l].

All these atchievements however, if we may believe the poets, were not done without an extraordinary assistance. For *Minerva*, who took pity of the innocent prince, lent him the famous horse *Pegasus* (O), after she had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whose help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the most signal of his exploits, especially that of killing the *Chimæra*[m], against which *Neptune* was likewise pleased to give him his assistance. After these successes and great change of fortune, he is said to have grown so insolent and presumptuous, that it c brought a new series of mischiefs upon him, which gave occasion to the fable mentioned in the last note, of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon *Pegasus*, by whom he was flung down into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind[n].

We took notice above that *Thoas* the son of *Ornytion*, succeeded *Creon* or *Glaucus*; from him the crown descended to his son *Demophon*, to his grandson *Propidas*, and lastly to his two great grandsons, *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas*. It was in the reign of these two that the *Dorians* invaded the kingdom, with *Aletes* one of the *Heraclidæ* at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at *Corinth*. *Aletes* was the son of that *Hippotes*, who had been banished *Peloponnesus* for ten years, by order of the *Delphic* oracle for killing one *Carnus* an *Arcananian* d prophet in the war of the *Epigoni* against *Thebes*, mentioned in a former section.

He met however with an obstinate resistance from the *Corinthians*, who shewed upon that occasion a great reluctance to submit to a foreign prince; but unfortunately for them, *Aletes* and his brave *Dorians* proved too strong, beat and expelled them out

[k] Phaleg. lib. i. c. 6. [l] Pausan. ubi supra. [m] Apollod. l. ii. c. 3. [n] Id. ibid. Pausan. Sicul. &al.

(M) It is likely, as *Pausanias* observes (15), that *Bellerophon* never reigned at *Corinth*, and that he was forced to fly into *Argos* before his father's death; but what the same author adds, that both he and the *Corinthians* were then subject to the *Argives*, doth not so well appear. It is true those *Corinthian* troops that went to the siege of *Troy*, are said by *Homer* not to have been led thither by one of their kings, but to have marched under the ensigns of *Agamemnon*. But might they not have gone as mercenaries under him, as did also the *Arcadians*?

However, as *Bellerophon* never returned from *Lycia* to *Corinth*, we find *Thoas* his cousin, the son of *Ornytion* on the throne there; and 'tis likely that he ascended it after *Glaucus*'s death, and during *Bellerophon*'s absence.

As for the exploits of this hero, they have been so blended with fable, that we hope our readers will be contented with a bare mention of them, divested as much as possible from the poetic fictions, with which those writers have disguised them.

(N) This monster the poets feigned to have had the head and breast of a lion, the body of a goat and the hinder parts or tale of a dragon, and that it spit out fire and flame (16). We have seen what the learned *Bochart* thought of it. The reader may see his arguments, which are far from despicable, in the place above quoted. Others think that it was a mountain in *Lycia*, which had some vulcano on the top; that the upper part of it was only frequented by lions, the middle by goats, and the foot by serpents, and that our hero having cleared it of all that vermin, gave rise to the fable of this *Chimæra* (17).

Others again suppose it to have been a noted pirate among the *Lycians* named *Chimarras*, who had the lion, goat, and dragon, painted on his ship, and was overcome by *Bellerophon*, after having infested those parts a considerable time, and done great damage to *Lycia* and all the neighbouring kingdoms (18).

(O) This famous winged creature is feigned to have sprung from *Medusa*'s blood. The *Corinthians* had a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whom they stamed *Chalinitis*, from the *Greek* Καλινος, a bit or curb bridle, because she had clapp'd one in his mouth, in order to break him for our hero's service.

The fable adds, that *Bellerophon* being got on the back of *Pegasus*, was so affrighted at his mounting in the air, that he fell down, and that the horse, finding himself without a rider, flew up to heaven, where he was turned into the constellation that still bears his name.

(15) *In Corinth.* (16) *De hac vid. Hesiod. Theogn. Lucret. Horat. Ovid. &c.* (17) *Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg.* (18) *Plutarch. de virtut. Mulier. & Hind. Hist. Græc.*

of

a of that metropolis, and got at length the quiet possession of the kingdom. From him it passed through a succession of his descendants, under the names of *Heraclidæ* and *Bacchiadæ*, till *Telestes* the ninth from him. This prince being very young when *Aristomedes* his father died, had been left to the care of his uncle *Agemon*, who soon after mounted the throne, and not only held it from him sixteen years, but left it to his own son *Alexander*, who reigned also twenty-six years; but was at length killed by *Telestes*, whom it seems they had still suffered to live during this long usurpation, and who then seized upon his right, and enjoyed it till he was himself killed by a faction, as we hinted above; immediately after which followed the aristocracy of the 200 *Bacchiadæ* under their annual Prytanes [a].

[a] Pausan. ubi supra. Euseb. Chron. l. i. D. Sicul. ubi supra.

## SECT. VIII.

### *The history of the antient kingdom of* Lacedemon *or* Sparta.

a THE original name of this country was *Laconia*, a name which this nation still prided themselves in, after it was afterwards changed into those of *Spartans* and *Lacedemonians*. As for those of *Sparta* and *Lacedemon*, though they be often confounded by writers antient and modern, yet in propriety of speech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, so called, according to the tradition of that people, from *Sparte* the daughter of *Eurotas*, and the latter of the kingdom or nation, and so called from *Lacedemon* the husband of *Sparta*, and heir and successor of *Eurotas*. The same tradition adds, that *Eurotas* was the grandson of *Lelex*, sirnamed also *Eutochtos*, because he was supposed to have been originally a native, and from him his subjects bore the antient name of *Leleges*. *Lelex* was succeeded by his eldest son b *Myles*, and this by his son *Eurotas*, who finding the country very unhealthy and incommodious, by reason of the bogs and marshes, with which it was covered, cut a spacious channel through it, into which such quantities of waters drained themselves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name. *Eurotas* having no male issue, married his daughter *Sparte* to *Lacedemon*, the supposed son of *Jupiter* by *Taygeta* (A), and appointed him his successor, from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city which he built soon after, and made the seat of the kingdom by that of his wife [a]. Thus far the *Laconic* tradition, others, however, derive the name of *Sparta* from *Spartus* the son, according to some, or, according to others, the brother of *Phoroneus* [b], the son of c the great *Inachus* the founder of *Argos*. Others make him the son of *Amydas* [c]; *Stephen of Byzantium* [d] tells us of one *Sparton*, who is in all likelihood the same person, whom others call *Spartus*, and this is by some reckoned the brother, and by others the son of *Phoroneus* [e]; but this last is confuted by *Pausanias*, who tells us that he doth not believe that *Phoroneus* had any son of that name, and that the *Lacedemonians* themselves did not acknowledge any such person. We omit that monstrous account which some give of *Sparta*'s being so called from *Cadmus* making an irruption into *Laconia* with his *Sparti*, who were said to have had that name given them, because they sprang from the teeth of the dragon which he had sown, and which we have mentioned elsewhere. This monstrous story is even rejected by the *Greeks* d themselves as a fiction. Under this variety and uncertainty of opinions we think it would be vain to make further inquiries concerning the original of that name; as

*The name,*

*And their etymon.*

[a] Pausan. in Laconic. ch. i. Vid. & St. Byzant. sub voce Sparta & Laconia. [b] Euseb. Chron. [c] Eustat. in Iliad. B. [d] Sub voce Lacedemon. [e] Idem in voce Mycenas.

(A) This princess was the daughter of *Atlas*, king of *Mauritania*, and uncle of *Jupiter*, and is said to have been ravished both by him and by his brother *Neptune*; from her the mountain *Taygetus* had its name, on which was a noble monument erected in honour of her son *Lacedemon*. Near this place was also a village called *Alesies*, from the *Greek* Αλεω, to grind, because *Myles* the son of *Lelex* is reported to have found the first mule there, and to have made use of it for grinding of corn (1).

This mountain was likewise famous for furnishing huntsmen with a great variety of wild beasts, such as bears, boars, deer, and vast quantities of wild goats (2).

(1) *Pausan. in Laconic. c.* 20. (2) *Id. ibid.*

for

for that of *Lacedemon*, it is generally agreed to be from the *Lacedemon* mentioned above (B). a

*Geography.* *Laconia* was situate on the south-east nook of *Peloponnesus*, having *Argos* and *Arcadia* on the north, *Messenia* on the west, the bay of *Argos* on the east, and the *Mediterranean* on the south. Its extent from east to west, where it reached furthest, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg. 20 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. east longitude; but it grew still narrower, as it extended itself northward. The extent of it from north to south was about fifty miles, that is, from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude[f]. We do not pretend to say that this extent of their dominions was such from the beginning; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were antiently contained within a much narrower compass, and that a great number of b those cities both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the *Spartan* government till a long time after. Of this nature were the *Heliots*, *Gythians*, and many others, which were forced to yield to the superior power of the *Lacedemonians*, especially after the *Ephori* had so far clipped the royal prerogative, and enslaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to fall foul upon all those neighbouring estates, rather than live an idle and slavish life under those upstart and tyrannic magistrates.

As all the south part of this kingdom was incompassed by the sea, and the east and north-east part by the *Argolic* bay, it had a great number of promontories, c the chief of which were those of *Malea* and *Tanara* (C), now *Capo Malio*, and *Capo Matapan*. These two being situate on the *Mediterranean*, form the large *Laconian* gulph which lies between them, and is now called the *Golfo de Colochina*, into which the famed river *Eurotas* mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of *Basilipotamo*, vulgarly *Vasilipotamo*, or royal river, discharges her waters with an easy and gentle course.

All the sea-coasts of *Laconia* were likewise furnished with a considerable number of sea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greatest and most convenient were those of *Trinassus* and *Acria*, situate on each side the mouth of the *Eurotas*; and *Gythium*, at a small distance from *Trinassus*. This last *Pausanias* tells us had the d remains of a castle still standing, which might be at first built to guard the mouth *Sea-ports.* of that river which was navigable quite up to *Sparta*, if not beyond. *Gythium* was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by *Apollo* and *Hercules* (D); but the most noted of all was *Epidaurus*, now *Malvasia*, seated on the gulph of *Argos*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, a town well built and well peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine called *Malvesy*, or *Malmesy*, which grew round the neighbourhood of it, and with which it supplied other parts of *Greece*. There were about twelve more sea-port towns along the *Laconian* coasts, and what made these still more famed, was a kind of shell-fish caught in that neighbourhood, whose blood was of excellent use for dying of e purple, and was inferior to none except that which was caught in the *Red-Sea*[h].

Inland towns did likewise abound in this kingdom, the most considerable of which was *Sparta* the metropolis, called also improperly *Lacedemon*, and situate upon

[f] In Corinth. Vid. & Bochart. Phaleg. lib. i. c. 22. [g] Vid. Strab. Mela, Pausan. & al.
[h] Pausan. in Laconic. ch. xxi.

(B) Besides the names of *Lacedemonia*, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, we find in antient geographers those of *Lelegia*, from the *Leleges*, whom *Strabo* makes the first inhabitants; so that that of *Laconia* is posterior to it according to him. It was afterwards called *Oebalia* from *Oebalus* the sixth from *Eurotas*. It had also the name of *Hecatompolis* from the hundred cities which it is said once to have had (3). It is now called *Tzaconia*.

(C) This cape which juts out a great way into the sea, had two ports, one named *Achilleus*, and the other *Psamatheus*. Here was also the famous temple of *Neptune* built in form of a grotto, falsely supposed by the poets to be the passage out of which *Hercules* brought *Pluto*'s dog *Cerberus*, since there is no subterranean place under it; but what seems to have given rise to this fancy was, that here was bred a most dreadful serpent, whose bite was so mortal, that it was thence called hell-hound, and which was afterwards killed by *Hercules*, and carried by him to *Erectheus* (4).

(D) They pretend that these two, having disputed a long while about a tripod, and at length amicably ended their quarrel; agreed to build this city at their common charge, for which reason the inhabitants of it pretend themselves not to be sprung from mortal men, and had the statues of those two gods in their market-place, as of the authors of their origin (5).

(3) *Vid. Strab. Geogr. lib.* viii. (4) *Id ibid. Pausan. Mela, &c.* (5) *Pausan. ubi supra.*

the

a the river *Eurotas*, at about thirty miles distance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at least beautified by *Lacedemon*, the first king of it. The next for antiquity and grandeur was *Amyclæ*, built by *Amyclas* the son of *Lacedemon*, and famed afterwards for the birth of *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus*, eighth king of *Lacedemon*, and distant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was afterwards famed for sending a considerable colony of its own inhabitants into upper *Calabria*, who built there a city which they called by the same name. This city was afterwards destroyed by the *Dorians*, and turned into an inconsiderable hamlet, in which however there were seen some of the ruins of its antient grandeur. One of the finest buildings that escaped the common ruin was the temple and statue of *Alex-* b *andria*, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the same with *Cassandra* the daughter of *Priam*. 3. *Helos* ruined by the *Spartans* (E). 4. *Thulana*, near to which is the famous lake of *Lerna*, where *Hercules* slew the *Hydra*. 5. *Leuctrum*, upon the bay of *Messenia*, and situate near the sea. We find two other cities of this name, one in *Arcadia*, and the other in *Achaia*; but this was the most remarkable of the three [1]. *Cities of note.*

Mountains they had in great number, the country was divided from *Messenia*, by one ridge of them, and from *Arcadia* by another; and this latter was a very long one [2], besides those which were in the heart of it. The greatest part of them however, were more celebrated for some fabulous exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing else they were remarkable for, and may therefore be passed by. c Rivers of note, besides the *Eurotas* abovementioned, were the *Smenus*, which had its head near the foot of the mountain *Taygeta*, and thence empties itself into the sea, and whose waters are famed for their sweetness and pleasantness. The *Thiasus*, said to have had its name from the daughter of *Eurotas*. The *Scyras*, where *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*, landed, after he came from *Scyros* to marry *Hermione*. This river having till then no name, was from thenceforth called *Scyras*. We omit some others of less note.

The soil was very rich, especially in the low and flat grounds, and their being so well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for pasture-ground; but their being so overthwarted with hills and mountains, hindered them d from being so well tilled as they might have otherwise been. But the country was much better situated for trade and navigation, by having the sea round above half the kingdom, and so many fair havens upon it. How well they improved these advantages, how powerful they became, and what noble fleets they entertained, and brave experienced admirals they bred, will be seen in the sequel of their history. The truth is, the *Lacedemonians* were a brave couragious people, hardy, and inured to the trade of war both by sea and land, averse to sloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power; they were wanting in no civil or military discipline in order to secure the one, and curb the other. And by these means it was that they became so powerful, and came to make so e considerable a figure in *Greece* [3]. *Soil.*

Their government was like all others originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed some magistrates under them, whose advice and council they made use of upon all emergent occasions; but as these were chosen by the prince, and might be turned out at pleasure, they seldom had courage enough to contradict him in any thing, so that his will was still the supreme law. In this manner it passed through a succession of twelve princes, from *Lacedemon* the son-in-law of *Eurotas*, and founder of this monarchy. Not indeed constantly in the male-line, which being extinct in *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus* their seventh monarch, it passed to *Menelaus*, then king of *Messenia*, in right of his wife *Helena*, *Tyndareus*'s daughter. From him f it passed to his sons by a former wife, after which it returned again to the descendants of *Helena*, in *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, whose son *Tisamenes* being outed *Government.*

[1] De his Vid. Pausan. ibid. & Byzant. sub voce. [2] Mela, lib. ii. c. 4. & alib. Strab. ubi supra.
[3] Vid. Thucydid. l. ii. Pausan. in Laconic. Plutarch. in Lycurg. Diodor. Sicul. &c.

(E) These people whose city had been built by *Helius* the son of *Perseus*, had a worse fate than any of the rest. For having refused to pay the tribute imposed upon them by *Agis*, the third king of the *Heraclidæan* line, the *Lacedemonians* fell upon them with an army, took them prisoners, reduced them to the lowest and most miserable slavery, and, to complete all, made a law, which forbid their masters either giving them their liberty, or selling them into other countries (6).

(6) *Strab. ubi supra, p.* 363. & 365.

by the *Heraclidæ*, went and reigned in *Achaia*, leaving the kingdom of *Lacedemon* a
to the sons of *Aristodemus*, *Eryſthenes*, and *Procles*. For, though ſome have placed their father at the head of the *Herculean* liſt, yet it is more likely that he had been dead before they had finiſhed the conqueſt of this kingdom, if not even before they entered into *Peloponneſus* (F).

However, whether under him, or his twin-ſons, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* (G), abovementioned, the government took a quite new form, and inſtead of one ſovereign, became ſubject to two. For theſe two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, as had been done at *Argos*, *Meſſenia*, *Arcadia*, and elſewhere; neither did they agree to reign alternately, as *Eteocles* and *Polynices* had done at *Thebes*; but, whether purſuant to their father's will, or by virtue of ſome mutual contract, b
they reſolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority; both bearing the title of king of *Lacedemon*, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as ſuch. *Pauſanias* adds, that the *Delphic* oracle being conſulted about this new form of government, the pythoneſs did not make any objection againſt it *. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that this biarchy, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, did not end with thoſe two brothers, though from their mutual jealouſy and antipathy, one would hardly have expected it to have outlived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartic ſucceſſion of thirty princes of the line of *Euryſthenes*, and twenty-ſeven of that of *Procles*, and ended in both near about the ſame time (H.)
c

But though this title and ſucceſſion continued thus long in thoſe two lines, yet was the power and authority ſoon curtailed through the diſcords which muſt inevitably have reigned between them. *Euryſthenes* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Agis*, from whom all the deſcendants of that line were ſirnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ* from *Eurytion* the grandſon of *Procles*. Theſe two ſoon came to divide themſelves into two diſtinct parties, under which the people who are not always the dupes of thoſe that govern them, did liſt themſelves according as their affection or intereſt led them; and this obliged their heads to court them by largeſſes, by ſome new privileges, and other ſuch-like condeſcenſions, which though they ſerved the preſent purpoſe, yet could not but prove in the end prejudicial to the d
royal prerogative. This the *Lacedemonians* ſoon perceived, and being become conſcious how impoſſible it would be for either ſide to hold the reins of government under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances; they became the haughtier and more inſolent, as they found their affection and aſſiſtance neceſſary to either competitor. This gave birth to freſh complaints, murmurs, and every pretence or ſtratagem which did but weaken the regal power. The conſequence of all this was, that the people inſtead of becoming more tractable by any conceſſion, grew the more turbulent and headſtrong, taking every advantage they could againſt thoſe, who thro' either their eaſy nature, or through neceſſity, were glad to court their affection, and vexing and blackening thoſe, who had courage enough to curb and uſe them e
with any ſeverity. By theſe diviſions the regal dignity was brought into ſuch contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confuſion, when the great *Lycurgus* took the reins of it during ſome part of his nephew *Charilaus*'s minority.

* Pausan. ubi ſupra, c. i.

(F) We have already taken notice that this prince who was the ſon of *Ariſtomachus*, and brother to *Creſphontes* and *Temenus*, is ſaid to have been killed by lightning at *Naupactus* in *Ætolia*, whilſt their navy was getting ready for this expedition; here it was that he left his twin-ſons *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, whom he had by *Argea* the daughter of *Autesion*, his ſucceſſors, both to the expedition and to all the conqueſt they ſhould make in it.

*Pauſanias* ſays he was killed by the ſons of *Pylades* and *Electra*, who were couſin germans to *Tiſamenes* the ſon of *Oreſtes*, before this expedition. And the *Lacedemonians* pretended that *Apollo* had ſhot him to death at *Delphos*, becauſe he came thither, not to conſult the oracle, but to adviſe with *Hercules*, who was there at that time, about the means of invading *Peloponneſus*; ſo that upon the whole it appears that he was dead ſome time before the conqueſt of that peninſula by the *Heraclidæ*.

(G) This laſt is ſometimes called *Procles*, and ſometimes *Proteclès* by *Strabo*. *Plutarch* calls him *Patrocles*; but *Herodotus*, *Apollodorus*, *Cicero*, and *Pauſanias*, always call him *Procles*; it is likely, this difference is owing to the inadvertency of copyiſts, ſome of whom were uſed to abridge words and names, and others to write them at length.

(H) When *Cicomenes* III. the laſt of the firſt line, having killed his copartner *Eurydamidas*, was ſhortly after vanquiſhed by *Antigonus*, as ſhall be ſeen in the following chapter.

a THIS great patriot and lawgiver was the son of *Polydectes* the sixth king of the *Eurytionian* line, but by a second wife. However, his elder brother dying without children, the right of succession remained in him, and he accordingly took the administration upon him, waiting however to see whether his sister-in-law was with child. This princess finding herself pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promise that if he would marry her, she would take some effectual method to destroy the embryo. *Lycurgus*, though shocked at the proposal, yet gave her some distant hopes that he would comply with it, but withal used all proper means to prevent her miscarrying, till the time of her delivery was come, when he sent for some persons of note to be present at her labour. She was soon after brought to bed of a b son, the news of which being sent to him whilst he was at supper with some noble *Spartans*, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, said to those who were present, This is your king, laid him on a chair of state, and gave him the name of *Charilaus*. This generous action did not however satisfy all the *Spartans*; the incensed queen, by the help of her brother *Leonidas*, persuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game in order to seize and make himself the more sure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent therefore so vile an insinuation, and so far from his intention, from gaining credit, *Lycurgus* withdrew himself into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till *Charilaus* was married, and had had a son to succeed him. This last action having at once put an end c to all those unjust surmises, which had been raised by his enemies, and procured him the esteem of all those that wished well to their country; he met with less difficulty in the prosecution of his more glorious design of new modelling the government. Another circumstance which facilitated this change was, that during his absence, such depravity of manners, and corruption in the government, had crept into that miserable estate, that not only his friends, but even those who had been his most zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embassies, to entreat him to come back and save his country from ruin *.

THESE were the inevitable consequences of that fatal division of the regal authority between two competitors, which however *Lycurgus* took a quite different method d of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines, which might have proved too dangerous a task. He contented himself therefore with reducing their authority, by constituting a senate endowed with the supreme power in all civil matters, and leaving to the kings, besides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs, as shall be shewn in the next chapter, in which we shall give a more particular account of the form of government which he established, the body of laws which he framed, and the extraordinary method which he took to give both a sure and lasting sanction.

THUS was the *Spartan* monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had continued in the line of *Lacedemon* 610 years, that is from the year of the world e 2290, in which we place the building of *Sparta* according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming subject to the *Heraclidæ* about *A. M.* 2900, and continued in the double line of these last during seven reigns, making in all about 280 years more. In the following list therefore of those kings, we shall begin it only from *Lacedemon* the son-in-law of *Eurotas*, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of that estate. As to his supposed predecessors, *Lelex*, *Myles*, and *Eurotas*, we shall content ourselves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this section.

AND as for those of the *Herculean* family, who reigned after the change of government made by *Lycurgus*, besides that they are all out of our epocha, they are more f to be looked upon as generals of the *Lacedemonian* army, than as royal sovereigns, and consequently their names need not be mentioned here.

* Vide Auct. sup. citat.

a

A List of the royal *Lacedemonian* line.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 *Lacedemon* | 5 *OEbalus* | 9 *Menelaus* |
| 2 *Amyclas* | 6 *Hippocoon* | 10 *Nicoſtratus* and *Megapenthes* |
| 3 *Argalus* | 7 *Tyndareus* his brother | 11 *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon* |
| 4 *Cynorta* | 8 *Caſtor* and *Pollux* | 12 *Tiſamenes.* |

The *Herculean* line.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 *Euryſthenes* | 1 *Procles* |
| 2 *Agis* | 2 *Sous* |
| 3 *Echeſtratus* | 3 *Eurytion* |
| 4 *Labotas* | 4 *Prytanis* |
| 5 *Doryſſus* | 5 *Eunomus* |
| 6 *Agesilaus* | 6 *Polydectes* |
| 7 *Archelaus* | 7 *Charilaus.* |

b

1. Concerning *Lacedemon*, we know little more beſides what we mentioned at the beginning of this ſection, except that he built a temple or two of the graces whom he called *Phaenna* and *Clete*, celebrated by an ancient poet [a], and that his deſcendants raiſed a ſtately monument to him near the town of *Aleſies*, where *Myles* c is ſaid to have found the firſt mule.

2. *Amyclas* his ſucceſſor is ſtill more unknown (I), except for building the city of his name, mentioned a little higher, concerning which there goes a ſtory, that whether by reaſon of its ſituation, or any other cauſe, it was ſo ſubject to frequent and ſtrange noiſes, as of enemies coming upon them, when there was really nothing like it, that the *Amycleans* made a law that none ſhould dare to alarm the town upon any ſuch occaſion: The *Dorians* taking the advantage of it, came upon them on a ſudden and took the town; and hence came the old proverb, *I will ſpeak, knowing how the* Amycleans *were ruined for holding their peace*; and the old ſaying of *Amyclas vivere*, was uſed to ſignify to ſee and hear, and ſay nothing. The people d of this city became afterwards famous likewiſe for their ſtrict adherence to the *Pythagorean* doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature, and which they did ſo ſtrictly keep, that they forbore the deſtroying even of thoſe very ſerpents which annoyed and deſtroyed them. We have very little left concerning *Amyclas*'s three ſucceſſors, *Argalus*, *Cynorta*, and *OEbalus*, except that this laſt gave his name to a canton of *Lacedemonia*, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the reſt, and gave to his ſon *Hippocoon*, whilſt the reſt of the kingdom was aſſigned to his other ſon *Tyndareus*. *OEbalus* married *Gorgophone* the daughter of *Perſeus*, by whom he had this *Tyndareus*, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in *OEbalia*, came ſoon after and deprived e him of it.

Whilst *Hippocoon* reigned in *Sparta*, *Hercules* happened to come thither to be expiated for the murder of *Iphitus*. *Hercules*, it ſeems, after having put away *Megara*, went to *OEchalia*, where he won *Iole* the daughter of *Eurytus*, king of that country, at ſhooting againſt him and his ſons, an exerciſe which that king always propoſed to thoſe who came to court his daughter. But the king and his ſons, remembering how he had uſed *Megara*, refuſed to give *Iole* to him, in revenge of which affront he drove away *Eurytus*'s horſes, and taking his ſon *Iphitus*, who was ordered to go in ſearch of them, up to the top of a high tower, under pretence of ſhewing him where they were, threw him down headlong and killed him. *Hyppocoon* there- f fore and all his ſons did ſtoutly oppoſe his being expiated, becauſe they thought the

[a] Alcman. ap. Pausan. Lacon. c. xviii.

(I) The fable ſays, that of all the ſons he had, he was moſt exceſſively fond of *Hyacinthus* the youngeſt, becauſe he excelled all the reſt in beauty, inſomuch that *Apollo* and *Zephyrus* became enamoured with him at the ſame time. *Apollo* being one day at play, unfortunately ſlew him with a quoit, and from his blood cauſed the flower of his name to ſpring up. His diſconſolate father erected a ſtately tomb with his ſtatue, both which outlived the ruin of that city, and appointed a feaſt to be kept in memory of him. *Ovid* in his metamorphoſes makes this youth the ſon of *OEbalus*; but *Pauſanias*, who had ſeen his monument, ſays he was the ſon of *Amyclas* (7).

(7) *Lacon.* c. i. & xix.

action

a action too black to deserve such a favour[p], and *Hercules* stayed only for an opportunity of being revenged on him for his rufusal.

He did not wait long for it; for a first cousin of his, named *Œonus*, who was come with him to *Sparta*, walking one day along the streets of that city, past by chance before the house of *Hyppocoon*, out of which a mastif came and flew upon him. *Œonus* flung a stone at him, which being perceived by *Hyppocoon*'s sons, they rushed out upon him with cudgels in their hands and beat him to death. There wanted no more to rouse the fury of that sanguine hero, he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but being wounded in the scuffle, he was forced to retire, but came not long after with a strong reinforcement, and gave the battle, b killed *Hyppocoon* and ten of his sons, besides a great number of *Lacedemonians*; and having taken the metropolis, he recalled *Tyndareus*, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conquest, to that banished monarch in trust for his own posterity, as we have elsewhere hinted (K).

*Tyndareus*, or, as he is otherwise called, *Tyndarus*, more glad to accept the *Lacedemonian* kingdom upon any conditions, than sollicitous about the performance of them, was no sooner reseated upon his throne, than he began to find out means to secure it to himself and descendants against the *Heraclidæ*. He had two brave sons by his wife *Leda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and two daughters, the famous *Helena* and *Clytemnestra*, whose strange birth, as it is fabled by the poets, the reader may find in the margin (L). *Helen*'s fatal beauty had caused her to be stolen away c by *Theseus* as we have seen before, and after she was recovered by her two brothers, *Tyndareus*, still afraid lest she should be carried off again, had obliged all her suitors by an oath to leave it to her to make choice of the man she liked, and that in case she should be stolen by any other, they would all join their forces to bring her back to her husband. She chose soon after *Menelaus* the son of *Atreus*, after which she being stolen away again by *Paris*, her husband, encouraged by his bro-

p Id. ibid. c. xv.

(K) *Hercules* having succeeded so well in this expedition, is reported to have built a temple to *Juno*, because she had not thwarted him in it, as she had formerly done upon all occasions, and for want of a better victim, offered her a goat, from which she was afterwards worshipped by the *Lacedemonians* under the name of *Juno Epophage*, or *Goat-eater*, and that creature became the constant victim which they offered to her there (9).

His last exploit, and with which this is a proper place to finish the History of that renowned hero, was against *Eurytus*, who retained, as he thought unjustly, *Iole* from him. He went therefore against him, slew him and his sons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming soon after to the *Cenæan* promontory in *Eubœa*, to offer some sacrifice there, he sent his servant *Lychas* to *Trachin*, to his wife *Dejanira* for the shirt and coat in which he used to perform that ceremony.

This princess had some time before been attempted by the centaur *Nessus*, as he was ferrying her over the river *Euenus*, and *Hercules* beholding it from the shore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monster finding himself dying, advised her to mix some oil with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her husband's shirt with it, pretending that it would infallibly secure him from loving any other woman; and she, too well apprised of his inconstancy, had actually prepared the poisoned ointment accordingly (10).

*Lychas* coming to her for the garments, unfortunately acquainted her with his having brought away *Iole*, and she, in a fit of jealousy, failed not to anoint his shirt with the fatal mixture, which had no sooner touched his body, than he felt the poison diffuse itself through all his veins; the violent pain of which caused him to disband his army, and to return to *Trachin*. His torment still increasing, he sent to consult the oracle for a cure, and was answered that he should cause himself to be conveyed to mount *Oeta*, and there rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the rest to *Jupiter*.

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he dressed himself in his martial habit, flung himself upon the pile, and desired the by-standers to set fire to it; others say that he left the charge of it to his son *Philoctetes*, who having performed his father's command, had his bow and arrows given him as a reward for his obedience.

At the same time *Jupiter*, to be as good as his word, sent a flash of lightning which consumed both the pile and the hero, insomuch that *Iolaus*, coming to take up his bones, found nothing but ashes, from which they took up the notion that he was passed from earth to heaven and was joined to the gods. A fit son indeed for such a father, and a fitter god for such votaries, who could deify, raise altars and temples, offer sacrifices, and institute feasts to a mortal, who had sullied his best actions with, so many murders, rapes, and adulteries. *Hercules* bequeathed *Iole* to his son *Hyllus*; as for *Dejanira* she hanged herself as soon as she was apprised of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(L) The fable goes, that *Jupiter* having had an amorous intrigue with her in the shape of a swan, soon after her matrimonial commerce with her husband, the result of these amphibious embraces was, that she was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came *Pollux* and *Helena*, and out of the other *Castor* and *Clytemnestra*; whence *Pollux*, as *Tyndareus*'s son, was mortal, but *Castor*, as the son of *Jupiter*, is said to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The *Greeks* however, according to *Pausanias* (8), pretend that *Helena* was the daughter of *Nemesis*, and that *Leda* was only her nurse, and brought her up as her own, but this is a piece of *Grecian* mythology, not worth disproving.

ther *Agamemnon*, challenged all those princes who had been her admirers, to the a performance of their promise, and engaged them to the *Trojan* war, of which we have spoken at length in a former chapter.

*Tyndareus*, vexed at the incontinency of his two daughters, (for *Helena* was carried off by her own consent, and *Clytemnestra*, as we have seen elsewhere, not only lived in adultery during her husband's absence, but murdered him immediately after his return, is said to have built a temple to *Venus* (M), and erected a statue of cedar to that goddess, with a veil over her face, and chains about her legs, either, as some think to expose her as the cause of their unlawful love, or, as *Pausanias* thinks, to intimate to posterity the indissoluble tie of wedlock[d]. He began likewise to build a stately temple to *Minerva*, whom he firnamed *Poliuchos*, or guardian of the city, b but died before he could finish it, and left both that that work and his kingdom to his two sons, after he had reigned about forty years[r].

8. *Castor* and *Pollux* went on with the building, designing to have enriched it with the spoils of the city *Aphidne*, out of which they had rescued their sister *Helene*, but left it likewise imperfect. The *Lacedemonians* did afterwards build a new one in that place which was of massive brass, from which it was called *Chalciæcos*. These two heroes likewise signalised themselves in the *Argonautic* expedition, and when they came home, they built a temple to *Minerva Asia*, in acknowledgment of their success, and safe return from *Colchis*, from which they are also said to have brought away a famous statue of *Mars*. They had likewise a bloody combat with the sons c of *Aphareus*, *Ida*, and *Lyncæus*, the latter of whom is said to have had such piercing eyes, that he could see even into the trunk of a tree (N). The occasion of their quarrel is variously reported, *Theocritus* says that they had stolen the daughters of *Leucipus* the brother of *Aphareus*, but *Pausanias* and *Pindar* say it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat *Pollux* killed *Lyncæus*, and *Ida* was struck dead with lightening. The remainder of their exploits is too fabulous to deserve a place here, we shall give a specimen of them in the margin (O)[s].

9. *Menelaus* the son of *Atreus* succeeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. We have spoken of the war which her rape occasioned, and the success of it in a former chapter. At their return from the *Trojan* war, being upon some dif- d ference, parted from his brother *Agamemnon*, after having weathered many violent storms he arrived safely in *Egypt* with his wife *Helene*, whither *Homer* tells us he was driven by contrary winds. *Herodotus* gives us quite a different account of his going into *Egypt*, and gives us his reasons for it; but as it contradicts most of the ancient

[q] Lucan. c. xvi. [r] Ch. xvii. [s] De his vid. Plutarch. in Theseo. Diod. Apollod. & Pausan.

(M) *Pausanias* adds, this temple, which himself saw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other, the upper of which was called *Morpho*, which is but another name of *Venus* (11), and signifies form or figure, implying that she was the goddess of beauty.

(N) Hence the saying of *Lyncæus* eyes, and *Pindar* tells us that he could discover *Castor* hid in the trunk of a tree from mount *Taygetus* (12).

(O) These two famous brothers are celebrated by the antient poets under several names, such as *Anakes* from the *Greek* Ανακ, which signifies a king or prince, such as were originally all the *Heathen* gods. *Ambulii*, most probably likewise from the *Greek* Αμβαλιν, procrastination, delay, to imply their lengthening of life. *Jupiter* is also called by that name. They were also called *Aphetei*, as supposed to preside over the lists; but the name they were most commonly known by was that of *Dioscuri*, from Διος and κουρος, because they were reputed the sons of *Jupiter*.

They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the sea of pirates, and from this last they were worshipped as gods of the sea, and are said to have appeared to mariners in storms, and the notion was that if one was only seen, it betokened shipwreck, but if both together, it was taken for a good omen.

They are likewise said to have appeared at land upon several occasions: they once facilitated the escape of the *Lacedemonians* under their king *Anaxander*, when they were closely pursued, and likely to be cut in pieces by *Aristomenes* and his *Messenian* troops. At another time they came to the very house, where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of *Phormio*, who was then in possession of it, to take them in for that night, pretending they were strangers come from *Cyrene*. They asked moreover to lie in one particular chamber, which they had been formerly fond of; but *Phormio* told them that the whole house was at their service except that chamber, in which was a young woman whom he kept. They seemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment, but on the morrow both the young woman and those that waited upon her, were gone as well as the guests, and nothing found in her chamber but the two statues of the *Dioscuri*, and a table with some sweet gums upon it (13).

The fable adds that when *Castor* died, his brother *Pollux*, who was immortal, prayed to *Jupiter* that he might share his immortality with him, which being granted, they are said to have lived and died by turns, and to have been at length transformed into the sign *Gemini*, of which two of the stars are called by their names, and one of which goes down when the other rises.

(11) *In Lacon. c.* xv. (12) *Nemeen. Ode* 10. (13) *Pausan. ubi supra. c.* xvi.

poets

a poets and historians, we shall relate it in the margin (P). *Menelaus* was succeeded by his two sons by a former wife, or rather by a slave, namely,

10. *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthes*, but the *Lacedemonians*, unwilling to submit themselves to a spurious offspring, *Orestes* easily obtained the kingdom, and without any blood shed.

11. *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, king of *Messenia*, came to the *Lacedemonian* crown in right of his mother *Clytemnestra*, the other daughter of *Tyndareus*. We have already mentioned in the history of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithless mother, and her paramour, and ascended the *Messenian* throne *. He was however accused of that parricide, not, indeed, by his b grandfather *Tyndareus*, who must have been dead long before, but by his uncle *Perilaus* the son of *Icarus*, and cousin-german, and consequently the nearest relation of *Clytemnestra*. He it was who cited him before the great *Athenian* court called *Areopagus*, after he had recovered his senses. What their sentence was our author doth not inform us [t], but tells us elsewhere, that he had seen an old building which was called *Orestes*'s mansion, in which he was forced to live separate from the rest of mankind, except that they took care to supply him with food and other necessaries, till he had quite expiated his crime [u]. He died and was buried in *Arcadia*, whither the oracle advised him to retire, as we have seen in a former section.

12. *Tisamenes*, the son of *Orestes*, by *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*, succeeded him both in this kingdom and those of *Argos* and *Messenia*, and c was soon after outed out of all by the *Heraclidæ*, who, having by this time invaded *Peloponnesus*, claimed the latter as being of the line of *Perseus*, and he only of that of *Pelops*; and the former, because *Hercules* having conquered it from *Hippocoon*, had only left it in trust with *Tyndareus*, as we have lately seen. What became of *Tisamenes* is variously reported, some say he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of *Argos* [w]; others, and with more probability, say, he escaped into *Achaia* and reigned there; some time after which he was killed one of the first in a combat against the *Ionians*, and was buried in the city of *Helice*, whence the *Lacedemonians*, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetch'd his bones and buried them in *Sparta* [x]. However that be, *Philonomus* betrayed that metropolis to the sons of d *Aristodemus*, who, with their forces, entered it with the sound of the flute, an instrument then reckoned very martial, and proper to inspire the soldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reason the *Lacedemonians* made use of it from that time, whenever they sounded to battle [z].

*Eurysthenes* and *Procles* having thus obtained the kingdom, at first divided it into six parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of *Sparta*, where they still kept their residence. This, though for the present it had the desired effect of ingratiating themselves to the *Lacedemonians*, yet in the following reigns proved the cause of many grievous disturbances. For *Agis* the son and successor of *Eurysthenes*, finding that the people were grown headstrong by it, endea- e voured to curb them not only by depriving several cantons of those privileges but by laying a tribute upon all the *Lacedemonians*. They did indeed all submit to it, except the *Heliots*, who were made a severe example to the rest; but these severities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from him.

On the other hand his copartner *Sous*, the son of *Procles*, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their esteem by his bravery and new conquests. We have an instance of his conduct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows; that prince

* See before Vol. II. p. 357. d. [t] Pausan. Arcad. ch. xxxiv. [u] Id. Corinth. c. xxxi. [w] Apollod. l. ii. c. 8. [x] Vid. Pausan. Achaic. c. i. & Strab. Geogr. l. viii. [y] Strab. ibid. [z] Pollyan. Stratagem. l. i. c. 10.

(P) He tells us, upon the credit of the *Egyptian* priests, that as *Paris* was carrying off that fatal beauty, they were driven by contrary winds upon the coasts of *Egypt*, where he was accused of the theft by some of his servants who went and took sanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*. *Proteus*, then king of the country, having examined the story, detained the woman and the goods she had brought with her till her husband came to demand them, and let the ravisher go as being a stranger.

When therefore the confederate *Greeks*, who were ignorant of this, came to demand her of the *Trojans*, and were answered that she was left in *Egypt*, they believed it mere pretence, and carried on the siege; but when the city was taken, and she not found in it, then *Menelaus* went to demand her of the *Egyptian* king.

What inclined our author to believe that this was the real truth of the story is, as he tells us, that if *Helene* had really been in *Troy*, it had been madness in *Priam* to have sacrificed that noble city, and the lives of so many noble *Trojans*, only to defend *Paris* in the Possession of another man's wife, since he was neither heir to the kingdom nor equal in worth to many of those that fell in the defence of that city (14)

(14) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 113. *&c. seq.*

being

being besieged by the *Chlorians* in a dry stony place, where his army suffered very much for want of water; he was at length reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himself to restore to them all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he and all his men should drink of a spring at a small distance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both sides, *Sous* having called his soldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but they being oppressed with excessive thirst, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As soon therefore as he had seen them drink their fill of the water, he took some of it in the hollow of his hand, and sprinkled his face with it without drinking one drop, and marched off in the face of the enemy. The consequence of which was, that his abstinence having made the contract void, seeing he and all his men had not drank at the spring, he could safely refuse to resign his conquests to them[a].

*Agis*, from whom the descendants of that line had the name of *Agidæ*, or *Agiadæ*, for they are indifferently called by both, was succeeded by his son *Echestratus*, and *Sous*, not long after, by his son *Eurytion*, otherwise also called *Eurypon* and *Euryphon*; from him, this line, which had till then took the name of *Proclidæ*, exchanged it for that of *Eurytionidæ* or *Eurypontidæ*, &c. In this reign, some seeds of discord between the *Lacedemonians* and *Argives*, began to appear, which were however stifled by the prudence of those two monarchs. The *Cynosureans*, who were a colony of *Argives*, and settled in the neighbourhood of that kingdom by *Cynosurus* the son of *Perseus*, were complained against by the *Argives* for not only suffering a parcel of banditi to ravage their frontiers, but likewise for doing the same themselves, and sometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For this the *Lacedemonians* banished all the *Cynosureans* that were able to bear arms out of their territories, and by that severity, not only prevented all such ravages for some time, but restored a good understanding between the *Argives* and them.

But this peaceful disposition did not last but till the next reign, when *Labotas* (Q), the son of *Echestratus*, and *Prytanis*, the son of *Eurytion*, declared war against them. The ground of it was, that though the *Lacedemonians* possessed the town and territories of *Cynosura*, by right of their late conquest, yet the *Argives* were still incroaching upon some part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendship. It doth not appear however that this war was of any duration, at least we find not that any thing remarkable was done on either side. After this, things continued in a peaceful state, at least with their neighbours abroad, though they grew worse within doors through the jealousies and misunderstandings of the princes, both between themselves, and between them and the people. *Labotas* was succeeded by his son *Doryssus*, and *Prytanis* by his son *Eunonus*, the former of these, as well as his son and successor *Agesilaus*, are by some said to have reigned but a short while[d], and yet a modern critic hath proved from the authority of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*, that the former reigned twenty-nine, and the latter forty-four years[e]. As for *Eunonus*, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length stabbed, as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two sons behind him, *Polydectes* by a former, and *Lycurgus* by a second wife. He was succeeded by the former, and he dying soon after, left the kingdom to *Lycurgus*, who only kept it till his brother's wife was delivered of a son, to whom he immediatly resigned it, and banished himself out of *Lacedemon*, during which time he meditated that new form of commonwealth into which he afterwards modelled that government.

[a] Plutarch. in Lycurg. vid. & Apothegm. Laconic. ap. Hind. ubi supra. [b] Pausan. Meurs. &c. [c] Pausan. ubi supra. c. ii. & iii. [d] Pausan. ubi supra. c. ii. Hind. hist. Græc. l. ii. p. 97. [e] Meurs. ap. Gedoyn. in loc.

(Q) *Herodotus*, who calls him *Leobatus*, tells us in his history of *Cræsus*, that the great *Lycurgus* had been his tutor; but he was certainly out in his chronology, as a learned critic has since shewn (15), since that prince had been dead some time before that lawgiver was born.

(15) *Meurs. antiq. Lacedem. ap. Gedoyn. in Pausan. Lacon.*

SECT.

## SECT. VIII.

### *The history of the ancient kingdoms of* Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, *and* Achaia.

a WE shall join these ancient kingdoms together in one section, because they made but a small figure in the world, in comparison of those that have gone before, and because they have been either conquered by, or blended with them; whilst their being so often mentioned in the foregoing sections, and in the following history of *Greece*, will not permit us to pass them by without taking notice of their situation, original, antiquities, and history, as far as it can be got out of ancient authors, their wars and exploits, and other such particulars, for which they were formerly remarkable, and are worth our notice here.

THE principal of them is the kingdom of *Elis*, at first peopled, as is reasonably supposed, by the descendants of *Elishah* the son of *Javan*, and grandson of b *Japhet* [a], if not by *Elisha* himself, from whom this territory at least, if not the whole peninsula, was called *Elis* (A), and in the *Chaldean Hellas*, and by the prophet *Ezekiel Elisha*, where he celebrates its fine purple dye [b] (B). According therefore to this supposition, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by that patriarch, or some of his immediate descendants, it was not without good reason, that the inhabitants of this country and of *Arcadia* boasted themselves to be *Aborigines* of *Peloponnesus*, whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, which came from more remote parts to settle there, and by degrees elbowed them out of the greatest part of that peninsula [c]. Elis *names.*

*Elis* was situate on the western side of *Peloponnesus*, having the *Ionian* sea on that c side, *Arcadia* on the east, *Achaia* on the north, and the bay of *Cyparissos*, or *Chalonites*, now *Capo di Tornese*, with *Messenia* on the south: its extent from east to west was at the widest about forty-eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almost 23 deg. east longitude; and from north to south about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20 min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude [d]. *Extent.*

ITS chief cities were, 1. *Elis*, situate on the river *Peneus*, and almost in the heart of the kingdom, and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large spacious place called the *Xystos* (C), where the candidates for the olympic games were obliged to initiate themselves for some time by diet, exercise, and other such preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the olympic plains [e]. In d this place their senate did likewise use to assemble themselves, and the candidates for all kind of dignities and employments, came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewise a temple dedicated to *fortune*, with the statue of that blind goddess of a surprising bigness, and made of wood, covered all over with *Cities.*

[a] Gen. x. 2, & 4. [b] Ch. xxvii. 7. Vid. & BOCHART. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 4. [c] PAUSAN. Elid. c. i. & seq. [d] Conf. STRAB. Geogr. l. viii. MELA, l. ii. c. 4. CLUVER. WELLS, & al. [e] PAUSAN. Elid. c. xxiii.

(A) The poets derive that name from *Eleus* the son of *Neptune*, whom they make the first founder and king of it (1). *Pausanias* tells us that *Æthlius* the son of *Jupiter*, and *Protogenia* the daughter of *Deucalion*, was the first who reigned here, and gives some other etymons of the word not worth notice, since we have a much ancienter one, and clearer from fiction, in the patriarch *Elishah*.

(B) It is true, the prophet here speaks of isles, and not of a continent; but we have often shewn that that word in the language of scripture doth not strictly imply an island, but the maritime countries, especially those about the *Mediterranean* †; and we have the testimony of several ancient authors that the coasts of *Elis*, and quite up to the *Corinthian* bay, were famous for a shell-fish which they used in this die, and in which they exceeded all nations except *Egypt* (2).

(C) So called from the *Greek* ξυω, to trim or polish. This place was surrounded with a wall, and lined on the inside with plantane-trees of great heighth, to cast an agreeable shade on the course. Here *Hercules*, in order to inure himself to hard labour, is said to have spent some time every day in clearing it from weeds, thorns and briars. Near the inclosure of this place was a famous cenotaph or monument erected in memory of *Achilles*, by the advice of the oracle, to which the women used to repair about sun-set during the time of the olympic games, and to lament the death of that hero by several mournful actions, especially by smiting upon their breasts (3).

(1) *Vid. int. al. Ovid. Metam. & Steph. Byz. sub voce* Ἠλις *& Gronov. not. in eund.* † *Vid. supra, Vol. I. p.* 166. *& Vol. II. p.* 241. (2) *Pausan. in Laconic. Vid. & Bochart. ubi supra. & auctor ab eo citat.* (3) *Pausan. in Elid. c.* xxiii.

gold, except the face, hands, and feet. They had likewise several others dedicated a to *Diana*, *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, and *Bacchus*. This last deity was held in the greatest veneration, and the *Eleans* pretended that he appeared to them, on the day in which his feast was celebrated (D). *Elis* had likewise a citadel, in which was a temple of *Minerva*, and on the helmet of that goddess was carved a cock, because he is supposed the most courageous of all winged creatures [f]. Here was also the palace of *Augeas* one of their kings, and the famous stables, the cleansing of which proved a task fit only for the great *Hercules* (E).

*Olympia.* 2. The city of *Olympia* was the next in dignity; situate on the famous *Olympian* plains, on which were celebrated the olympic games, instituted by *Pelops* in honour of *Jupiter*, and after some suspension, restored again by *Atreus* and *Hercules*. b They were celebrated every fifth year, and during five days, but with much greater *Olympic games.* solemnity, and a vaster concourse of people, than any of these we have hitherto mentioned; and from them came the computation of time by olympiads, to be introduced in *Greece* (F). This city is famed likewise for its magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, said to have been built from the spoils which the *Eleans* got from their neighbours the *Piseans*; in which was a famous statue of that god 50 cubits high, and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, near which is also the famous *Olympian* wood or grove dedicated to the same deity. As for its ancient name of *Olympia*, it hath long since changed it for that of *Sconri*. 3. *Pisa*, situate on the river *Alpheus* (G), and near the mouth of it, said to have been founded by *Pisus* c

[f] Pausan. ubi supra. † See before, Vol. II. p. 356. Not. I.

(D) This feast-day they called *Thya*. The chapel where they celebrated it was about a mile from the city. Thither his priests repaired on the night before, with three empty flasks which they left there, shut up the temple, and sealed the locks of it, every by-stander being permitted to clap his own seal to them; and on the morrow they attended thither, accompanied with *Eleans* and strangers, and having first shewed to them that the gates were safe and just as they had left them, they opened them and went in, and found the flasks filled with wine (4).

(E) It is said to have held three thousand oxen, and to have been thirty years with cleaning, so that when *Hercules* undertook to do it one day, upon condition that he gave him his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river *Alpheus*, or *Peneus*, according to others, into it, which carried off all the filth in the time prefixed. How that monarch rewarded him for this work we shall see in the sequel.

(F) This solemnity which had been so often interrupted and renewed again by *Endymion*, *Neleus*, *Pelias*, *Lycurgus*, and others, but without any settled time, was at length restored by *Iphitus*, and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year, so that between every celebration, four compleat years expired, which some have mistaken for five. Hence every four years was called an olympiad, which computation was afterwards observed for a considerable number of centuries, as well as the solemnity of those games during many generations, without any interruption.

The time of celebrating them was at the full of the moon, whose change immediately preceded the summer solstice. Against that time the priests of *Jupiter Olympus*, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the year, and to observe every new moon, especially that after which the solemnity was to be celebrated, and to cause it to be proclaimed. They were likewise intrusted with the registering of the names of all the victors at those games, and recording every material occurrence which happened between each olympiad.

We must however observe here that this exact and ready way of computing by olympiads, did not begin immediately after the first of them, but commenced only from the first year of the 28th, in which *Corœbus* of *Elis* obtained the victory in the race, after which the *Grecian* accounts began to go on in a regular order of time, and from that *Epocha* the times began to be reckoned historical, whereas those which preceded it, up to the deluge, are called fabulous and heroic, because mixed with fable (5), as those who preceded it were deemed unknown.

(G) This river doth run quite through *Arcadia*, *Elis*, and along the city of *Pisa*, soon after which it is swallowed up in the earth. From thence it is supposed to run, by a subterranean channel under the sea without mixing with the salt water, and so to pass quite into *Sicily*, where it mixes itself with the fountain *Arethusa* near the city of *Syracuse*, insomuch that any thing that is thrown into it on the *Elis*'s side, is said to come out at the fountain above-named (6). Hence the poetic fiction of *Alpheus*'s love to *Arethusa*, which tells us that this last, to avoid his amorous pursuit, hid herself underground, and that he was forced to do the same in order to get at her by some subterraneous passage, which he at length accomplished near the place where that river and fountain mix their streams.

*Pausanias* adds that the *Eleans* had a law which condemned any woman to death that should either appear at the olympic games, or even cross this river during that solemnity: and the *Eleans* add, that the only woman who transgressed it, had disguised herself in the habit of a master or keeper of those games, and conducted her son thither; but when she saw him come off victorious, her joy made her forget her disguise, so that her sex was discovered. She was however spared on account of her father, son, and husband, who had gained the olympic prize; but from that time an order was made that the keepers should appear there naked.

(4) *Id. ibid.* (5) *De his vid. Plutarch. Pausan. Var. Scalig. de Emendat. temp. Potter Archeolog. Hind. & al. plur.* (6) *Vid. Diod. Pausan. & al.* (7) *In Elid. ch. vi.*

the

a the grandson of *Æolus*, and whose inhabitants signalized themselves under *Nestor* at the *Trojan* war. This city was afterwards destroyed by the *Eleans*, because the *Piseans* took upon them to celebrate the olympic games by their own authority; for this, the *Eleans*, jealous of their privilege, raised a war against them, and after many battles fought, in which they had still the advantage, they took, plundered, and razed their city, and banished its inhabitants.

It were fruitless to dive into the chronology of this kingdom, since we cannot tell whether the patriarch, from whom it has its name, was the real founder of it, or some of his descendants. As to what profane authors say of it, it is so mixed with fable that there is no receiving any light from it. However, as this is b a fabulous epocha, we shall give our readers a short sketch of what we find about it, which is as follows:

*Kings of* Elis.

*Æthlius* is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was at first distinct from that of *Pisa*; this last having kings of its own for a considerable time. He was succeeded by his Son *Endymion*, who married *Asterodia*, or, according to others, *Chromia*, the daughter of *Itomus*, and grand-daughter of *Amphictyon* (H), by whom he had three sons, *Pæon*, *Epeus*, and *Ætolus*. When these were grown up, he promised his kingdom to him that should win the prize at the olympic race, and *Epeus* proved the happy victor. *Ætolus* however stayed with him at *Elis*, but *Pæon*, unable to brook the loss of such a noble prize, went to seek his c fortune elsewhere, and settled in that canton on the river *Axus*, which took from him the name of *Pæonia*. *Epeus* went to the siege of *Troy*, and is supposed to have been the architect of the *Trojan* horse. It was in his reign that *Pelops*, the *Lydian*, or, according to others, the *Paphlagonian*, came from *Asia*, killed *Œnomaus* king of *Pisa*, seized on his kingdom, and took the city *Olympia* from the *Eleans*. *Epeus* died without male issue, and was succeeded by his brother *Ætolus*.

Ætolus.

This prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill *Apis* the son of *Jason* at the funeral games, which were celebrated on the tomb of *Azan* king of *Arcadia*, and was forced to leave *Peloponnesus*, and went to settle in *Ætolia*, where we shall find him in the sequel. He was succeeded by *Eleus*, who is said to d have been the son of *Neptune* by *Eurycyde* the only daughter of *Endymion*, and the father of *Augeas*, who succeeded him in the kingdom (I).

We have already mentioned more than once the large stable which this prince is said to have had, and its being cleansed by *Hercules*. The truth of the story, if we may believe *Pausanias* [g], was, that he kept such large quantities of oxen and sheep, that they had quite covered the earth with their dung, so that it was become incapable of producing either grass or corn. *Augeas* therefore hired *Hercules* to clear his grounds of it, who for his reward was to have his daughter and some part of his kingdom. When *Hercules* had performed the task, by turning the river over them (K), *Augeas* refused to give him his hire, pretending that he had done the job more by e cunning than by labour. The quarrel was referred to *Phyleus*, *Augeas*'s eldest son, and he having given it against his father, was banished the kingdom, together with his client. *Augeas* being afraid of that hero's resentment, was forced to strengthen himself by a double alliance, one with *Actor* the son of *Phorbas*, by *Hyrmine* the daughter of *Epeus*; and the other with *Amarynceus*, a *Thessalian*, a man well versed in the art of war, whom he invited into *Elis*. To bind these two the faster to his interest, he made them his associates in the kingdom, so that when *Hercules* came afterwards with a powerful army against him, he met with such stout resistance from them, particularly from *Actor* and his sons, that he was forced to return, and wait for a more favourable time. Not long after, being informed that these brave youths

g Elid. c. i.

(H) The fabulous poets add that he was beloved by the moon, and that he had fifty daughters by her.

(I) This is he who, the *Greeks* pretend, gave his name to this kingdom, which was before called *Epea* from *Epeus* mentioned a little higher.

Others, willing to do *Augeas* a greater honour, make him the son not of *Eleus*, but of *Elius*, or the sun.

(K) This river which some pretend to have been the *Alpheus*, and others the *Peneus*, as we observed in a late note, is by our author here called *Minyeus*, which name *Strabo*, who says it was the *Peneus*, thinks was given it by the long stay which its waters made upon the ground. This etymon is something forced, and it seems more reasonable to suppose that that river had those two names, as we find many others to have had (8).

(8) *Pausan. in Elid. cap.* ii. *Vid. & Gedoyn. Not. in eund.*

were

were to go to the *Isthmian* games, he went and laid in ambush against them, and a killed them all, and with such privacy, that it cost the *Eleans* some time and trouble to find out the murderer. But when they knew that it was *Hercules*, who by that time was retired to *Tyrinthus*, they sent embassadors in vain to the *Argives* to punish him, and to the *Corinthians*, to interdict the *Argives* from the *Isthmian* games, for suffering the assassin of those who were going to them, to live unpunished in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their request; and *Hercules* having raised a powerful army of *Argives*, *Thebans*, and *Arcadians*, came and besieged them, took and sacked the city of *Elis*, and was going to let fly his resentment against the *Piseans* for assisting them, had not the oracle prevented it. *Hercules*, who would not sit down contented, till he had conquered b the whole kingdom, made a present of it to *Phyleus* the son of *Augeas*, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom restored him all the prisoners he had taken (L), and among the rest *Augeas*, whom he pardoned upon this account, according to *Pausanias*; others say he killed him and *Eurytus*, another of his sons [h].

*Phyleus*, thus recalled to the kingdom, did however stay in it but as long as was necessary to settle the affairs of the state, after which he retired to the island of *Dulichium* (M). And *Augeas* dying soon after, the crown fell to his next son *Agasthenes*, whose son *Polyxenus* having succeeded him, went to the *Trojan* war, and was one of those who returned from thence, and was succeeded by his son *Eleus* II. c It was in this prince's reign that the *Dorians* and *Heraclidæ* made their last but successful attempt against *Peloponnesus* under *Hippotes* their general, after having formerly made several fruitless ones against it. We have already had occasion to speak more than once of this expedition, for the success of which, having consulted the oracle, they were bid to make choice of a three-eyed general to head them, and met with *Oxylus* an *Ætolian*, whom they supposed to be the person pointed at by the oracle, because his horse and he had but three eyes between them.

*Oxylus*, of the race of *Endymion*, had been forced to leave his native country a year before for having accidentally killed, some say his brother *Thermius*, others say *Alcidocus* the son of *Scopius*, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his d return to *Ætolia*, when the *Heraclidæ* met him, and invited him to be their general. The conditions upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered *Peloponnesus* they should allot him *Elis*, not only as a reward for his services, but because he had a title to that kingdom as being the sixth in a lineal descent from *Endymion*, the second king of it. They agreed so much the more readily to his demand, as he was moreover related to them by the mother's side, his great-grandmother being sister to *Dejanira* the mother of *Hyllus* the son of *Hercules*. The success of this expedition we have seen in some former sections, as well as the manner in which they divided their conquests between them, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of *Elis* according to their agreement [i]. e

*Oxylus*, who expected to have taken possession of it without any opposition, found himself mistaken, and *Dius*, who was then upon the throne, refused to resign it to him. However, to avoid exposing their troops to a battle, they agreed that each should chuse a champion, who should decide the right of it by single combat, and *Pyrechmes*, an excellent *Ætolian* slinger, having won the victory in favour of *Oxylus*, he was immediately proclaimed king of *Elis*. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his reign or those of his successors; he had two sons, *Ætolus* and *Lajas*, the former of whom dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he should be buried, neither within nor out

[h] Conf. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. & Pausan Elid. c. iii. [i] Id. ibid. & Apollod l. ii. Strab. Geogr. l. x.

(L) These prisoners must have been very few in comparison of those that were killed, since *Pausanias* tells us that the *Elean* women, finding their country almost stript of male inhabitants, prayed to *Minerva* that they might conceive at the very first matrimonial intercourse; and that the goddess having granted their request they built a temple to her, and called it *Minerva*, the mother of mankind. And moreover, in memory of this signal favour, they called both the place and the river than runs by it *Badu*, which in their dialect signifies the same as ἡδυ, sweet, to express the pleasure of that matrimonial intercourse (9).

(M) It is but a small inconsiderable island on the *Ionian* sea near that of *Cephalonia*, it is now called *Dulicha* and *Tziakki*.

(9) *Id. ibid. c.* iii.

of

a of it. His son *Lasus* succeeded him, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material transactions in this kingdom, if we except some of their wars with their *Arcadian* neighbours, and with some other estates of *Greece*, till we come to the reign of *Iphitus*, the reviver of the olympic games, and cotemporary with the great *Lycurgus* mentioned at the close of the last section.

Before his reign, *Greece* had been almost ruined by wars and pestilence. *Elis* seems to have suffered more than any other estate, so that those games had been interrupted for a considerable time. *Iphitus* sent to consult the oracle concerning the means of appeasing the angry gods, and obtaining a remedy against these cala-
b mities, and was answered, that the restoration of those games would prove the safety of *Greece*, to procure which he and his subjects were exhorted to set about it immediately, and with all their might. He began with offering a sacrifice to *Hercules*, whom the *Eleans* believed to have been upon some account or other exasperated against them (N). He next caused the olympic games to be proclaimed all over *Greece*, with a promise of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted before; he likewise took upon himself to be sole president and judge of those games, a privilege which the *Piseans*, by reason of their neighbourhood, had often sharply disputed with his predecessors, and which continued in his descendants as long as his line, and the regal dignity continued. After this the people took upon them to appoint two presidents whom they chose by
c vote, and which in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve. We have spoken a little higher of the place where they sat, their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all disputes that arose concerning the victory in all the several exercises which were performed in them. *Restores the olympic games.*

§ *Ætolia* was so called, as we have seen a little before, from *Ætolus* the son of *Endymion*, and brother of *Epeus*, whom he succeeded in the kingdom of *Elis*, and from which he fled into this country after he had accidentally killed *Apis* the son of *Jason*, at some funeral games. What people inhabited this country before his
d coming, and what names they had, is not to be guessed at, only this we find, that both they and their neighbours on both sides, of whom we shall speak by-and-by, were the greatest robbers in all *Greece*, and continued so, during many centuries, after *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and other heroes, had extirpated those vermin every-where else [a]. Ætolia.

This slip of ground, for such it was, had on the east the *Locrians*, *Phocians*, and *Ozoleans*, from whom they were parted by the river *Evenus*, or *Licormas*. The *Acarnanians* on the west, were also parted from them by that of *Achelous*, on the north it had the *Dorians*, with part of *Epirus*, and on the south the bay of *Corinth*:
e its utmost extent from north to south was about forty-eight miles, that is, from 38 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from east to west, where it was widest, something above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg. 40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. but exceeding narrow, as it extended northward and southward, especially the latter, where it scarcely reached 10 miles, and had but one sea-port of any note on the *Corinthian* bay, namely *Œnias*, situate on the mouth of the *Achelous* abovementioned [b]. *Its situation and extent.*

It had no other rivers but the two we have just spoken of, the former of which was that on which *Hercules* killed the centaur *Nessus*, and the latter, which was also called *Thoas* from its rapidity, descended from mount *Pindus* in *Macedonia*, into the *Ionian* sea. Concerning this last the poets have feigned many stories, or blended the history with many fables which the reader may see in the margin (A). *Rivers.*



[a] Thucyd. l. i. Plutarch. in Theseo. & al. [b] Vid. Strab. Mela, Cluver, & al.

(N) *Pausanias* tells us there was a kind of dispute between the *Eleans* and the rest of the *Greeks*, whether *Iphitus* was lineally descended from *Oxylus*; if he was not, it was not without reason that he feared the resentment of that god, whose particular kindness to all that were related to him, as *Oxylus* was, would hardly suffer such a wrong to go unpunished: and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeasing his anger by this sacrifice.

(A) This famous river is feigned by the fabulous poets to have been the son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, and a competitor with *Hercules* for *Dejanira*, the king of *Calydonia*'s daughter. These two having engaged in a duel, and *Achelous*, finding himself likely to be worsted by him, changed himself first into a serpent, and then into a bull. *Hercules* broke both his horns, and gave one of them to *Plenty* the companion of *Fortune*. Hence the story of the *Cornucopia*. *Achelous*, finding himself still inferior to

As for its name, some think it received it from *Achelous* one of the kings of *Ætolia*, and others derive it from the *Greek*, and think it was given it by reason of the salubriousness of its waters [c]; but as we meet with three rivers of this name [d], and in three different countries, it is not likely they should all have it upon this last account; however this of *Ætolia* is by far the largest and most considerable, insomuch that *Homer* calls it the king of rivers. a

The country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered several of their cities almost impregnable, and the people so stout, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite estates of *Greece*, and even the *Macedonians*, tried in vain to tame them. The most noted of those cities were those that follow. *Thermus* or *Thermius*, situate almost in the heart of the kingdom, and which became in time the metropolis of it, surrounded at some distance with such high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the states of the country assembled, and the repository of all their wealth and treasure in times of danger, yet was it not so much as fortified with a wall, the difficult ascents and narrow passages of the neighbouring mountains, being deemed sufficient to guard it both from surprise or invasion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the noblest and wealthiest *Ætolians*, and had the sirname of *Panætolium*, upon account of the senate holding their meeting there [e]. b 2. *Calydon*, situate near the forest of that name, where *Meleager*, accompanied with the noblest youths of *Greece*, slew the famed *Calydonian* boar (B). Hither it was also that *Hercules* came after he had left *Peloponnesus*, and though he had a numerous spurious brood scattered over all *Greece*, yet wanting legitimate issue, married *Dejanira* the daughter of *Œneus*, king of the country, and father to *Meleager*; and to ingratiate himself to the *Ætolians*, either turned the current of the river *Achelous*, or made some improvements upon it, as gave rise to the fable we mentioned in a late note. This city which seems to have continued for some time the seat of the antient *Ætolian* kings, was built by *Calydon* the son of *Ætolus* [f], from whom the kingdom was for some time called *Calydonia*, but resumed its antient one in some following reign. The situation of this city was very pleasant and commodious, being seated upon the river *Evenus*, which ran quite through the midst of it, and having some pleasant plains round it, and the *Calydonian* forest at a small distance from it: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them in process of time to remove the seat of the kingdom and senate to *Thermus* abovementioned. 3. *Pleuron*, which gave name to a territory, whose inhabitants were sirnamed *Curetes*, because they shaved the fore-part of their heads, lest their enemies should lay hold on it, but let the hinder part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some few more cities of less note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted states of *Greece*. c d

The *Ætolians* were in general a stout, warlike people, always inured to the trade of war and plunder, seldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in

[c] Eustat. [d] Vid. Pausan. in Arcad. c. xxxviii. & Auct. sup. citat. [e] Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. x. Polyb. Byzant. sub voce Θερμος & Gronov. not. in eund. [f] Vid. Byzant. sub voce.

to his rival, turned himself into the river of his name, in which form he has continued ever since, or, as others have it, for grief and spight flung and choaked himself in it, after he had bribed his rival with the horn of *Amalthea*, or plenty.

This poetic hodge-podge of serpents, bulls and horns, seems to have taken its rise from the serpentine turnings and windings, and likely also from the rapidity and noise of this noble river, which like all others are properly enough said to be the offspring of the ocean and earth. His two horns were its two streams, where it divided itself, and the plenty which these brought after they were either confined within due bounds, or by some other way made serviceable to fertilise the neighbouring plains, might be not inelegantly figured by the cornucopia.

(B) This fierce and monstrous creature had done so much mischief about the neighbourhood, that *Meleager* king of the country, who kept his court at *Calydon*, was forced to call to his assistance a great number of the flower of *Greece* to destroy it. The chief of these were, *Theseus*, *Telamon*, *Peleus*, *Pollux*, and *Iolaus*, all of them the faithful companions of *Hercules*, besides a number of other heroes. To these we may add the famous *Arcadian* princess *Atalanta*, who behaved with such uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occasion, that *Meleager* became enamoured with her and married her.

If we may guess at the bigness of this monstrous boar by the length of his tusks, *Pausanias*, who tells us that one of them was still preserved in the temple of *Bacchus* in the imperial gardens, says it was above a yard long (10).

The poets pretend that it was sent by *Diana* as a punishment to *Oeneus*, for having forgotten her when he sacrificed to all the gods besides at the close of the harvest. *Pausanias* adds, that he was driven out of his kingdom by a faction, and went to *Argos*, whence he returned again with an army and recovered it again, but was persuaded by the *Argolic* king to return thither and died there.

(10) *Arcad. c.* xlvi.

general

a general the advantage over them by reason of their situation. It was chiefly in such excursive exploits that they signalized their courage, without striving to enlarge their territories, till some of the *Grecian* wars invited them out of their dominions, particularly the *Theban* war, as we shall see by-and-by.

It were however needless here to give a list of their kings, many of whom have been known to ancient authors by little more than their names. We have already had occasion to mention some of the descendants of *Ætolus*, namely *Calydon*. *Œneus* the father of *Dejanira*, and his son *Meleager* (C); and to these we shall only add the two heroes of his race, who signalized themselves, the one in the *Theban*, and the other in the *Trojan* war.

b The first of these was *Tydeus* another son of *Oeneus*, by *Althea*. We have already had occasion to mention him in the histories of *Argos* and *Thebes*. In the first of these kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated for manslaughter, he and *Polynices* having married the two daughters of *Adrastus*, these three princes went jointly against *Thebes* to recover *Polynice*'s right; and here it was that *Tydeus* performed such glorious exploits against *Æteocles*, as we have given an account of in that famous war between the two contending brothers *. He was there at length mortally wounded by *Menalippus*, but before he expired, he had the satisfaction to see his enemy's head brought to him by the brave *Amphiareus*, and took the brutal revenge of cutting out his brains and swallowing them §.

c His son *Diomedes* was one of those who signalized himself at the *Trojan* war, he had indeed the good fortune to return safe from it, but meeting with a worse enemy at home in his faithless wife *Ægiale*, and her paramour *Cometes*, he was forced to retire into *Apulia*, where he shared that kingdom with *Daunus*, as we have seen above †. From this time we meet with nothing considerable in the history of this nation, except a few warlike excursions which they made in conjunction with some of the great estates of *Greece*, in which they assisted sometimes as allies, and sometimes as auxiliaries, and which have been already interspersed in the history of the foregoing kingdoms, till the famous *Achean* league which proved so fatal to them, and of which we shall give an account in its proper place. The rest of their d time was spent in mutual excursions between them and their neighbours the *Dorians* and *Locrians*, of whom we are to speak next, and especially with the *Ozoleans* and *Acarnanians*, whose territories did lay on each side *Ætolia*. These two last being more obscure and inconsiderable than any of the rest, the reader will find all that we think needs be said of them in the following note (D).

The

* See before, Vol. II. p. 357. F. & seq. 374. & seq. § Apollod. l. iii. c. 7. † See before, ibid. p. 359. c.

(C) The fable says, that when *Althea* this prince's mother was brought-to-bed of him, she saw the three fatal sisters sitting by the fire, one of whom taking a billet out of it, said, the boy should live as long as it remained unburnt: as soon as they were gone, she got up and quenched the stick, and reposited it in a safe place.

When *Meleager* was come to the kingdom, he unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two uncles at the killing of the boar mentioned in the last note. That young prince having presented the head of it to *Atalanta*, who had given it the first wound, and they endeavouring to take it from her, the contention rose to such a height, that the exasperated prince killed them both. *Althea* seeing her two brothers killed, fell into such fury, that she ran to the fatal brand which she had saved, and flung it into the fire, upon which her son was immediately seized with a burning fever in his bowels, and soon after expired.

*Pausanias*, who tells us that this fabulous story was devised by an ancient tragic poet, named *Phrynicus* (supposed to have flourished about the 67th olympiad) doth not give us a much better account of this prince's death, when he tells us upon the credit of two other poets, that *Apollo* killed him with his own hands, because he had taken the part of the *Ætolians* against the *Curetes*, mentioned a little higher, and in whose favour that god had declared himself (11).

(D) The *Ozoleans*, as we observed in the geography of *Ætolia*, were situate on the east of that kingdom. It was a small territory lying on the north coast of the bay of *Corinth*, and extending itself above twelve miles northward, where it was contiguous with *Locris*. On the west, it was bounded by the river *Evenus*, which parted them from *Ætolia*, and on the east they had the kingdom of *Phocis*, spoken of in the close of the sixth section of this chapter. Its chief towns were *Naupactus*, situate on the mouth of the river abovementioned, which was often contended for by the *Ætolians*, and at length became wholly theirs. It was called by that name, from the *Heraclida* building their navy there, with which they invaded *Peloponnesus*, but is now known by that of *Lepanto*, and was taken from the *Venetians* by *Bajaset*.

The *Ozoleans* bid fair for being some of the ancientest inhabitants of these parts, if we admit the etymon which some give us of their names, and that they were called so from the stench, which their cloathing (which was the raw hides of wild beasts,

(11) *In Phocid.* c. xxxi.

Locris

The *Locrians* were either the same people with the *Ozoleans*, mentioned in the last note, or so blended with them, that they are not easily to be distinguished by their names, or indeed by any thing but their situation. In this respect they were divided into the *Locri Ozolæ* abovementioned, which inhabited the southern or maritime parts. 2. The *Locri Epicnemidii*, so called from the mount *Cnemis*; these were situate in the middle: and 3. The northern *Locri*, sirnamed *Opuntii* from their chief city *Opus*, or *Opoes*, near the coasts of the *Ægean* or *Eubean* sea; authors however are not so well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of these ancient nations [h]. Ancient indeed, if we consider that *Homer* tells us they came to the *Trojan* war armed with bows and slings, and that the *Ozoleans* carried an early colony into *Italy* under the conduct of their princes *Evas* and *Ajax*, and built a city there near the *Sephyrian* promontory, from which they were called *Locri Epizephyrii*. [i]

*Their three tribes*

The *Ozolean Locrians* were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of *Phocis*, of which we have given an account in a former section, Their chief city was *Amplissa*, situate on the *Evenus*. *Herodotus* calls it *Amphicea*, and the inhabitants *Amphiclea*. It was afterwards taken by the *Phocians*, and destroyed with the rest of the *Phocian* cities in the holy war formerly mentioned, and when it was rebuilt, *Pausanias* tells us it took the name of *Ophitea*, if the text has not been corrupted by his transcribers [k] (E). *Epicnemidian Locrians* were the only ones of all the three.

[h] De his vid. Ptolom. Strab. Mela, Cluver. & al. sup. Citat. [i] Pausan. Achaic. c. xxxiii. & Phocid. xxxviii. [k] Id. ibid. vid. & Byzant. sub voce Αμφικαια & Gronov. not in Loc.

beasts without any dressing gave to their bodies; for this was all the dress which the first inhabitants of *Greece* used, till *Pelasgus* and some other founders taught them a better, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, and in the history of *Arcadia*.

Others think that this stinking name was owing to the stench of their rivers and marshes, and others again to their quantity of *Asphodel* or *Daffadil* which grew in those parts, one sort of which has an ill smell, and used to be sowed anciently over graves; a third affirm that this stench was caused by the blood which the centaur *Nessus* scattered upon the earth, when he was wounded by *Hercules*.

A more fabulous account of this name, though not so ill-scented is, that in the reign of *Orestheus* the son of *Deucalion*, his bitch brought forth instead of whelps a stick of wood, which that prince caused to be put into the ground, from which, when the spring came, a vine sprang forth. Hence they pretended that that name of *Ozoles*, came not from ὀζειν, to stink, but from ὀζος, a branch or sprout: however that be, *Pausanias* tells us the *Locrians* who were likewise called *Ozoles*, were so ill pleased with that name, that they changed it for that of *Ætolians* (12), we shall speak of them in the next place above.

As for their *Acarnanians*, the territories were parted on the east by the river *Achelous*, and surrounded by the *Ionian* sea on the west and south, and on the north joined to *Epirus*, and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (13).

They were anciently known by the name of *Curetes*, but whether of the same race with those of the *Celtic* nation mentioned in a former chapter †, or, whether so called, because like the *Pleurones* they cut off their fore-locks, or whether both were not not originally of *Celtic* extraction, is not easy to determine.

Their name of *Acarnanians* they afterwards received from *Acarnanus* the son of *Alcmon*. This last was the son of *Amphiaraus* the noted soothsayer, whose wife *Eriphyle* had been bribed by *Polynices* with a rich necklace, to determine him to go to the *Theban* war, for which reason he left orders with his son to murder her, as we have seen elsewhere †. He having executed his father's commands, was so tormented with furies, that he was forced to apply to the *Delphic* oracle for relief, and was answered that if he could find out some country which had sprung up out of the sea, since his parricide and did settle there, he should be freed from his mothers avenging ghost. After much seeking he found this spot of ground, which the *Achelous* had thrown up, and settled himself there.

He soon after married *Callirrhoe*, the pretended daughter of that river, by whom he had two sons, *Acharnan* and *Amphoterus*, the former of whom gave his name to this country. (14). Some think that the difference between the *Acarnanians* and *Curetes*, was that the latter shaved the forepart of their heads, and the others did not. Again, some derive the name of *Curetes* from the mount *Curius*, and others from the *Greek* κουραι maidens, because they affected to go dress like young women, though in this latter sense it should properly be writ κορραι. We have nothing material concerning this nation, except their constant wars with the *Ætolians*, at least during this epocha. The remainder of their history will be best seen in that of *Epirus* of which they afterwards became a Province.

(E) This last is more likely to be the case, both because *Herodotus* no where calls it by this new name, but always *Amphicea*, and more particularly because this last name doth better agree with the etymon which *Pausanias* himself gives of it, which is as follows (16).

A petty king of that country, out of some fear for his young son, had caused him to be brought up privately in a very retired place, where he was one day in danger of being killed by a wolf, but was saved by a serpent who twined about, and defended him. The father coming at that instant, and in a fright misjudging the matter, let fly an arrow which killed both the serpent and his son, and when he was better informed by some shepherds, who had beheld the encounter, he caused them to be both burnt upon the same funeral pile.

It seems therefore more probable that the place was called from thence Αμφικαια, from Αμφι καιεσθαι, both being carried to the same pile, than *Ophitea*, which has no allusion to that or any other part of the story (17).

(12) *Ibid. c.* xxxviii. (13) *Strab. Mel. & al.* † *Ibid. p.* 358. b. (14) *Pausan. in Arcad.* c. xxiv. (15) *Vid.* Byzant. *sub voce Acarnania.* (16) *Phocid. c.* xxxiv. (17) *Vid. Sylburg. Palmier. & Gedoyn. in eund ibid.*

* *Vid. sup. Vol. II. p.* 251 *& seq. & sub not.* A.

who

a who had a right to send deputies to the grand *Amphictionian* court at *Delphos*. Their metropolis was *Thronium*, mentioned by *Homer*, *Ptolemy*, and other ancient authors[l]. They had another city called *Cnemis*, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which they took their appellative. Those who desire to know more of these ancient cities, as well as of that of *Opus* or *Opoes*, belonging to the other *Locrian* tribe, may see an ample description of them in the authors above quoted†. How they came by their common name of *Locrians*, whether they were colonies of one another, and if so, which was the ancientest, is past our skill to find out. As for their countries they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is, that they were a brave warlike nation; and we shall in the sequel see b that they signalized themselves as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of *Greece*.

§ *Doris* was situate on the south of *Thessaly*, being parted from it by mount *Oeta*, and a ridge of other hills. It had on the south *Phocis* and part of *Ætolia*. On the east it was parted from the *Locri Epicemidæ* by the river *Pindus*, and on the west from *Epirus* by that of *Achelous*. Other rivers of note they had not. Mountains they had in great number, and those not inconsiderable ones: the most famed were *Oeta* and *Pindus*, often mentioned in this chapter, which with some others of less note, surrounded them on the north, as the *Callidromians* did on the west; yet they abounded with spacious plains, and very fruitful; the air was sweet and healthy, and their soil c capable of being improved to all the advantages of husbandry. Their territories were not large, they extending only at most about forty miles in length, that is from 39 deg. 10 min. to 39 deg. 50 min. and about 20 miles in breadth at the widest, or from 23 deg. 10. min. to 23 deg. 30 min. east longitude[m].

This country was called *Doris*, and the people *Dores*, from *Dorus* the son of *Hellen*, and grandson of *Deucalion*, who first peopled, or rather conquered it, at least that part of it which lies below the mountains *Oeta* and *Pindus*: they were afterwards driven from it by the *Cadmeans*, and forced to inhabit for some time about *Macednum*, and the neighbourhood of *Pindus*, but returned soon after to *Dryopis* (F), and the country about *Oetæ*[n], where they coutinued till they made that famous d descent into *Peloponnesus* with the *Heraclidæ*, of which we have spoken in some former sections, and whither they carried also their dialect called from them *Doric* (G). Their chief city was called *Doris* from the founder of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned by *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and others[o].

2. *Erineus*, situate on the most northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part *Doris* from *Macedonia*, and mentioned by all the antient geographers and historians. 3. *Lilæa* on the southern frontiers, and adjoining to *Phocis*. 4. *Bium*, as it is called by *Ptolomy*, or *Bojon*, as *Strabo* and others call it, with some few of less note.

We have nothing remarkable left concerning these people before their naval e descent into *Peloponnesus*, the particulars and success of which have been seen in the former sections, and need not to be repeated here. After their conquest of and

† Vid. & Palmer. antiq. Græc. l. iv. & alib. pass. [l] Polyb. Livy, Pausan. vid. & Palmer. Antiq. Græc. l. v. & Byz. sub voce. [m] Vid. Ptolem. Strab. Mela, &c. [n] Herodot. l. i. Apollod. l. i. c. 7. Pausan. &c. [o] De his vid. Ptolem. Strab. &c. Byzant. & Palmer. Ant. Gr.

(F) A country situate in the neighbourhood of the mount *Oeta* and *Parnassus*, and called *Dryopis* from *Dryope* the daughter of *Eurypylus*, or, as the poets feign, a nymph ravished by *Apollo*; but more probably from δρυς, an oak, and ωψ, voice, from the quantity of oaks that grew about the mountain, and the rustling of their leaves.

However, the *Dryopes* valued themselves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themselves the sons of *Apollo*; wherefore *Hercules* having overcome them in fight, took them prisoners and carried them to *Delphos*, where he presented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that hero to take them back with him into *Peloponnesus*, which he accordingly did, and gave them a settlement there near the *Asmean* and *Hermionian* territories; hence the *Asmeans* came to be blended with and to call themselves *Dryopes* (18).

(G) The *Dorians* gave their name, 1. to this dialect of theirs, which became much in vogue among the *Greeks*, but was preserved most pure by the *Messenians*, even through all their various transmigrations: 2. to the *Doric* order, one of the five in architecture: and 3. to the *Doric* music, in opposition to that of the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*.

These three kinds of music used to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated *Pronomus* invented a fourth sort, upon which he could play them all indifferently (19).

(18) *Pausan. in Messenic. c.* xxxiv. (19) *Pausan. in Bœotic. c.* xii. *Athen. l.* xiv. *c.* 7.

settlement in that *Peninsula*, in conjunction with the *Heraclidæ*, they built a stately temple to *Jupiter Tropeus*, in memory of this great event. Such indeed it was, and answerable to the surname given to that deity, since it almost overturned the whole state of affairs in all the different kingdoms and estates of *Peloponnesus*, whose cities were now forced to receive a garrison of *Dorians*, and to submit to a foreign government. a

Achaia *its names.*

§ *Achaia Propria* (H), so called from *Achæus* the son of *Xutus*, was originally called *Ægialea* from *Ægialeus* the first king of *Sicyon*, as some affirm †; others think it comes from the *Greek Ægialos*, sea-shore, because above half of it was surrounded with the sea [p], but whether it was originally a part of the *Sicyonic* kingdom, or was under its own kings, is not certain; the latter indeed seems the more probable, because the king who reigned there when *Ion* the brother of *Achæus* came to invade it, is called *Selinus* by the last quoted author, whereas there was no *Sicyonian* king of that name, in the list we have left of them, unless perhaps *Selinus* be the same with *Telchin*, or *Selchin*, as he is also called, the grandson of *Ægialeus*. However that be, the country took then the surname of *Ionian*, and the people were called *Ægialean Ionians*; and it is likely that that of *Achaia* was not given to it till the sons of *Acheus* came and invaded it, and drove the *Ionians* out of it. b

*Situation and extent*

*Achaia* had *Sicyon* on the east, and the *Ionian* sea on the west; the kingdom of *Elis* and that of *Arcadia* on the south, and the bay of *Corinth* on the north: its utmost extent was from east to west, somewhat above fifty miles, but from north to south about half that distance [q], being within the 38th deg. of latitude, and 23d of longitude. Rivers of note it had not except the *Piereus* which discharged itself into the *Ionian* sea, at the mouth of which was the city of *Olenus*, a famous sea-port mentioned by ancient authors, and so called from *Olenus* its founder, the supposed son of *Jupiter*, or, according to others, of *Vulcan*. We find another city of the same name in *Ætolia* [r]. We shall have occasion to mention the rest of their cities in the following sketch of their history. c

*Xuthus*, one of the sons of *Hellen*, the son of *Deucalion*, having been banished by his other brothers out of *Thessaly*, after their father's death, under pretence that he had embezzled the royal treasury, came to *Athens*, where *Erectheus* gave him his daughter *Creusa*, by whom he had two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. After *Erectheus*'s death, a dispute arising between his sons, *Xuthus* was chosen umpire between them, and having adjudged the succession to *Cecrops* II. who was the eldest, the others drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and settled in *Achaia* *, and died there. His son *Achæus* did soon after raise a small number of *Athenian* and *Ægialean* forces with which he went into *Thessaly*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for manslaughter, and went into *Laconia*, where he died, and his posterity continued, till they were expelled from it by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*. d

But in the mean while his brother *Ion*, who was grown very great at the *Athenian* court, obtained a number of forces, and with them invaded this country, then called *Ægialea*. *Selinus*, then king of it, having but one only daughter, instead of repulsing him, gave her to him in marriage, and appointed him his successor. *Ion* having succeeded his father-in-law, built a city and called it by his wife's name *Helice*, and from him the *Ægialeans* were surnamed *Ionians*; but the country seems to have retained its ancient name, since *Homer* in the list of *Agamemnon*'s forces, makes mention both of it and of the city *Helice*. e

*Ion* was soon after chosen general of the *Athenian* forces in their war against the *Eleusians* and was either killed in it, or died soon after, and was buried in a small town of *Attica*. The crown however passed to his descendants, who enjoyed it undisturbed for a considerable time. In the mean while, those of his uncle *Achæus*, and known by the name of *Achæans*, had spread themselves in several parts of *Greece*, particularly in the kingdom of *Argos* and *Lacedemon*. When therefore f

† See before Vol. II. p. 349. [p] Pausan. Achaic. c. i. [q] Strab. Mela, &c. Vid. Byzant in voce. * See before. Vol. II. p. 363. d.

(H) It is called *Achaia Propria* to distinguish it from the general name of *Achaia*, by which *Greece* itself was sometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the *Romans* to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, and *Epirus*, and *Achaia* containing all the remainder of *Greece*, both inland and the islands about.

they

a they came to be driven out of these two countries by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*, they bethought themselves of laying claim to *Achaia*, and of driving the *Ionians* out of it. They had their brave king *Tisamenes* the son of *Orestes* at their head, and pleaded a superiority of kindred, being descended from the eldest son of *Xuthus*; but what they trusted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them some *Dores*, who agreed to assist them in this expedition. Accordingly they came against them with this army, and sent a herald to them to demand that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of invading them by force. The *Ionians*, surprized at such an unexpected message, resolved however to oppose their entrance with all their might.
b They knew that if they were once suffered to settle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince *Tisamenes*, whose noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the goverment: they therefore resolved to march against the invaders, and on the very first onset the *Achæans* lost indeed their prince, but gained the victory and pursued it to the very gates of *Helice*. The *Ionians* thus overpowered, were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring whither they thought fit, which being granted to them, they went into *Attica*, where *Melanthus* then reigned, and gave them a kind reception; not perhaps so much in consideration of the great services which their progenitor *Ion* had done to that kingdom, as to make use of their assistance against the *Dores* whom he
c now began to fear. Here they stayed no longer than till the first archontat, when *Medon*'s brethren, unwilling to submit to their lame brother, invited them among other *Grecians* to go and seek their fortune elsewhere *.

As for the *Achæans*, their prince being dead, and the *Ionians* gone off, his sons agreed to divide their new conquest by lot; this kingdom chiefly consisted of the twelve following cities, well known to all the *Greek* writers; namely 1. *Helice* mentioned above: 2. *Ægion* or *Ægium*, to which the assembly of the estates was removed after the submersion of *Helice*, as being the next in dignity and bigness: 3. *Olenus*: 4. *Phares*: 5. *Rhyphes*: 6. *Tritia*: 7. *Cerynea*: 8. *Bura*: 9. *Dymea*: 10. *Æges*: 11. *Ægira*: 12. *Pellene*. These twelve cities were at first divided be-
d tween the four sons of *Tisamenes*, *Diamenes*, *Sparton*, *Telles* and *Leontomenes*; for as to his fifth son *Cometes*, he was already gone into *Asia*. These, together with their cousin *Damasias*, the son of *Penthillus*, and grandson of *Orestes*, having jointly reigned over this new *Achaian* state for some time, agreed again to take into partnership *Preagenes* and his son *Patrus*, who were the sovereigns of those *Achæans*, who had been banished out of *Lacedemon*, and gave them the sovereignity and territories of a city which was called from the last of these *Patra*. By what appears from this division of the *Achaian* government, it seems as if it then became a kind of aristocracy, rather than a seven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what share the subjects had in in it we cannot find out; only it seems from the short sketch *Pausanias* gives us of it, that all those cities abovementioned, except *Pellene*, were in some measure free cities, and that the estates of *Achaia* ceased not to assemble themselves, even when the rest of *Greece* was terribly harrased with wars and pestilence. In this assembly it was that the famous *Achæan* league was formed, into which the *Sicyonians* came the very first, and were followed by all the other estates, not only of *Peloponesus*, but by those on the other side of the *Isthmus*; even at length by all *Greece*, except the *Lacedemonians*, who soon after entered into a war against them, as shall be seen in the next chapter.

* See before. Vol. II. p. 369. d. * Vid. Pausan. in Achaic. pass. & Plutach. D. Sicul. & Auct. sup. citat.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XVIII.

## *The History of the* Athenians.

### SECT. I.

### *Of the state of* Athens *from the establishing annual archons, to the* Achæan *league.*

THE *Athenians* acquired that mighty renown which rendered them the most glorious nation in *Greece*, when *Greece* was in her greatest glory, and which makes the *Athenian* name venerable, even in these distant times, under a democratic government, of the beginning of which we are now to treat. Though *Athens*, as we have already shewn, was in ancient times, as indeed most nations were, governed by kings, yet those kings were far from being absolute. The best of them prescribed bounds to themselves, and the people prescribed bounds to the worst. For the *Athenians* were always friends to liberty, and reserved even in the days of *Theseus*, such an authority in their hands, as engaged *Homer* to difference them from the other nations of *Greece*[a]. The glorious death of *Codrus*, who sacrificed himself for his subjects, and his sons disputing the succession, furnished the *Athenians* with a pretence for ridding themselves of kings. It was improbable, they said, that ever they should have so good a prince as *Codrus*, and to prevent their having a worse, they could have no king but *Jupiter*[b]. However, that they might not seem ungrateful to his family, they made his son *Medon* their supreme magistrate, with the title of *Archon*; they afterwards rendered that office *decennial*, but continued it still in that family. The extinction of the *Medontidæ* at last left them without restraint, upon which they not only made this office *annual*, but created nine *Archons*[c]; by the latter invention they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former expedient they took away all apprehension of their *Archons* having time to establish an *optimacy*, and so change the constitution. In one word they attained now what they had long sought, the making their supreme magistrates *dependant* on the *people*.

That these magistrates might however retain as much authority and dignity as might be sufficient to preserve the order and peace in the commonwealth, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The *first* was styled by way of eminence *The Archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The *second* was called *Basileus*, i. e. king. He too had his peculiar function, and his particular tribunal. The *third* had the name of *Polemarchos*; war was his province especially, though he had the direction of many things besides military affairs. The other *six* had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, common to them all, and were looked on as the guardians of their laws, and conservators of the constitution. We shall speak of all these offices distinctly in their proper place; at present we intend only to give a general idea of that form of government which took place on the *abolition* of the decennial magistracy in *Athens*. As to the reasons on which the names of the three first magistrates and their distinct officers were founded, they are variously and not very clearly reported. It may be, their chief end was to transfer that reverence which the common people had for their old magistrates to these new ones, by leaving the latter as much of the exterior pomp of the former as was consistent with the ends for which this change was made. As the *Romans* allowed their consuls to have fasces carried before them, and bore with the word *Rex*, when it implied no more

[a] Iliad. lib. v. [b] Schol. in Nub. Aristophan. [c] Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. Euseb. Chron. Pausan.

than

a than a supreme sacrificer. This change happened at *Athens* in the twenty-fourth olympiad, but in what year of that olympiad is not well settled. *Creon* was the *first* of the new *Archons*, and the names of his successors, at least such of them as are recorded in history, the reader will find the following table, which also shews the years in which they bore that office (A).

An exact TABLE of such of the annual archons of *Athens* as are mentioned in history

| | *A. a. Ch.* | | *Olymp.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | xxiv. |
| | 684 | *Creon* | 1 |
| | 683 | *Tlesias* | 2 |
| | 682 | *Lysias* | 3 |
| | | | xxvii. |
| | 670 | *Antosthenes* | 3 |
| | | | xxix. |
| | 663 | *Archimedes* | 2 |
| | | | xxx. |
| | 658 | *Miltiades* | 3 |
| a | | | xxxiii. |
| | 645 | *Dropis* | 4 |
| | | | xxxv. |
| | 639 | *Damasias* I. | 2 |
| | | | xxxvi. |
| | 634 | *Epænetus* | 3 |
| | | | xxxix. |
| | 623 | *Draco* | 2 |
| | | | xliii. |
| | 608 | *Aristocles* | 4 |
| d | | | xlv. |
| | 599 | *Megacles* | 2 |

| *A. a. Ch.* | | *Olymp.* |
|---|---|---|
| 598 | *Phisombrotus* | 3 |
| 597 | *Solon* | 4 |
| | | xlvi. |
| 596 | *Dropides* | 1 |
| | | xlvii. |
| 591 | *Euorates* | 2 |
| 590 | *Simon* | 3 |
| | | xlix. |
| 582 | *Damasias* II. | 3 |
| | | li. |
| 576 | *Archestratides* | 1 |
| | | lii. |
| 569 | *Austomenes* | 4 |
| | | liv. |
| 561 | *Hippoclides* | 4 |
| | | lv. |
| 560 | *Comias* | 1 |
| 559 | *Hegestratus* | 2 |
| | | lvi. |
| 552 | *Euthydemus* | 2 |
| | | lviii. |
| 547 | *Euxiclides* | 2 |

(A) The *Athenian* history takes up so great a part of those volumes which are left us for the ancient writers of *Greece*, that though little has been said by them in a regular manner of the form of that republic, and the power of its magistrates; yet the industry of such of the learned as have laboured in this way, and by collecting the scattered passages of *Grecian* writers, have formed treatises of the *Athenian* government under its several mutations, have given us such lights on this important subject, that it would be unpardonable in us not to set it clearly and distinctly before our readers. But previous thereto, it will be necessary to give some account of those last mentioned authors, that if such as peruse this work should be desirous of entering more deeply into the *Athenian* policy, than the construction of this history will permit us to do, they may not be at a loss for guides. *William Postel*, who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and was deservedly famous for his extensive learning, hath written a very curious treatise of the *Athenian* republic, consisting of thirty-five chapters; wherein he handles, concisely, the functions of the *Athenian* magistrates, the rights of the people, and the dependancy of the several parts of the *Attic* constitution on each other (1). But if the succinctness of *Postel* leaves any doubt on the minds of his readers, *Sigonius*'s four books with his scheme of the *Athenian* history, will sufficiently supply it. *Sigonius* was a man of much reading, vast diligence, and had a mighty affection for this kind of writing, as appears from the many other works of the same kind which he composed (2). This excellent person was a professor in the university of *Modena*, and by that time he was twenty years of age, had acquired such a stupendous knowledge in history and politics, as rendered him the wonder of all who knew him. As *Sigonius* exceeded *Postel*, so *Sigonius* himself hath been transcended by *Ubbo Eminius*, rector of the university of *Groningen*, who having resolved upon a work of the same nature, made his description extend not only to the *Athenian*, but to all the republics of *Greece*, and ordering it so, that this description made but one third part of his work; the two former parts containing an exact description of ancient *Greece*, and a regular history of its inhabitants collected in the words mostly of original writers (3). If to these we add the almost numberless treatises of the very learned *Meursius* on every part of the *Athenian* government (4), there can no question be made, but that this point may be as thoroughly understood as any thing of the same nature can be. But as things are never perfect at first, so we held it more reasonable to refer the particular account of the power of the archons, and the construction of the *Athenian* democracy to its settlement by *Solon*, than to perplex the reader with anticipations or repetitions.

(1) *Tractatus de repub. sive Magistratibus Atheniensium.* (2) *De Republica Atheniensium, Venetiis* 1565, 8vo. (3) *Vetus Græcia Opus distinctum in Tomos tres.* (4) *Themis Attica, Cecropia, Lection. Attic.*

| A. a. Ch. | | Olymp. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | lix. | |
| 543 | *Alcæus* | 2 | |
| | | lxii. | |
| 532 | *Heraclides* | 1 | |
| | | lxiv. | |
| 523 | *Miltiades* | 2 | |
| | | lxviii. | |
| | *Isagoras* | *an. incert.* | |
| | | lxix. | |
| | *Acestorides* | *an. incert.* | |
| | | lxx. | |
| | *Myrus* | *an. incert.* | |
| | | lxxi. | |
| 496 | *Hyparchus* | 2 | |
| 495 | *Philippus* | 3 | |
| 494 | *Themistocles* | 4 | |
| | | lxxii. | |
| 492 | *Diognetus* | 2 | |
| 491 | *Hybrilides* | 3 | |
| 490 | *Phænippus* | 4 | |
| | | lxxiii. | |
| 488 | *Aristides* | 1 | |
| 487 | *Anchises* | 2 | |
| 486 | *Acratides* | 3 | |
| | | lxxiv. | |
| 484 | *Leostratus* | 1 | |
| 483 | *Nicodemus* | 2 | |
| 482 | *Aphephon* | 3 | |
| | | lxxv. | |
| 480 | *Callias, qui & Calliades* | 1 | |
| 476 | *Xanthippus* | 2 | |
| 478 | *Timosthenes* | 3 | |
| 477 | *Adimanthus* | 4 | |
| | | lxxvi. | |
| 476 | *Phædon* | 1 | |
| 475 | *Dromoclides* | 2 | |
| 474 | *Acestorides* | 3 | |
| 473 | *Menon* | 4 | |
| | | lxxvii. | |
| 472 | *Chares* | 1 | |
| 471 | *Praxiergus* | 2 | |
| 470 | *Demotion* | 3 | |
| 469 | *Phædon* | 4 | |
| | | lxxviii. | |
| 468 | *Theagenides* | 1 | |
| 467 | *Lysistratus* | 2 | |
| 466 | *Lysanias* | 3 | |
| 465 | *Lysistheus* | 4 | |
| | | lxxix. | |
| 464 | *Archidemides* | 1 | |
| 463 | *Tlepolemus* | 2 | |
| 462 | *Conon* | 3 | |
| 461 | *Euippus* | 4 | |
| | | lxxx. | |
| 460 | *Phaciclides* | 1 | |
| 459 | *Philocles* | 2 | |

| A. a. Ch. | | Olymp. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 458 | *Bion* | 3 | a |
| 457 | *Mnesitides* | 4 | |
| | | lxxxi. | |
| 456 | *Callias* | 1 | |
| 455 | *Sosistratus* | 2 | |
| 454 | *Ariston* | 3 | |
| 453 | *Lysicrates* | 4 | |
| | | lxxxii. | |
| 452 | *Chærephanes* | 1 | b |
| 451 | *Antidotus* | 2 | |
| 450 | *Eutydemus* | 3 | |
| 449 | *Pedieus* | 4 | |
| | | lxxxiii. | |
| 448 | *Philiscus* | 1 | |
| 447 | *Timarchides* | 2 | |
| 446 | *Callimachus* | 3 | |
| 445 | *Simachides, qui & Lysimachides* | 4 | |
| | | lxxxiv. | |
| 444 | *Praxiteles* | 1 | c |
| 443 | *Lysanias* | 2 | |
| 442 | *Diphilus* | 3 | |
| 441 | *Timocles* | 4 | |
| | | lxxxv. | |
| 440 | *Myrichides sive Marichidas* | 1 | |
| 439 | *Glaucis* | 2 | |
| 438 | *Theodorus* | 3 | |
| 437 | *Euthimenes* | 4 | |
| | | lxxxvi. | d |
| 436 | *Nausimachus, qui & Lysimachus* | 1 | |
| 435 | *Antichides* | 2 | |
| 434 | *Charis* | 3 | |
| 433 | *Apsendes* | 4 | |
| | | lxxxvii. | |
| 432 | *Pythodorus* | 1 | |
| 431 | *Euthydemus* | 2 | |
| 430 | *Apollodorus* | 3 | |
| 429 | *Epamion* | 4 | e |
| | | lxxxviii. | |
| 428 | *Diotimus* | 1 | |
| 427 | *Euclides* | 2 | |
| 426 | *Scytodorus, qui & Euthydemus* | 3 | |
| 425 | *Stratocles* | 4 | |
| | | lxxxix. | |
| 424 | *Isarchus* | 1 | |
| 423 | *Aminias* | 2 | f |
| 422 | *Alcæus* | 3 | |
| 421 | *Ariſto, qui & Ariſtion* | 4 | |
| | | xc. | |
| 420 | *Ariſtophilus, qui & Astyphilus* | 1 | |
| 419 | *Archias* | 2 | |
| 418 | *Antiphon* | 3 | |
| 417 | *Euphemus* | 4 | |
| | | xci. | |
| 416 | *Ariſtomneſtus* | 1 | |

415 *Chabrias*

| | A. a. Ch. | | Olymp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| a | 415 | *Chabrias* | 2 |
| | 414 | *Pysander* | 3 |
| | 413 | *Cleocritus* | 4 |
| | | | xcii. |
| | 412 | *Callias* | 1 |
| | 411 | *Theopompus* | 2 |
| | 410 | *Glaucippus* | 3 |
| b | 409 | *Diocles* | 4 |
| | | | xciii. |
| | 408 | *Euctemon* | 1 |
| | 407 | *Antigenes* | 2 |
| | 406 | *Callias* | 3 |
| | 405 | *Alexias* | 4 |
| | | | xciv. |
| | 434 | *Pythodorus* | 1 |
| | 403 | *Euclides* | 2 |
| | 402 | *Micio* | 3 |
| | 401 | *Zenetetus, qui & Epenetus* | 4 |
| c | | | xcv. |
| | 400 | *Laches* | 1 |
| | 399 | *Aristocrates* | 2 |
| | 398 | *Itycles* | 3 |
| | 397 | *Lysiades* | 4 |
| | | | xcvi. |
| | 396 | *Phormio* | 1 |
| | 395 | *Diophantus* | 2 |
| | 394 | *Eubulides* | 3 |
| d | 393 | *Arches, qui & Demostratus* | 4 |
| | | | cxvii. |
| | 392 | *Philocles* | 1 |
| | 391 | *Nicoteles* | 2 |
| | 390 | *Demostratus* | 3 |
| | 389 | *Antipater* | 4 |
| | | | xcviii. |
| e | 388 | *Pyrrhio, qui & Pyrghium* | 1 |
| | 387 | *Theodotus* | 2 |
| | 386 | *Mystichides* | 3 |
| | 385 | *Dexiteus* | 4 |
| | | | xcix. |
| | 384 | *Diotrephes* | 1 |
| | 383 | *Phenostratus* | 2 |
| | 382 | *Menander, qui & Evander* | 3 |
| | 381 | *Demophilus* | 4 |
| f | | | c. |
| | 380 | *Pytheas* | 1 |
| | 379 | *Nicon* | 2 |
| | 378 | *Nausidicus* | 3 |
| | 377 | *Callias* | 4 |
| | | | ci. |
| | 376 | *Chariander* | 1 |
| | 375 | *Hypodamus* | 2 |
| | 374 | *Socratides* | 3 |
| | 373 | *Asteus* sive *Asteus* | 4 |
| | | | cii. |
| | 372 | *Aristhenes* sive *Alcisthenes* | 1 |

| A. a. Ch. | | Olymp. |
|---|---|---|
| 371 | *Phrasiclides* | 2 |
| 369 | *Dysnicetus* | 3 |
| 369 | *Lysistratus* | 4 |
| | | ciii. |
| 368 | *Nausiegenes* | 1 |
| 367 | *Polyzelus* | 2 |
| 366 | *Cephisodorus* | 3 |
| 365 | *Chion* | 4 |
| | | civ. |
| 364 | *Timocrates* | 1 |
| 363 | *Characlides* | 2 |
| 362 | *Molio* sive *Molon* | 3 |
| 361 | *Nicophemus* | 4 |
| | | cv. |
| 360 | *Callimedes* | 1 |
| 359 | *Eucharistus* | 2 |
| 358 | *Cephisodorus* | 3 |
| 357 | *Agathocles* | 4 |
| | | cvi. |
| 356 | *Elpines* seu *Elpinius* | 1 |
| 355 | *Callistratus* | 2 |
| 354 | *Diotimus* | 3 |
| 353 | *Eudemus* | 4 |
| | | cvii. |
| 352 | *Aristodemus* | 1 |
| 351 | *Thessalus* | 2 |
| 350 | *Apollodorus* | 3 |
| 349 | *Callimachus* | 4 |
| | | cviii. |
| 348 | *Theophilus* | 1 |
| 347 | *Themistocles* | 2 |
| 346 | *Archius* | 3 |
| 345 | *Eubulus* | 4 |
| | | cix. |
| 344 | *Lysiscus* | 1 |
| 343 | *Pythodorus* | 2 |
| 342 | *Sosigenes* | 3 |
| 341 | *Nicomachus* | 4 |
| | | cx. |
| 340 | *Theophrastus* | 1 |
| 339 | *Lysimachides* | 2 |
| 338 | *Charondas* seu *Charonides* | 3 |
| 337 | *Phrynicus* | 4 |
| | | cxi. |
| 336 | *Pythodorus* | 1 |
| 335 | *Euenetus* | 2 |
| 334 | *Cteficles* | 3 |
| 333 | *Nicocrates* | 4 |
| | | cxii. |
| 332 | *Niceratus* | 1 |
| 331 | *Aristophanes* | 2 |
| 330 | *Aristophon* | 3 |
| 329 | *Cephisophon* | 4 |
| | | cxiii. |
| 328 | *Euthycritus* | 1 |
| 327 | *Hegemon* | 2 |
| 326 | *Chremes* | 3 |
| 325 | *Anticles* | 4 |

324 *Hegesias*

| *A. a. Ch.* | | *Olymp.* |
|---|---|---|
| | | cxiv. |
| 324 | *Hegesias* | 1 |
| 323 | *Cephisodorus* | 2 |
| 322 | *Philocles* | 3 |
| 321 | *Archippus* sive *Apollodorus* | 4 |
| | | cxv. |
| 320 | *Neæchmus* | 1 |
| 319 | *Apollodorus* | 2 |
| 318 | *Archippus* | 3 |
| 317 | *Demogenes* | 4 |
| | | cxvi. |
| 316 | *Democlides* | 1 |
| 315 | *Praxibulus* | 2 |
| 314 | *Nicodorus* | 3 |
| 313 | *Cheophrastus* | 4 |
| | | cxvii. |
| 312 | *Ptolemo* | 1 |
| 311 | *Simonides* | 2 |
| 310 | *Hieromnemon* | 3 |
| 309 | *Demetrius Phalereus* | 4 |
| | | cxviii. |
| 308 | *Charinus* sive *Cœrinus* | 1 |
| 307 | *Anaxicrates* | 2 |
| 306 | *Corœbus* sive *Corybus* | 3 |
| 305 | *Xenippus* sive *Euxenippus* | 4 |

| *A. a. Ch.* | | *Olymp.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | cxix. | a |
| 304 | *Pherecles* | 1 | |
| 403 | *Leostratus* | 2 | |
| 302 | *Nicocles* | 3 | |
| 301 | *Calliarchus* | 4 | |
| | | cxx. | |
| 300 | *Hegamachus* | 1 | |
| 299 | *Euctemon* | 2 | b |
| 298 | *Mnesidemus* | 3 | |
| 297 | *Antiphates* | 4 | |
| | | cxxi. | |
| 296 | *Nicias* | 1 | |
| 295 | *Nicostratus* | 2 | |
| 294 | *Olympiodorus* | 3 | |
| 293 | *Philippus* | 4 | |
| | | cxxii. | |
| 290 | *Philippus* | 3 | |
| | | cxxv. | |
| 279 | *Gorgias* | 2 | |
| 278 | *Anaxicrates* | 3 | c |
| 277 | *Democles* | 4 | |
| | | cxxvii. | |
| 271 | *Pytharatus* | 2 | |
| | | cxxix. | |
| 264 | *Diognetes* | 1 | |
| | | clx. | |
| 140 | *Antitheus* | 1 | |
| | | clxxx. | |
| 60 | *Herodes* | 2 | d |

As we are obliged to gather the history of *Athens* at the entrance of this period from such passages in far later historians as have a retrospective view thereto, the reader cannot expect that it should be very exactly connected. He will see from the foregoing table that the names of many of the archons are lost; and of several which remain, we know nothing more than that they were archons in such a year, which is frequently discovered from writers of other nations, who, for the better settling the facts of which they wrote, referred them to the years in which such and such e persons were archons; because anciently the *Athenian* story was better known than that of any other people, and therefore served the purpose of historians in this respect perfectly well. If the people laboured for power in *Athens*, the nobility were likewise desirous of preserving it to themselves, and tho' they frequently found it necessary to give way to popular humours, yet they generally fell upon expedients which in the end defeated the designs of the people, and hindred them from attaining that measure of authority they sought. The archons were from the beginning of the democracy chosen by the people, but they were chosen out of the nobility, and they still retained one privilege of the ancient magistrates, which very probably bore hard upon the people, *viz.* that of deciding all causes that came before them, according to their own noti- f ons of right or wrong; for as yet the *Athenians* had no written laws, but every magistrate acted according to the principles of natural equity [d].

THE more populous the city grew, and the greater wealth its citizens acquired, the less easily were they governed. Merchants from *Syria* and *Egypt*, very probably gave them first to understand the expediency of written laws, which might serve to rule the magistrates as well as the people. This once inculcated, the *Athenians* would not be at rest without them; the same spirit which had compelled former alterations in government, made it necessary now that laws should be compiled,

[d] Suidas in Δρακων.

and

a and therefore the nobility pitched upon *Draco* to undertake this arduous employment (B).

*Draco* was archon in the second, though some say in the last year of the thirty-ninth olympiad, when it is supposed he published his laws. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we no where find so much as ten lines together relating to him and his institutions, which is certainly the reason that the collectors of *Greek* history have written so superficially about them. We cannot pretend to supply their deficiencies; but from the scattered fragments relating to him, we will give the reader the best account of him and his laws that we can. He was without doubt a man noble by birth, and endowed with high qualifications. He was learned, virtuous, and a true lover of his country, but at the same time severe in his temper, and extremely rigid in the rules which he laid down for the government of *Athens* [e]. He esteemed the taking of life away so high a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence thereof in the minds of men, he ordained that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they had accidentally caused the death of any person. So that for instance a statue which had fallen upon or killed a man, was banished, it being rendered criminal for any one to keep it in *Attica* [f]. Happy had it been for himself and for his country, if the same spirit of humanity had reigned throughout his institutions; but so it was, that he punished all things with death, even indolence, and the taking an apple was as severely punished as sacrilege, for which he himself assigned this reason; *small faults seem to me worthy of death, and for the most flagrant offences, I can find no higher punishment* [g]. The care of executing these laws he intrusted chiefly with the *Ephetæ*, a court we have heretofore mentioned, which he took upon him to reform in many respects, whence he is by some said to have instituted it, but that is a mistake. He did indeed make it superior to the *Areopagus*, to which it was before inferior, and *Solon* restoring the precedency of the last-mentioned court, has been by a like mistake reported to be the institutor thereof [h]. *Draco* was far in years when he gave laws to *Athens*; some have been of opinion that he borrowed most of his principles from the books of the *Phœnicians*, but this can hardly be proved [i]; certain it is that his institutions were not stiled *Nomoi*, but *Thesmoi*, i. e. not laws, but sanctions, as if they proceeded from more than human wisdom [k]; but this did not hinder their falling into dislike with the *Athenians*, even in his life-time; and as their dislike was always fatal, he was obliged to retire from *Athens*, from whence he went to the island of *Ægina*, where he was received with the highest respect; but the favour of the inhabitants of that country proved more fatal to him than the hatred of the *Athenians*. For coming one day into the theatre, the audience, to shew their regard for him, threw, as the custom of that age was, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, and the multitude of these being very great, they stifled the old man, who was too weak to disengage himself from that load, their inconsiderate kindness cast over him [l]. *Aristotle* tells us that *Herodicus* was wont to say, *That his institutions seem rather to have come from a dragon than a man*, alluding to his name [m], and *Demades* rendered himself famous by observing, *that* Draco's *laws were not written with* ink, *but* blood [n]. It may be the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulency of the *Athenian* people, made that legislator have recourse to so harsh a method; for that he was not of altogether so savage a temper as he is generally represented may be probably conjectured from those fragments of his laws which are yet undevoured by

*Year after the flood* 2380. *Before Christ* 561

[e] A. GELLIUS Noct. Attic. lib. ii. c. 18. TATIAN. Orat. cont. Græcos. CLEM. Strom. l. i. [f] PAUSAN. Attic. [g] PLUTARCH, in vita Solon. [h] POTTER's Archæolog. Vol. I. p. 102. [i] JOSEPH. contr. Apion. [k] ÆLIAN. hist. var. l. viii. c. 10. [l] HESYCH. Illust. de Philos. [m] Rhet. l. ii. c. 23. PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon.

(B) When it is said that *Draco* first gave laws to the *Athenians*, it must be understood in an extensive sense, for otherwise it is certain that *Ceres* was the first who taught the *Athenians* to lead a social life, and to become subject to the wisest amongst them that their wisdom might be made generally beneficial. It is commonly believed that *Ceres* gave these laws by her favourite *Triptolemus*, and we are farther told what those laws were, the whole body of them being comprized in one line; *Honour your parents; Worship the gods; Hurt not Animals* (5). These precepts were retained likewise by *Draco*, and made the very foundation of his institutions, yet notwithstanding all this, he was, in the sense we usually take the word in, the legislator of the *Athenians*, since he first restrained the magistrates from pronouncing arbitrary judgments, and declared what actions were criminal and in what manner such as committed them should be punished.

(5) *Porphyr. de Abstinentia.*

time, and from the knowledge we have of his being strongly inclined to poetry, a study seldom agreeable to cruel minds[o] (C). a

*Year after the flood* 2397 *Before Christ* 606.

NOTHING considerable happened at *Athens* from the time of *Draco*'s archonship till that republic engaged herself in a war with the *Mytilenæans* about the city of *Sigeium*, which was seated near the mouth of the river *Scamander*; the *Athenian* army was commanded by *Phrynon*, a person equally remarkable for the comeliness of his form, and the generosity of his mind. The *Mytilenæans* were commanders in chief by *Pittacus*, one of the famous sages of *Greece*; as these commanded looked on the honour of their several countries to be engaged in this business, they exerted their utmost abilities with equal success. At last these chiefs met in single combat, wherein *Phrynon* depended on his valour only, but *Pittacus* made use of craft; for concealing behind his shield a net, he therewith suddenly entangled *Phrynon*, and easily slew him; but this not putting an end to the war, *Periander*, tyrant of *Corinth*, interposed, and both parties having submitted the dispute to his arbitration, he decreed that *Sigeium* should belong to the *Athenians*. This happened in the third year of the forty-third olympiad[p] (D). b

*Year after the flood* 2504 *Before Christ* 599.

ABOUT seven years after this war was ended, *Athens* was torn by civil dissensions; *Cylon*, a man of a most ancient family, son-in-law to *Theagenes*, tyrant of *Megara*, whose affable behaviour had gained him many friends, and whose great riches procured him many dependants, formed in his own mind a design of seizing the supreme power; this he communicated to such as he thought were fit to be trusted with so important a secret, and they concurring with him in his undertaking, it was agreed to consult the oracle of *Apollo*, when would be the fittest time for them to put this design in execution. The oracle answered, *When the citizens were employed in celebrating the highest feast to* Jupiter. *Cylon* and his associates waited therefore for the forty-fifth olympiad, and when many of the citizens were gone to the olympic games, the conspirators made themselves masters of the citadel. *Megacles*, who was at that time archon with his eight associates, and the whole power of *Athens*, immediately besieged them therein, and *Cylon* and his party found themselves so exceedingly distressed, especially for provisions and water, that they knew not what to do. Their chief and his brother found means to make their escape, but the meaner sort were left to shift for themselves[q]. In this extremity they fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and took sanctuary therein; *Megacles* persuaded them with much ado to come down from thence, and to put themselves upon their country; when they assented to this, they tied a cord to the image of the goddess, and carried the clew with them to demonstrate that they were still under sanctuary; but unfor- c d

[o] Vide Note C. [p] POLYÆN. Strateg. lib. i. c. 25. PLUTARCH. de Malign. HERODOT. [q] HERODOT. l. v. THUCYD. lib. i.

(C) *Aristotle* speaks very slightly of *Draco*'s laws. He says they had nothing extraordinary in them except their cruelty (6), which expression, as I apprehend, hath given occasion to the censures of many other authors. With respect to *Draco*'s laws, what fragments still remain put it not in our power to decide either for him or against him. *Porphyry* hath preserved a part of one of his laws, which runs thus: It is an everlasting law in *Attica* that the gods are to be worshipped, and the heroes also, according to the customs of our ancestors, and in private only, with good words, first-fruits, and annual libations (7). This seems to have been a commentary on *Triptolemus*'s laws, and is declarative only of the manner in which the gods and heroes ought to be worshipped. *Hesychius* (8) mentions a law, whereby a person easing himself in the temple of *Apollo*, was adjudged to suffer death. It is highly likely, that amidst the disturbances which made laws necessary, *Draco* saw, or at least thought he saw, a necessity of punishing very severely, since the licentiousness of the people was grown to such a pitch, that nothing but harsh measures could force them within their former bounds. After all, the extravagant severity of his *Thesmoi* of *Sanctions*, like an edge too finely ground, hindered them from striking deep, so that by degrees they grew into disfuetude, so that the commonwealth stood more in need of new laws, than ever she stood in need of *Draco*'s.

(D) The war between the *Mytilenians* and the *Athenians* about the city of *Sigeum* hath cost the learned a good deal of trouble. *Herodotus* doth not say any thing of *Pittacus* in the account he gives us of this business; but *Plutarch* alledges this as one instance of his malignity, and the little inclination he had to do any but the *Athenians* justice (9). But then *Plutarch* in commending excessively *Pittacus*'s ensnaring *Phrynon*, seems to speak him a little prejudiced on that side, at least as the rules of honour are now settled. *Polyænus* tells this story without making any farther comment thereon, than that *Pittacus* was undoubtedly the first inventor of the art of net-fighting (10), which was afterwards common among the *Romans* in their shews, but with this difference from *Pittacus*'s behaviour, that the *Retiarius* fought openly with his net and his dagger, whereas *Phrynon* thought nothing of a net till he found himself intangled in it.

(6) *Arist. Polit. lib.* ii. *c.* 10. (7) *De Abstinent.* (8) *Ap. Ant. Thes. Coll. leg. Ath. & Rom.* (9) *Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot.* (10) *Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* i. *c.* 28.

a tunately, as they passed the temple of the furies, the line snapt of itself, and *Megacles* and his officers construing this into a renunciation by the goddess, fell upon them without mercy, and put them to death as fast as they could: such as were without the temple were immediately dispatched: such as retired thither again were killed at the feet of the altars. In a word, none escaped but such as bribed the wives of the officers of justice. But this did not put an end to the sedition, the remains of *Cylon*'s faction created great disturbances, not by pretending to domineer over their countrymen, but by insinuating that the violation of *Minerva*'s sanctuary had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the crosses that happened to the republic were cited as indubitable proofs. These discourses had such an effect, that b *Megacles* and his officers were stiled *execrable*, and held to be persons under the peculiar displeasure of the gods[r]. What happened in consequence of this we shall shortly see: In the mean time, let us observe that the oracle of *Apollo* justified itself by declaring that *Cylon* and his adherents mistook the feast; that intended by the oracle being the *Diasia* held in *Athens* to the honour of *Jupiter*, and not the olympic games[s] (E).

While *Athens* was in this confusion the *Megarensians* attacked *Nisea*, and having taken it afterwards, drove the *Athenians* out of *Salamis*, which the latter endeavoured to recover, but in vain, for the *Megarensians*, continually victorious, cut off such numbers of them, that at last, despairing of success, and afflicted with the mighty c loss they had received, the *Athenians* made a law that it should be capital for any one to propose to attempt the recovery of *Salamis*[t]. About this time also the city was exceedingly disturbed with superstitious fears, and frightful appearances, this moved them to consult the *Delphic* oracle, and the answer they received was, that the city must be *expieted*. Upon this *Nicias* was sent to *Crete* to bring from thence *Epimenides* the *Phestian*, who was reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep skill in the mysteries of religion. He coming to *Athens* took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the *Areopagus*, and turning them loose there, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice them to the local deity. d This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. *Epimenides* directed also many temples and chapels to be erected without the city, two of which have been particularly noted, *viz.* the chapel of *Contumely*, and the chapel of *Impudence*. He is reported to have looked wistfully on the port of *Munychia* for a long time, and afterwards to have said to those who were near him, *How blind is man to future things, for did the* Athenians *foresee what mischief will one day be derived to them from that place, they would eat it with their teeth*[u]. This prediction was fulfilled two-hundred and seventy years after, when *Antipater* constrained the *Athenians* to admit his garrison into that place. During his stay at *Athens* he became intimately acquainted with *Solon*, who was e already taken notice of for his shining parts and admirable moderation. As for *Epimenides*, the *Athenians* were highly satisfied with what he did for them, and in token of their gratitude, offered him presents of great value and considerable

[r] Plutarch. in vita Solon. [s] Dacier. in Plutarch. ubi supra. [t] Plutarch. ubi supra. [u] Diogen. Laertius, in vita Epimen.

(E) There was for a long time after the democracy took place a strong party against it, who left no measures untried in order, if possible, to restore their ancient form of government. *Cylon*, as a man of quality, repined at the sudden change of the magistrates, and at the thoughts of asking that as a favour which he apprehended to be due to him as his birth-right. The design of seizing the citadel, if it had succeeded, would in all probability have ended the dispute in his favour; but the number he drew together proving far inferior to those who were under the direction of the archons, obliged him to act otherwise than he expected, and to endure a siege where he hoped to make a conquest (11). In the citadel there were two temples to *Minerva*, that seated in the middle was stiled *Parthenion*, alluding to her constant preservation of her virginity: it was afterwards burnt by the *Persians*, but repaired by *Pericles* with such skill as well as magnificence, that the remains thereof are to this day admirable, and shew it to have been one of the finest structures in the world (12). As to the proceeding against *Cylon*'s confederates it was against the common custom of *Greece*, and might very well alarm a nation so prone to superstition as the *Athenians* were; for though they had the quickest wits of all the inhabitants of *Greece*, yet in these respects they were more scrupulous than any other people, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, when we come to speak of the ordinances relating to their religion.

(11) *Herodot. Thucyd. Plutarch. in vit. Solonis* (12) *Cecropia. Wheeler's Voyages.*

honours,

honours; but he requested only a branch of the sacred olive, and this being given a him; he returned well satisfied to *Crete*[x] (F).

It was about this time that *Solon*, whom we before mentioned, began to shew himself to his countrymen, and to display those rare qualities which rendered him so deservedly beloved while living, and which have preserved uninjured for so long a tract of time, the fame which he acquired. He was in every respect formed to make a figure in the *Athenian* commonwealth. He was noble by birth, if not more, for he descended lineally from *Codrus*; his mother was nearly related to the mother of *Pisistratus*, and he had a brother whose name was *Dropides*, who was archon the year after himself[y]. We are told that he was born at *Salamis*, however we think that may be doubted from certain verses of his which we shall have occasion to quote. As honourable as his family was, the generosity of his father b left *Solon* in no very happy condition; this, as it is generally believed, engaged him to merchandize, though he might otherwise have subsisted well enough by the assistance of his friends; but this did not suit that greatness of soul which he inherited, he chose therefore to travel, and to merchandize, that he might live independently at home on his return, and not suffer that house to receive kindnesses, whose custom it had been to bestow them. It is plain both from his actions and his writings, that he was a disinterested patriot. The shameful decree that none under pain of death should mention the recovery of *Salamis*, grieved him to the heart; he therefore composed an elegy consisting of an hundred verses, to inflame the minds of the people against the *Megarensians*, who had taken from them that island. Having digested this elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran into the market- c place as if he had been mad, with his night-cap on his head, and ascending the stool

[x] Plutarch. in vita Solon.

[y] Diog. Laert. vit. Solon.

(F) This *Epimenides* was a very extraordinary person, as we shall have occasion to shew in the history of *Crete*. Here we have nothing to say of him farther, than what relates to lustrating or cleansing cities, *Diogenes Laertius*, tells us, that he was the inventor of this art, or rather that he was the first that lustrated houses or fields, which, if spoken of *Greece*, may be true, for *Moses* had long before taught something of this nature to the *Jews*. This was practised on the great day of attonement, which might very well be called the annual lustration of *Israel*. Upon that day the priest took for himself a young bullock, and for the people two goats; the bullock the priest offered for himself; then he cast lots upon the goats, one was called the goat of *Jehovah*, and was offered; the other *Azazel*, or, as we translate it, the scape goat; the latter was presented also before the altar of God, and the priest laying his hands upon him, confessed all the iniquities of the children of *Israel*, and all their transgressions, which *Moses* calls putting them upon the head of the goat, which was then sent away into the wilderness, *because he bore upon him all their iniquities unto a land of separation* (13). The reader will easily see that we have given this account of the scape-goat here, that he might apply it to what is said of *Epimenides*'s method of cleansing the city of *Athens*, which has a visible resemblance thereto, and was in all probability copied therefrom, or from the custom of some other eastern nations which originally borrowed it from the *Hebrews*. There were however other ceremonies practised for the same purpose. *Tzetzes* in his poetical chronicle has given us a very remarkable account of the manner in which lustrations were made, their causes and effects.

Thus was in ancient times lustration made:
When any city groan'd beneath the weight
Of famine, plague or worse calamity,
Forthwith a grateful victim was prepared,
Which at the holy altar when they'd placed,
They cast upon the pile, cheese, cakes, and figs;
Then striking quick seven times its genitals
With sea leeks, and wild figs, and other fruits
Rude nature's product without help of art,
Burn it with wood cut from unplanted trees,
Next tow'rds the wind the sportive ashes cast
Upon the sea; thus they the dreadful ills,
With which the city labour'd, drove away (14).

As to *Epimenides*, *Strabo* reports that he made a great use of verses and of hymns in his purifications (14), and *Suidas* tells us that he wrote in verse many rules and instructions for these sort of rites (16). *Laertius* reports that as he was about to mark out a place for a temple to three nymphs, a voice from heaven gave him this direction, *not to the* nymphs, *but to* Jupiter. Besides the prophecy beforementioned relating to the haven *Munychia*, *Epimenides* uttered another during his stay at *Athens*; for hearing that the citizens were alarmed at the progress of the *Persian* power at sea, he advised them to make themselves easy, for that the *Persians* would not for many years attempt any thing against the *Greeks*, and when they did, they would receive greater loss themselves than they would be able to bring upon the states they sought to destroy (17). Having related such strange things of this prophet and philosopher, it will not be amiss to close this note with observing, that the sacred olive mentioned above, was the tree produced by *Minerva* when she contended with *Neptune*, and that *Aristotle* was a downright infidel with respect to the stories of *Epimenides*'s fortelling future events; that famous sage being of opinion our lustration's talents lay quite another way, *viz.* in discovering what old crimes had produced present punishments, and how attonement might be made, and those ills taken away.

(13) *Leviticus* xvi. (14) *Tzetzes. Chil. Hist. v.* xxiii. (15) *Gregr. lib.* x. (16) *In voce* Ἐπιμ. (16) *In vit. Epimenid.*

of

a of the common cryer, he repeated with great vehemence the elegy he had composed to the people who had gathered round him; that poem began thus:

From *Salamis*, behold a cryer come,
Who brings you news, in nervous verses home.

But the most moving strokes in this celebrated poem were contained in the following verses:

Rather than *Athens*, would I ow'd my birth,
To *Pholegondrian*, or *Sicinian* earth;
Since men will say where-ever I am tost,
He's of that dastard race, who *Salamis* have lost.

b It ended thus:

To *Salamis* let us renew our claim,
And with the isle restored, restore our fame.

*Pisistratus*, who, as we before observed, was his near relation, mixed himself with the crowd which gathered round this pretended madman; he, by his persuasive eloquence, heightened that martial rage which *Solon* had kindled by his verses, so that of a sudden the sentiments of the *Athenians* were wholly changed, and they determined to assert their right to *Salamis*, and decreed a war accordingly. It is not easy to say who was appointed commander in chief of this expedition, some say *Solon*, and that *Pisistratus* accompanied him; others say that *Pisistratus* went general, and that *Solon* assisted him with his advice [E].

c THERE are various accounts of the manner in which *Salamis* was again reduced under the *Athenian* power; the most current story is, that *Solon* coming with *Pisistratus* to *Colias*, and finding the women busy there in celebrating according to the custom the feast of *Ceres*, sent a confident of his to *Salamis*, who pretending to be no friend to that people, told the inhabitants that, if they had a mind to seize the fairest of the *Athenian* ladies, they might do it by passing over to *Colias*. The *Megarensians* giving easy credit to what this man said, presently fitted out a ship, which *Solon* perceiving from the opposite shore, immediately dismissed the women, and having dressed a sufficient number of beardless youths, in female habits, under d which they concealed every one a dagger, he sent them to the sea side to dance and divert themselves as the women were wont to do. When those who came from *Salamis* drew near the coast, and saw these young people skipping up and down, they strove who should leap first out of the vessel, and running one and all to catch these damsels, their ship was surprized, themselves murdered, and the *Athenians* embarking on board their vessel, sailed immediately to *Salamis* and took it. *Polyænus* has inserted this relation, and *Plutarch* also admits that it was the current account of this business; he tells us however that others had related it after this manner: The

[E] PLUT. DIOG. LAERT. PAUSAN. &c.

(G) The name of *Solon*'s father was *Euphorion*, or, as most writers affirm, *Execestides*, and we know nothing more of him, than that notwithstanding his liberality, and the nobility of his descent, he was far from being considerable in *Athens*. *Aristotle* reckons *Solon* himself among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it; the truth, is, that *Solon* was never rich, it may be because he was always honest: something of this sort seems to be implied in the following verses, which are accounted excellent:

Many unjust grow rich, and pious poor;
We would not change our virtue for their store;
For constant virtue is a solid base,
Riches from man to man uncertain pass (19).

In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry, and as he was in those days unconfined, and had no very weighty affairs upon his hands, he wrote and published a great many poems; certain it is that all he did in this way deserves the highest commendation; his language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his subjects useful and sublime, and therefore *Plato* had just reason to say that if he had finished all his poems, and particularly the history he brought out of *Egypt*, and had taken time to revise and correct them as others did, neither *Homer*, *Hesiod*, or any other ancient poet would have been more famous (20). As he was an excellent poet himself he had a just and high idea of the power of verse, which he thought capable of making the strongest impressions on the mind of man; yet he was a great orator, and wrote in prose with peculiar neatness of expression and perspicuity. It is evident both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a most pleasant and agreeable temper. He loved society, and made it his business to promote the welfare therof, he considered men as men, he kept both their capacity for virtue, and their proneness to evil in his view, adapting his laws so as to strengthen and support the one, and to check and keep under the other; hence his institutions are as remarkable for their sweetness and practability, as those of *Lycurgus* are for harshness and forcing human nature. The reader will excuse this short digression as to the character of *Solon*, since it is absolutely necessary for the framing a right idea of his conduct as a legislator.

(19) *Plutarch. in vita Solonis.*

(20) *In Timæo.*

first thing *Solon* did after he was appointed director of this expedition, was to consult the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, from whom he received this response; a

Let sacrifice be to those heroes paid,
Who under the *Asopian* ground are laid,
And dead, are by the setting sun survey'd.

*Solon* took upon him to explain this dark prediction, and was so happy as to interpret it right. He guessed that the heroes mentioned by the oracle were *Periphemus* and *Cychris*, he sailed therefore by night to *Salamis*, and offered at their tombs. This being performed, he gathered a body of five-hundered *Athenian* volunteers, who in case they succeeded, were to have the government of the island. These imbarqued in a galley of thirty oars, and in a considerable number of fishing b boats, and setting sail in the evening, arrived the day following in a bay of the isle of *Salamis* which looked towards *Eubœa*. The next morning the whole island was alarmed, though they did not well know on what account; at last the *Athenian* gally was descried, the *Megarensians* thereupon manned out a stout ship, which doubling the cape in order to attack the galley, was on a sudden surrounded by *Solon*'s armed boats, and quickly taken. The *Athenians* having put to death all the men surprized in this vessel, filled it with their choicest youth dressed in the *Megarensian* habits, which procured them an easy entrance into the port, where, when they arrived, they made all imaginable haste on shore, and attacked those who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time the remainder of the *Athenians* marched by land and attacked the city on the other side with such fury, that it was speedily c taken. In memory of this extraordinary event, they instituted a solemn feast, during which an *Athenian* ship came as it were privately into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man jumped on shore, and ran towards the promontory *Sciradium* as if to join his companions, who had marched by land. Near this place there stood a temple to *Mars* which was supposed to have been erected by *Solon* in memory of this victory which put the *Athenians* in possession of the whole island, the rest of the *Megarensians* retiring to their own country in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Solon*. The *Megarensians* so highly resented the loss of *Salamis*, that, notwithstanding the treaty, they presently sent new forces thither, against whom the *Athenians* fought, sometimes with good, sometimes with ill fortune. At last it was decreed to leave this dispute to the *Lacedemonians*, who commissioned the five d following persons, viz. *Critolaides*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilas*, and *Cleomenes*, to hear both parties. *Solon* pleaded on this occasion the cause of his country, and some have suggested that he practised a little fraud to make it go the better, they say, that finding the following verse in *Homer*,

*Ajax* from *Salamis* twelve frigates brought,

he added thereto,

And rang'd his troops where the *Athenians* fought.

From whence he would have inferred, that *Salamis* even at that time belonged to the *Athenians*. But the friends of *Solon* assert that this is an idle story, and that their great orator made use of quite another proof; he made it appear, say they, that *Philæus* and *Eurysaces* the sons of *Ajax* settled at *Athens*, and being received into e the number of citizens, gave up that island to the *Athenians*, *Philæus* becoming so considerable a person, that one of their wards took its name from him. He urged farther the persons buried in *Salamis* lay with their faces to the west agreable to the custom of the *Athenians*, and directly contrary to that of the *Megarensians*, who turned the faces of their dead towards the east, and that moreover only one person was laid in a grave, which likewise corresponded with the practice of the *Athenians*, and differed from the *Megarensian* custom, which was to bury three or four in one grave[a]. It would be needless to trouble the reader with any farther circumstances of this debate; let it suffice then to say that we are informed by *Ælian*, *Solon* carried his cause, not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of strong argument, urged in plain and perspicuous terms[b]. f

On the return of *Solon* to *Athens* he was highly extolled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occasion of admiring his wisdom. It happened that the inhabitants of *Cirrha*, a town seated in the bay of *Corinth*, after having by repeated incursions wasted the territory of *Delphi*, besieged the city itself from a greedy

[a] Plut. in vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. [b] Var. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 19.

desire

a desire of making themselves masters of the mighty riches contained in the temple of *Apollo*. Advice of this being sent to the *Amphictyons*, who were the states-general of *Greece*, *Solon* advised that this matter should be universally resented, and that all the *Greek* states should immediately join in saving the *Delphic* oracle, and punishing the impiety of the *Cirrhæans*; with which the council immediately complied and decreed a general war against that people. *Solon* was not however appointed general of this expedition, as *Hermippus* from another author relates, nor did he command the *Athenian* troops. *Clysthenes*, tyrant of *Sicyon*, commanded in chief, and *Alcmæon* was general of the *Athenian* quota, *Solon* went however as counsellor or assistant to *Clysthenes*, and it was by his advice that the war was conducted to a pro-
b sperous issue. For when the *Greek* army had besieged *Cirrha* some time without any great sign of success, *Apollo* was consulted, who answered,

In vain you hope to take the place before
The sea's blue waves roll o'er the hallow'd shore.

This response struck the army with surprize, from whence *Solon* extricated them by advising *Clysthenes* to consecrate solemnly the whole territories of *Cirrha* to the *Delphic Apollo*, whence it would follow that the sea must wash the sacred coast [c]. *Pausanias* tells us that he made use of another stratagem, which was this, he caused the channel of the river *Plistus* to be turned, which run thro' the city of *Cirrha*, hoping thereby to have distressed the inhabitants for water; but they having a great many wells, his scheme did not thoroughly succeed, which as soon as he perceived,
c he caused a great number of helebore roots to be sliced and thrown into the *Plistus* and when the water was thoroughly impregnated with the juice of these roots, he caused the river to be turned back into its old channel. The *Cirrhæans*, overjoyed at the sight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly thereof, upon this an epidemic flux ensued, and the citizens being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was presently taken. Some authors have attributed this to *Clysthenes*, but that was because he commanded in chief, and *Solon* was no more than his counsellor. On the reduction of this place the inhabitants were severely punished, and *Cirrha* became henceforward the arsenal of *Delphi* [d].

d When *Solon* returned home from this expedition he found all things out of order, the remnant of *Cylon*'s faction began to gather strength, and to excite mighty disturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to do all this. They gave out confidently that all the misfortunes the republic had met with had their source from the anger of the gods, occasion'd by the impious cruelty of *Megacles* and his faction. It happened that the loss of *Salamine* a second time concurred with this clamour, and now, as many writers report, *Epimenides* came and lustrated the city, which indeed is highly probable, if there were but sufficient authority to fix his arrival at *Athens* so low as this sedition must have happened. But to return to the proper subject of our history: *Solon* interposed on this occasion, and persuaded those who were stiled execrable to abide a trial. To this when they had
e consented, three-hundred persons were chosen to judge them, one *Myron* of the *Phlyensian* ward taking upon him to prosecute, which he did with such effect, that the three-hundered condemned such of *Megacles's* faction as were living, to perpetual banishment, and caused the bones of such as were dead to be taken up and cast without the limits of their country; thus this sedition was appeased, and *Athens* became once more at rest [e].

The turbulent disposition of the inhabitants of *Attica* would not suffer them to remain long in quiet, they therefore began to be out of humour with their constitution, though they could not agree how it should be mended. These disputes divided the *Athenians* into three parties, the *Diacrii*, *Pediæi*, and *Parali*; the first
f of these were the inhabitants of the hilly country, who declared positively for perfect democracy; the second dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, were for an oligarchy, supposing that the government would then be for the most part in their hands; the third party living on the coast were men of moderate principles. and in consequence thereof desired a mixt government. In the midst of these debates there sprung up a new cause of trouble, the rich taking advantage of the laws, oppressed and enslaved the poorer sort in such a

[c] Plut. in vita Solon. [d] Pausan. in Phocicis. Polyæn. Strat. lib. iii. p. 7. Suidas in voce Σολων. [e] Plutarch. in vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. in vita Solonis.

manner,

manner, that they were unable to bear it. The meaner people, as *Plutarch* tells us, a being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the sixth part of the produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts, so that some were made slaves at home, and many sold abroad; nay, to such a pitch was this mischief grown, that many sold their children to pay their creditors, and others in despair quitted *Attica* and went elsewhere. Such however as had more spirits than the rest were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be born; these began to look about for a leader, declaring openly enough that they intended to make a thorough change in the government to free such as their creditors had brought into bondage, and to make a repartition of lands. In this desperate situation the citizens in general cast their eyes upon *Solon*. Those who were in greatest fear of what might happen from present trou- b bles were for exalting him to sovereignty; nay, the most prudent *Athenians*, when they considered how difficult a thing it would be to reform so disordered a commonwealth by law and reason, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewise asserted that the oracle of *Apollo* advised the same thing in the following response directed to *Solon:*

Assume the helm, the ship with prudence guide,
And thousands will assist to stem the tide.

What rendered *Solon* so popular was a saying of his which all liked, and few understood; it was this, *Equality breeds no strife*; the rich interpreted this of dignity and power, the poor of riches and estate. Those therefore who agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in their respect towards him; the rich were contented to sub- c mit to his decisions, because he was himself a man of fortune, and the poor dreading nothing from one so mild in temper, and so remarkably honest. The private friends of *Solon* encouraged him to lay hold of so fair an opportunity, and to assume the regal dignity, adding that it was a shame so wise a man should be frighted with a name, and reject a legal sovereignty, because it resembled tyranny. This great man withstood alike the desires of the many, and the persuasions of the few: he assured the former that he would never become master of his countrymen, and he told the latter, that how fair a spot soever tyranny might seem, it had this misfortune, that it had no passage out; and when his intimates laught at this resolution of his, and quoted the example of *Tynondas* tyrant of *Eubœa*, and *Pittacus*, at that time d prince of *Mytelene*, he contented himself with writing thus to *Phocus*, who it seems pressed him most, to shew that he was steddy in his resolution:

That I have *Athens* spar'd, preserv'd my fame,
Nor soil'd my glory with a tyrant's name:
That when I might have kill'd, I chose to save,
I blush not, for I think the action brave:
And that I have done more than most men have.

It was upon this occasion that *Solon* shewed a spirit of patriotism which perhaps never had its equal: He condescended so far as to make use of fraud for the good of others, and with a prodigious greatness of soul dissembled with and cheated both e parties, that he might save all. If he would have accepted the tyranny, he would immediately have acquired whatever he could wish, and might have done his country good too; he refused this as far as it might have benefitted himself, and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince to benefit the people; thus he demonstrated that neither fear nor indolence had any share in his resolution[f].

He was chosen archon without having recourse to lots, and when he was chosen he disappointed the hopes of both parties; where-ever he found things tolerable well under the old constitution, he refused to alter them at all, and was at extrodinary pains to explain the reason and necessity of those changes he did make, laying f this down as a maxim, *That those laws will be best observed which power and justice equally support*. He was a perfect judge of human nature, and sought to rule men by shewing them it was their interest to obey, and not by attempting to force them upon whatever he esteemed right, and therefore he answered a person who asked him *whether he had given the* Athenians *the best laws in his power; I have established the best they could receive*; knowing well that it was an impossible thing to please all, he made it his utmost care not mightily to displease any, whence it followed, that none sought to abrogate the laws he gave them.

[f] Plutarch. ubi supra. Diogen. Laert. ubi supra.

As

a As to the main occasion of the sedition, *viz.* the oppressed state of the meaner sort, he certainly took it away in a great measure by a contrivance which he stiled *Sisachthia*, i. e. a *discharge*; but what this was, authors are not agreed on; some say that he released all debts then in being, and prohibited for the future the making any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm that the poor were eased, not by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the interest, and increasing the value of money, a *Mina* which before was worth seventy-three drachms only, being by him made equal to a hundred, which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt at all. But after all, it is more probable that the *Sisachthia* was a total discharge or remission, otherwise *Solon* would hardly have b boasted in his verses, that by this means he had removed the many marks of mortages which were every-where frequent; for the *Athenians* had a custom of hanging up billets to shew that houses were ingaged for such or such a sum of money; that he had freed from apprehension, such as were driven to despair; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad till they forgot their native language, and delivered from bondage such as were slaves in their native soil. In the midst of all his glory an unlucky accident befel him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almost overturned all his schemes. *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*, his intimate friends, having been consulted by him on an oration, he had prepared to engage the people to consent to the discharge of debts, on c a promise that he would attempt nothing as to lands; these men betraying the trust he reposed in them, borrowed great sums of money, and purchased estates before the edict came out; this was at first thought to have been the effect of connivance, but this aspersion was presently wiped off, when it appeared that *Solon* himself was a sufferer, as some say, five talents, others seven, others fifteen, which he had lent out at interest, and which in consequence of his own law he lost: his friends however could never recover their credit, but were for ever stigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of *Chreocopidæ*, i. e. *Debt-Sinkers*[g].

Solon *composes the dissention of the* Athenians.

The *Athenians* were as little pleased with *Solon*'s management as with the former condition, the rich and the poor were equally dissatisfied; the former thought he had d done too much in cancelling their debts, the latter thought he had done too little, because he had not divided the lands of *Attica* equally amongst them. It is from *Solon* himself that we have this account, and we have it in his usual manner, that is, in verse:

I was your darling heretofore, but now,
You look upon me with contracted brow;
Had any man but I obtain'd your grace,
He would have had a sal'ry with his place.

In a short time however they had wit enough to discover that they were in the wrong, and *Solon* in the right, and they gave at least a more public, if not a more e general token of their repentance, than they had shewn of their displeasure; for they instituted a solemn sacrifice in testimony of their acquiescing under his institution, and called it *Sisacthia*, at the same time they unanimously elected *Solon* legislator of *Athens*, giving him power, not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their constitution as he thought proper[h].

The first thing this great man did after his country had conferred upon him so extraordinary an office, was to cancel the laws of *Draco*, excepting only those relating to murder. A proceeding perfectly right, since there is nothing more dishonourable, and at the same time more dangerous to a state than latent laws, *i. e.* such as are disused, and yet in being, which was the case of *Draco*'s; their f severity rendered them hateful, but *Solon* took away their authority; nor would he suffer his institutions to bear the same name, as we have already shewn. It was the desire of *Solon* to act in all respects moderately, he therefore resolved to place the dernier resort, as we phrase it, or supreme power, in the people, and to leave the execution of the government to the nobles; with this view he divided the people into four degrees or ranks, the first of these consisted of such whose stock amounted to five-hundred *Medimni*, or measures of fruit, these he stiled *Pentacosiomedimni*, these paid a talent to the publick treasury. The second class consisted of such as were able to keep a horse, or were worth three-hundred measures, they

[g] Plutarch. ubi supra. [h] Plutarch. ubi supra, &c.

were stiled *Hippodatelountes*, i. e. bound to find a horse; the third class was made a up of such as were worth two hundred measures, they were stiled *Zengite*, which implies a middle rank, because they stood between the knights of the lowest order of the people, who were stiled *Thetes*; these were not admitted to any office, but ach of them had his vote in the general assembly of the people, which was thought at first a matter of little consequence, so that the nobility gave themselves no pain about it, though in after times it was found of the highest consequence, as *Solon* foresaw it would be; the reason of it was this: *Solon* purposely drew up his laws in obscure terms, and allowing in all cases an appeal to the people, doubts often arose, appeals were consequently frequent, and hence, though the common sort could not attain to magistracy, yet they had a mighty power in the state. *Solon* himself was b so well satisfied with what he had done in this matter, that he celebrates it in these words, which shew at once what they regard he had for their ancient constitution, and for the people in general:

The commons I sufficient weight allow'd;
Honour from none I took, on none bestow'd;
In power or wealth, those who the rest outshin'd,
Within just bounds I by my laws confin'd;
Thus I preserv'd, what did to each belong;
That neither high, nor low, might suffer wrong.

Herein consisted the ancient democracy of *Athens*; but because that kind of c government is in its nature more apt to change than any other, *Solon*, in order to secure it, established two checks, or, if we may be allowed to make use of his metaphor, threw out two anchors to secure it. The first of these was the court of *Areopagus*, which though settled long before, had lost much of its power by *Draco*'s preferring the *Ephetæ*. In ancient times, and till *Solon* became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity; but *Solon* made it a rule that such only should have a seat therein as had served the office of archon; this had the effect he designed, it raised the reputation of the *Areopagites* very high, and rendered their decrees so wonderfully venerable, that none contested or repined at them through a long course of ages. The second stay of the *Athenian* commonwealth was the senate, which *Solon* made to consist of four-hun- d dred, a hundred out of each tribe. These had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be proposed to the general assembly till digested by them, so that, as far as he was able, he provided against a thirst of arbitrary power in the rich, and a desire of licentious freedom in the commons; the *Areopagus* being a check upon the former, as the senate was a curb on the latter[i].

The general frame of the republic thus settled, he gave the *Athenians* next a body of laws, of which we have still some remaining; these were so much esteemed that the *Romans* sent embassadors of *Athens* to transcribe them for the use of their state. As these transcribed laws became the basis of the *Roman Jurisprudence*, which has since been received almost throughout *Europe* under the name of the civil law; we e may with reason affirm, that many of *Solon*'s constitutions are yet in force. Such as are ascribed to him by ancient authors we shall give a concise account of in this place.

We will begin with one of the most extraordinary statutes enacted by this lawgiver, and which has given politicians the most trouble to understand; we are obliged to *A. Gellius* for preserving to us the very words of this law. It runs thus: "If through discord and dissension any sedition or insurrection rend the people into "two parties, so that with exasperated minds they take arms and fight against "each other; he who at such a time, and in such a case shall not engage himself "on one side or other, but shall endeavour to retire and separate himself from the "evils fallen on his country, let such a one, losing houses, country, and estate, "be sent out an exile[k]". *Cicero*, speaking of this law, by some slip of his me- f mory, makes the penalty capital[l]. *Plutarch* explains the reason of it[m], as does the author first cited, who highly commends it, and says, that though at first sight it may seem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to support it; for the wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to chuse

[i] Pollux lib. viii. cap. 10. Plutarch. ubi supra. Potter's Archeologia. Meursius. Solon, &c. [k] Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 12. [l] Ad Attic. lib. x. E. 1. [m] Ubi supra.

some

a some side, matters, were easily accommodated; whereas if the latter only, as is generally the case in other cities, had the management of factions, they would for private reasons be continually kept up to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin of the state [n].

The rules which *Solon* gave for bestowing of heiresses have been very harshly censured; we will put them together, that the reader may see the general intent of the legislator. The next of kin to an heiress may require her in marriage, and she may likewise require him; if he refuses, let him pay five-hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who possesseth such an inheritrix by law, as her lord and master, be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any of her husband's nearest kindred,
b and let him who has married an heiress be obliged to visit her thrice a month at least. The intent of these injunctions was, that neither a rich heiress might carry the estate out of her family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her birth; as to allowing a woman to make choice of her husband's nearest relation, it might possibly be made *in terrorem*, to prevent persons who knew themselves to be impotent from marrying rich heiresses, whereby such a one defrauded him, to whom by this law the woman was to have recourse of his due [o].

He enacted that a bride should bring no more with her than three gowns, and some slight houshould goods of little value, and that the bride and bridegroom should be shut into a room together, and there eat a quince; the bride likewise brought an
c earthen pan, wherein barly was parched, to the house of her husband. The meaning of all this was, that *Solon* desired, as much as in him lay, to render marriage no longer a mercenary business, but a contract of minds founded upon mutual affection; the eating of a quince implied that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet; the earthen vessel, which was called *Phrogeteon*, signified that she undertook the business the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family [p].

He ordained that none should revile the dead, even though provoked by the children of the deceased. This law procured him great applause, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed that none should revile any living
d person at sacred solemnities in the courts of justice, or at publick spectacles, on pain of paying three drachmæ to the person reviled, and two more to the public treasury. He likewise made a law against slander. This great man knew very well that a general law against anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himself with providing that the passions of private men should not dishonour religious ceremonies, the justice of the state, or publick diversions, and that no passion should excuse culumny [q].

Before *Solon*'s time citizens had not the power of making wills, but a man's goods and estates went, whether he would or no, to his heir at law; but *Solon*, having abrogated this custom, enacted that such as had no children might leave their estates to whom they pleased, preferring friendship to family, and the ties of affection to consanguinity; but then he added this proviso to his law, that the maker of such a will should be in the full possession of his senses, not wrought upon by sickness, potions, bondage, or the blandishments of a wife. Wherein he shewed his great wisdom by making no distinction between actual constraints and those imposed by art, both having the same power of putting a man out of his right mind. He likewise ordained that adopted persons should make no will, but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted, or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the estates to the relations of the persons who adopted them [r].

With respect to women and their expences he made the following laws; when a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her above three gowns, nor to carry any provisions above the value of an obolus, her pannier or basket was not be above a cubit in bigness, nor was she allowed to travel in the night, but in a chariot, and with the torch-light. He forbad them likewise to tear their checks to procure mourning and lamentation at the funerals of such as they had no relation to: he allowed not that an ox should be sacrificed at funerals, nor that more than three

[n] A. Gellius ubi supra. [o] Plutarch ubi supra. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. Terent. Hecyr. Act. v. scen. ii. [p] Plutarch. ubi supra. Pollux lib. i. cap. 12. 15. Isidor. Epist. lib. iii. E. 243. [q] Plutarch. ubi supra. Demosth. in orat. Leptin. [r] Plutarch. ubi supra. Demosth. ubi supra.

garments

garments ſhould be buried with them, and he forbad women to approach the monuments of perſons not related to them, except at the time of their interring; theſe laws were particularly tranſcribed by the *Romans* [s]. a

The liberty and other emoluments which were enjoyed at *Athens* drawing thither a great concourſe of people from other parts, *Solon* foreſaw that this would have bad conſequences, if ſome means were not deviſed to make theſe people induſtrious; he therefore eſtabliſhed by law that a ſon ſhould be releaſed from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in caſe that father had not bred him up to ſome trade. He veſted the court of *Areopagus* with a power of examining how people lived, and of puniſhing idleneſs: he allowed every man a right to proſecute another for that crime, and in caſe a perſon was convicted thereof thrice, he ſuffered b *Atimia*, i. e. *Infamy*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* agree that a law of this kind was in uſe in *Egypt*. It is probable therefore that *Solon*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them, a practice for which the *Greeks* were famous, though at the ſame time they ſtyled thoſe nations barbarous from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed [t].

The husband who ſurpriſed his wife in adultery was allowed by *Solon* to kill the adulterer; whoever raviſhed a free woman was to be fined a hundred drachmæ. He who debaſed himſelf ſo low as to become a pandar, except to a common woman, ſuffered a fine of twenty drachmæ; a man was forbid to put either his daughter or ſiſter to the ſcandalous trade of proſtitution, unleſs he firſt ſurpriſed her with a man: he c enacted that no adultreſs ſhould be permitted to adorn herſelf, and in caſe ſhe did, he gave liberty to any that thought fit to tear her cloaths of her back, and beat her into the bargain [u].

To the victor at the *Iſthmian* games, *Solon* adjudged the reward of five-hundred drachmæ. To the victor in the *Olympic*, he ordered that one hundred ſhould be given. He contracted the rewards beſtowed upon wreſtlers, eſteeming ſuch gratuities uſeleſs and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleneſs by putting men upon waſting that time in exerciſes which ought to be ſpent in providing for their families [x].

He directed five drachmæ to be given to him who caught a he-wolf, and one to d him who took a ſhe one, the former being the price of an ox, the latter of a ſheep. *Attica* was at this time extremely infeſted by theſe creatures, of which this law occaſioned a ſpeedy deſtruction.

Water being extremely ſcarce at *Athens*, and in its neighbourhood, he ordained that where there was a public well, all who lived within a *Hippicon*, *i. e.* four furlongs of it, ſhould have leave to uſe it. They that lived further off were bound to dig wells for themſelves; but if a man digged ten fathom, and met with no water, then he might fill a pitcher of ſix gallons twice a-day at his neighbour's well, and whoever ſunk a well was to take care that it was as far diſtant from his neighbours as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to ſee that it was five foot diſtant from his neighbours, and if a fig or olive-tree, nine, a hive of bees was to be e thirty feet diſtant, all theſe tended to the ſame end, *viz.* to prevent one man from treſpaſſing on the property of another [y].

He enacted that whoever refuſed to maintain his parents, or had waſted his paternal eſtate, ſhould be *atimos*, i. e. *infamous*. It ſeems *Solon* did not conceive that a man could be privately bad and publickly good, that one who neglected his duty to his parents ſhould preſerve it to the ſtate, or be frugal of his country's revenue when he had ſpent his own [z].

Such as commonly frequented infamious women, he forbad to make orations, believing that men without ſhame where not to be truſted to ſpeak to the people: *Demoſthenes* highly commended this law, and exorted the *Athenians* to take care that f it was put in execution, as the ſureſt means to preſerve the peace and honour of the republic [a].

He forbad a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant; ſome ſay that he forbad likewiſe a guardian to marry his ſon to the mother of his ward [b]. All theſe were beyond

[s] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii. [t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Vitruvius. Præfat. lib. vi. Herodot. lib. vii. Diod. Sicul. ib. i. [u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Lysias. Orat. de cæd. Erat. [x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [y] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Caius de Legib. lib. iv. [z] Liban. Declam. xviii. Dion. Halyc. lib. ii. [a] Æschin. in Timarch. Demost. in Androt. [b] Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra.

queſtion

a question made to hinder collusion, and to bar as far as possible the scandalous practice of cheating minors.

He enjoined gravers to keep no impressions of the seal-rings they sold; if a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed that he should lose both his; as to theft, *Demosthenes* gives us *Solon's* law in these words; "If any "man steal in the day-time, he may be carried to the eleven officers; if he steal "any thing by night, it shall be lawful for any to kill him, or in the pursuit to "wound him, and to carry him to the eleven officers. Whosoever is convicted of "such offences as are liable to chains, shall not be capable of giving bail for his "theft, but his punishment shall be death; and if any one steal out of the *Lyceum*, b "or the *Academy*, or *Cynosarges*, a garment or a small vessel of wine, or any "other thing of little value, or some vessel out of the gymnasia or havens, he "shall be punished with death; but if any man shall be convicted privately of "theft, it shall be lawful for him to pay a double value, and it shall be also at the "pleasure of the convictor, besides payment of money, to put him in chains five "days, and as many nights, so as all men may see him bound[c]."

By his laws, an archon taken in drink was to be punished with death, *Solon* wisely conceiving that a magistrate guilty of such an offence must be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed that in case a man surprized his wife in adultery, and lived with her afterwards, he should be deemed infamous; c he compelled children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter in case of disobedience to disinherit and turn them out of doors: he condemned such as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or shewed any other flagrant sign of cowardice, to be expelled the sanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, and from being allowed to enter any places of public worship. He appointed it for a statute, that a citizen of *Athens* should be tried nowhere but at *Athens*, and that the eldest citizens should first make orations, but with the greatest modesty, and without any endeavours to stir the passions of the people; afterwards he ordered that all should speak according to their seniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on any matter in debate; but he prohibited young d men, however wise they might be esteemed, either to become magistrates, or to make orations to the people[d].

It was a maxim established by this wise legislator, that the common people should be punished slowly, but magistrates and persons in authority suddenly, assigning for it this reason, that the former might be punished at any time, but that in correcting the latter there ought to be no delay. As to funerals, the expence of which were in his time excessive, *Demosthenes* recites his directions in these words; "Let the dead bodies be laid out within the house, according as the deceased gave "order, and the day following before sun-rise carried forth; whilst the body is "carrying to the grave, let the men go before, the women follow: it shall not be "lawful for any woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow e "the body to the grave under threescore years of age, except such as are within the "degree of cousins[e]." *Cicero* reports that, with respect to sepulchres, he enacted no man should demolish them or bring any new thing into them, and that such should be punished as demolished any monument erected to the memory of the dead[f]. From these laws of his instituting, it appears that his philosophy did not lead him to trespass on those notions of humanity commonly received in his country; he fought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals, but at the same time permitted all reasonable honours to be paid to the memory of such as were defunct.

We will conclude our account of *Solon*'s laws with two or three which had more f regard to the society, than to the interest of private persons. He ordained that if one citizen injured another, any *Athenian* might have his action against him[g]; hence it is evident, he regarded each individual as a member of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting all the other members; and thus he provided against the power of the great; for though a poor man who was injured might think fit to acquiesce, yet a person of equal rank with the aggressor, might, either out of a principle of justice or of rivalship, commence a prosecution on that account. *Solon* instituted feasts in the common halls under the title of *publick Meals*, but he forbid

[c] Demosth. in Timocr. [d] Demosth. ubi supra. Æschin. in Chrysip. [e] Orat in Macart. [f] De Legib. lib. ii. [g] Plut. ubi supra.

that the same person should be entertained often, and ordered such to be fined as did not come in their turns, ascribing the former offence to greediness, the latter to a contempt of the public[h]. He forbad any strangers to be naturalized at *Athens*, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or, out of love to *Athens*, had brought their whole families to settle there, so as to have no interest in another place[i]: he provided for the children of such as were slain in the service of the state, by directing that they should be brought up and instructed at the public expence, till they were twenty years old[k]. He made but few laws relating to religion, and against parricides he made none, assigning for it this reason, *that he scarce believed any* Athenian *would be so wicked*[l].

He shewed the excellence of his knowledge by correcting the irregularity of months; for considering that the course of the moon did not agree with the rising and setting of the sun, but that sometimes she overtook and passed him in the same day, he ordered such a day to be called the last and the first, attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction to the old moon, and that which succeeded it to the new. The next day he ordered to be called *Noumenia*, i. e. the new moon, and for these alterations he is reckoned by *Plutarch* to have been the first who understood a verse in *Homer*, wherein mention is made of a day *wherein one month ended, and the next began* (H).

He

[h] Id. ibid. [i] Meurs. in Solon. [k] Aristides in Panathen. [l] Maxim. Tyr. Dis. xxxix. Cicer. Orat. pro Rosc.

(H) It is a point worthy of observation, that the ancient heroes gained their reputation as much from the strength of their wits as of their arms, and that though some excelled in valour, others in wisdom, yet in all there was a happy mixture of both. *Hercules*, so famed for his labours, instructed the *Greeks* in astronomy, which he learned from *Atlas*, and is thence said by the poets to have borne for a time the heavens upon his shoulders. *Numa*, as he gave laws to *Rome*, reformed the *Roman* kalendar, and in succeeding times, *Julius Cæsar*, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away those errors which were grown hoary among his countrymen, and is celebrated not as a lover only of this science of astromony, but as a consummate master therein. Such also was *Solon* for the times in which he lived, for though some have pretended to ascribe the honour of introducing astromony into *Greece* to *Oenopidas* of *Chios*, or *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, yet it is certain that they were no more than the improvers of it; the first principles of this art came certainly into *Greece* with its first planters, and were from time to time cultivated by such as either came out of *Egypt*, or the east, and settled in *Greece*, or had at least travelled into those countries. *Thales* the *Milesian*, and *Pythagoras* the *Samian*, were the two great masters who brought the undigested notions of the heavenly system, which hitherto had amused the *Greeks*, into tolerable form; and this they did by dint of their acquaintance with the learning of foreign nations. As to *Homer*, in whose poems we meet with the first seeds of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find that he describes the heroical year, as divided not into months, but by the seasons. The returns of seed-time and harvest the constant revolutions of labour and rest in consequence of the annual returns of fair and foul weather served well enough to mark the succession events, and therefore it was an act of judgment in this great poet to make use of these characters in his account of a battle (21), as he elsewhere introduces *Achilles* measuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious division of morning, noon, and evening (22). We are not to infer from hence that years and months were not known in the time of *Homer*; the contrary appears from several passages in his poems, and particularly from this very line which *Solon* is said to have been the first who penetrated its true sense:

*Τῷ μὲν φθιάντος μηνὸς τῷ δ' ἐγιγνόμνω,*

When one month ended, and the next began (23).

*Thales* divided the year into twelve months, making each month consist of thirty days, and the year consequently of three hundred and sixty days; but finding that this year did not answer the motion of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years; which intercalation, because it happened at the beginning of the third year, some have mistaken for a triennial period. It is easy to perceive that this method of *Thales* must in a short time have introduced great confusion, there being a redundancy of almost ten days in a year (24). *Solon* discovered this, and not only discovered it, but discovered its cause, or at least its principal cause, which was *Thales*'s maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, which *Solon* found to be false, and that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. This account sets what has been said above in a clear light, and shews with what justice *Solon* was applauded for his skill as an astronomer; let us see with what dexterity he applied that skill as a legislator: he did not alter the number of months which *Thales* had fixed, but directed that each of them should be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately; by this means a lunar year was formed of three hundred fifty-four days; but perceiving that this would leave things still in confusion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the solar year, which was thus; at the end of two years he directed a month of twenty two days to be intercalated, and at the end of a second two years, he ordered that a month of twenty-three days should be intercalated; now if we take all these sums together we shall find that the number of days in *Solon*'s cycle of four years was one thousand four hundred sixty one, the fourth part of which is three hundred sixty-five and a quarter, the true solar year, as it was then accounted. *Solon* likewise engaged the *Athenians* to divide their months into three parts, stiled the *beginning*, *middling*, and *ending*; each of these consisted of ten days, when

(21) *Iliad.* λ. *v.* 84. (22) *Iliad.* φ. *v.* 3. (23) *Odyss.* ξ. *v.* 161. (24) *Diog. Laert. in vit. Thal.*

a He procured his laws to be ratified for a hundered years, and caused them to be conserved in different tables. Such as related to private actions in parallelograms of wood with cases which reached from the ground, and turned about upon a pin like a wheel, from whence they were called *Axones*, placed first in the citadel, and then in the *Prytanæum*, that his people might see them when they pleased, and some remains there were of them in *Plutarch*'s time. Such as concerned public orders and sacrifices were contained in triangular tables of stone called *Cyrbes* [m]; the *Athenian* magistrates were sworn to observe both; in time, these monuments of his wisdom became so famous, that all public arts were from them named *Axones* and *Cyrbes*, as we are informed by *Harpocration* and *Suidas* [n].

b After his laws were promulgated, some or other were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reasons on which they were founded, and to advise him to alter this or that according as their humour or interest led them, which importunities made him so uneasy, that to avoid them he resolved to travel. For he considered that not to answer these people would argue pride, and that the answering them would beget great inconveniences: with this view he bought a ship, and pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the *Athenians* to permit him to be absent for ten years, during which space he hoped his laws would become familiar to them [o].

c It will not be amiss to interrupt the *Athenian* history here in order to insert our promised account of the republic, a thing so necessary, that we could not proceed farther without confounding the reader. For the sake of perspicuity we shall not tie ourselves to the form settled by *Solon*, but give a concise history of the *Athenian* government, as it subsisted in succeeding times, that we may not be obliged at every turn to insert notes for the explaining those terms which may once for all be rendered familiar by intoducing such an account of the *Athenian* commonwealth in this place.

d In the first place it will be necessary to take a short view of the city of *Athens*. In the most early times, that which was afterwards called the citadel was the whole city, and went under the name of *Cecropia* from its founder *Cecrops*, whom the *Athenians* in after-times affirmed to have been the first builder of cities, and called this therefore by way of eminence *Polis*, i. e. The city. In the reign of *Erichthonius* it lost the name of *Cecropia*, and acquired that of *Athens*, on what account is not certain; the most probable is, that it was so named in respect to the goddess *Minerva*, whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, who was always esteemed its protectress [p]. This old city was seated on the top of a rock in the midst of a large and pleasant plain, which, as the number of inhabitants increased, became full of buildings, which induced the distinction of *Acro* and *Catapolis*, i. e. of the upper and lower city; the extent of the citadel was sixty stadia, it was surrounded by olive-trees, and fortified, as some say, with a strong palisade; in succeeding times it was incompassed with a strong wall, in e which there were nine gates, one very large one, and the rest small. The inside of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, concerning which the curious reader may thoroughly inform himself from the treatise written expressly on this subject by a learned person already mentioned [q] (I). The most remarkable of these were

[m] Plut. ubi supra. Pollux, viii. 10. [n] In vocibus Ἄξονες & Κύρβεις [o] Plutarch. ubi supra. [p] Aristid. Panathen. Stephan. voce Ἀθῆναι. [q] Plutarch. in Pericl. Pausan. Atticis. Harpocrat. Aristid. ubi supra.

when the month was thirty days long, and the last of nine, when it was nine and twenty days long. In speaking of the two first parts they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, *viz.* the first day of the moon beginning, the second day of the middling moon, but with respect to the last part of the month they reckoned backwards, that is, instead of saying the first day of the ending moon, they said the tenth day of the ending moon, and instead of the second the ninth day, and so on to the last. This is a circumstance that must be carefully noted; for without being aware of it, it is impossible to understand many passages in ancient authors. As for instance, in *Aristophanes*'s comedy of the clouds, a man speaking of the manner in which interest became due, reckons the days thus; *five, four, three, two, and the most abominable of all days that of the old and new moon.* Thus much as to *Solon*'s knowledge in astronomy, we shall in its proper place give a farther account of the *Attic* year (25).

(I) This learned person is the celebrated *John Meursius*, to whom the learned world stands indebted for the most laboured peices which perhaps ever came from the pen of a critic; he was by birth a *Dutchman*, but he studied the civil law at *Orleans*, where he became very early remarkable for his love, or rather for his passion towards *Greek*

(25) *Censorin. de die Natal. Hen. Dodwell. de An. vet. Grac. Stanley's life of Solon cum mult. al.*

were, the magnificent temple of *Minerva*, stiled *Parthenion*, because that goddess was a virgin; the *Persians* destroyed it, but it was rebuilt with still greater splendor by the famous *Pericles*, all of the finest marble, with such skill and strength, that in spight of the rage of time and barbarous nations, it remains perhaps the first antiquity in the world, and stands as a witness to the truth of what ancient writers have recorded of the prodigious magnificence of *Athens* in her flourishing state. The temple of *Neptune* and of *Minerva*, for it was divided into two parts, one sacred to the god, in which was the salt fountain said to have sprung upon the stroke of his trident, the other to the goddess potectress of *Athens*, wherein was the sacred olive which she produced, and her image which fell down from heaven in the reign of *Erichthonius* both which edifices are still remaining. At the back of *Minerva*'s temple was the public treasury, which was burnt to the ground through the knavery of the treasurers, who having misapplied the revenues of the state, took this short method of making up accounts [f]. The lower city comprehended all the buildings surrounding the citadel, the fort *Munychia*, and the havens *Phalerum* and *Piræus*, the latter of which was joined to the city by walls five miles in length; that on the north was built by *Pericles*, but that on the south by *Themistocles*; but by degrees the turrets which were at first erected on these walls were turned into dwelling houses for the accommodation of the *Athenians*, whose large city was now become too small for them. The city, or rather the lower city had thirteen great gates, with the names of which it is not necessary to trouble the reader. Among the principal edifices which adorned it, we may reckon the temple of *Theseus* erected by *Conon*, near its centre adjacent thereto the young people performed their exercises. It was also a sanctuary for distressed persons, slaves or free: it remains intire to this day, and is used as a church, being dedicated to St. *George*. The *Olympian* temple erected in honour of *Jupiter*, the honour of *Athens*, and of all *Greece*, the foundation of it was laid by *Pisistratus*, it was carried on but slowly in succeeding times, seven-hundred years elapsing before it was finished, which happened under the reign of *Adrian*, who was particularly kind to *Athens*; this was the first building in which the *Athenians* beheld pillars. The pantheon, dedicated to all the gods; a most noble structure, supported by 120 marble pillars, and having over its great gate two horses carved by *Praxiteles*; it is yet remaining, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter when we come to speak of the present state of this famous city. In several parts of it were *Stoai* or portico's, wherein people walked in rainy weather, and from whence a sect of philosophers were denominated stoics, because their master *Zeno* taught in these portico's [g]. There were at *Athens* two places called *Ceramicus* from *Ceramus* the son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*; one within the city containing a multitude of buildings of all sorts, the other in the suburbs, in which was the academy, and other edifices. The *Gymnasia* of *Athens* were many, but the most remarkable were the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynosarges*. The *Lyceum* stood on the banks of *Ilissus*, some say it was built by *Pisistratus*, others by *Pericles*, others by *Lycurgus*. Here *Aristotle* taught philosophy instructing such as came to hear him as they walked, whence his disciples are generally thought to derive the name of peripatetics [h]. The *Ceramicus* without the city was at the distance of six stadia from its walls, the academy made part thereof, as to the name of which there is some dispute; some affirm that it was so called from *Academus* an antient hero, who, when *Helen* was stolen by *Theseus*, discovered the place where she lay hid to *Castor* and *Pollux*, for which reason the *Lacedemonians*,

[f] Pausan. ubi supra. Harpocrat. &c. Sir George Wheeler's Travels. [g] Athenæus Deip. l. viii. [h] Suidas, & al.

Greek learning. Amongst other pieces he wrote that referred to in the text under the title of *Cecropia*, or the citadel of *Athens*, and its antiquities in one book; this treatise consists of thirty-two chapters, and contains a prodigious display of its author's learning; almost every passage in the Greek authors relating to the subject, is there to be found in the proper words of the author, with a very exact Latin translation, which was added, as the author tells us in the second edition, at the desire of several ingenuous persons in *Spain* and *Italy*, who had requested it by letter. Upon which *Meursius* makes this reflection, that, as things stood, it was indeed reasonable and necessary, since there were not many who affected the Greek learning, and of those the greater part rather loved than understood it. The inquisitive and intelligent reader may find a multitude of curious particulars accurately digested in this laboured history; or if he is not inclined to take so much pains, he may peruse a very succinct abrigment of *Meursius*'s book in Dr. *Potter*'s excellent antiquities of *Greece*, to whom we are in a great measure beholden for this part of our history of *Athens* (26).

(26) *Vide Gronov. Thes. Grec. Vol. IV.*

when

a when they invaded *Attica*, always spared this place [u]. *Dicæarchus* writes that *Castor* and *Pollux* had two *Arcadians* in their army, the one named *Echedemus*, the other *Marathus*; from the former of these he says this place took its name, and that the borough of *Marathon* was so called from the other [x]. It was a marshy unwholesome place till *Cimon* was at great pains to have it drained, and then it became extremely pleasant delightful, being adorned with shady walks, where *Plato* read his lectures, and from thence his scholars where styled academics [y]. The *Cynosages* was a place in the suburbs, not far from the *Lyceum*; it was famous on many accounts, but particularly for a noble gymnasium erected there appointed for the special use of such as were *Athenians* only by one side; in after times *Themistocles* derived to himself ill-
b will, by carrying many of the nobility to exercise with him here, because being but of the half blood he could exercise no where else; in this gymnasium *Antisthenes* instituted a sect of philosophers, who from the name of this district, as many think, were stiled *Cynics* [z]. The havens of *Athens* were three, first the *Pyræus* about 35 or 40 stadia from the city, till joined thereto by the long walls beforementioned, after which it became the principal harbour of the city; it had three docks, *Cantharos*, *Aphrodisium*, and *Zea*; the first was so called, from an ancient hero, the second from the goddess *Venus*, who had there two temples, and the third from bread corn. There were in this port five portico's, which joining together formed one great one called from thence *Macra Stoa*, or the grand portico; there were likewise two
c great markets or *Fora*, one near the long portico, the other near the city. The second port was *Munichia*, a promontory not far distant from *Piræus*, a place very strong by nature, and afterwards rendered far stronger by art. It was of this that *Epimenides* said, if the *Athenians* foresaw what mischief it would one day produce to them, they would eat it away with their teeth. The third was *Phalerum* distant from the city according to *Thucydides* 35 stadia [a], but according to *Pausanias* only 20 [b]. This was the most ancient harbour of *Athens*, as *Pyræeus* was the most capacious. As to the extent of this city and other particulars, the reader will meet with them at the bottom of the page (K)

THE people of *Athens* were *freemen*, *sojourners*, or *slaves*, the citizens called in *Greek Politai*, were never very numerous, but what may seem strange were as many in the time of *Cecrops*, as in the most flourishing state of the commonwealth, hardly
d ever exceeding twenty-thousand [c]. It was *Solon*, who decreed that none should be accounted free but such as were *Athenians* both by father and mother. After his time it fell into dissuetude till revived by *Pericles*, and again at his instance repealed. After the expulsion of the thirty tyrants *Solon*'s law was restored. A person born of a stranger was styled *Nothos*, a bastard, whereas the son of a free woman was called *Gnesios*, i. e. legitimate. There was in the *Cynosarges* a court of judicature, to

[u] PLUT. in vit. Thes. [x] Poem. apud Gronov. Thes. Grec. vol. IV. [y] HORAT. Ep. lib. ii. E. ii. PLUTARCH. in vit. Thesei. [z] PLUTARCH. in vit. Themist. DIOG. LAERT. in vit. Antisthen. [a] Bel. Pelop. lib. ii. [b] In Arcad. [c] PLUT. in vit. Periclis. ATHENÆUS. Deipnos. lib. vi.

(K) If *Athens* eclipsed other cities by her fame for arms and arts, she was no less conspicuous for her beauty, as appears from two authentic testimonies, the accounts given us by ancient authors and the relations exhibited by modern travellers; we had once an intention of comparing these, but considering that it would have taken up a great deal of room, and have interrupted too much the course of the history, we have chosen to refer the description of *Athens* as it now stands, till we come to speak of the present state of the *Morea*. It may not however be amiss to observe, that *Aristides*, an author who wrote expressly on this subject, affirms that *Athens* in her glory was a day's journey in compass; those who have thought this account too general, inform us that it was one hundred seventy-eight stadia in circumference, that is, something more than twenty-two *Roman* miles. After it fell from its ancient splendor, it endured great variety of fortune. *Sylla* destroyed it without mercy, made its streets overflow with blood, and taught its most superb buildings to submit to the flames. It provoked *Julius Cæsar* by an obstinate resistance, but when it submitted at last, he contented himself with saying, *That he pardoned the living for the sake of the dead*, and neither hurt the city nor its inhabitants. They sided with *Brutus* against the *Triumvirate*, and with *Anthony* who called himself a *Lover of Athens*, against *Augustus*. *Tiberius*, or at least his son *Germanicus* favoured them, but it was to *Adrian* who had been archon of their city, that the *Athenians* owed the revival of their ancient lustre. The succeeding emperors took a pleasure in adorning it, but the *Goths* in the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* destroyed it as they did the other cities of *Greece*. *Theodosius* the second out of respect to his empress caused it to be re-edified. This may serve to make the description in the text perfectly intelligible; for as to its fortune in later times, that must be referred to the subsequent part of this history, of which it will be the proper subject; the curious reader may however, if he pleases, consult the very learned *Meursius* in his elaborate work referred to at the bottom of the page (27).

(27) *Meurs. de Fort. Athen. apud Gronov. Thesaur. Antiq. Græc. Vol. IV.*

which causes of illegitimacy properly belonged, and the utmost care was taken to prevent any from being inrolled *Athenian* citizens, who had not a clear title thereto[d]. The citizens, for at present we will not meddle with the strangers and slaves, were divided by *Cecrops* into four tribes, the first called *Cecropes* from *Cecrops*, the second *Autochthon* from a king of that name, the third *Actai* from *Acteus* another king of *Athens*, or rather from *Acte*, which signifies a shore, the fourth *Puralia*; these names were altered by *Cranaus*, and again by *Erictbonius*. In the reign of *Erictheus* they were again changed, the soldiers were called *Oplitai*, the craftsmen *Ergatai*, the farmers *Georgoi*, the graziers and shepherds *Aigicorai*; in this state they were when *Solon* settled the commonwealth, and appointed the senate to be composed of four-hundred, one hundred out of each tribe[e]. *Clysthenes* encreased the number of the tribes to ten, and made the senate consist of five-hundred taking fifty out of each tribe; in succeeding times two other tribes were added, each tribe was subvided into its *Demoi* or wards, and with respect to these it was that *Solon* instituted the public feasts before-mentioned, at which sometimes the whole tribe assembled, sometimes several wards, and sometimes only the inhabitants of one ward. The second sort of inhabitants we mentioned were called *Metoicoi*, i. e. sojourners; there were persons who lived always at *Athens*, yet were not admitted free denizens; as for such as did not constantly reside in *Athens*, they were stiled *Xenoi*, i. e. strangers. The sojourners were obliged to chuse out of the citizens *Protectors* who were stiled *Patrons*, they paid several services to the state, and besides these an annual tribute of twelve drachms for every man, and six for every woman; but such as had sons, and paid for them, were exempted; if people fell to poverty and were not able to pay this tribute, they were seized by the tax-masters, and actually sold for slaves, which as *Diogenes Laertius* tells us was the fate of *Xenocrates* the philosopher[f]; the sojourners in *Attica* were under the same law as those in *Athens*; as to servants they were freemen, who through indigency were driven to receive wages, and while they were in this state had no vote in the assembly; as to slaves they were absolutely the property of their masters, and as such were used as they thought fit; they were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like their masters, and, which is indeed amazing, *Solon* prohibited them to love boys as if that had been honourable: they were likewise debarred from anointing or perfuming themselves, and from worshiping certain deities; they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in most other respects were used like dogs. They stigmatized them at their pleasure, that is branded them with letters in the forehead and elsewhere; however, *Theseus*'s temple was allowed them as a sanctuary, where if they were exceedingly ill used they might fly and thereby oblige their masters to let them be turned over; in this and many other respects the *Athenian* slaves were in a much better condition than those throughout the rest of *Greece*; they were permitted to get estates for themselves, giving a small premium to their masters, who were obliged to make them free if they could pay their ransom; they likewise obtained the same favour from the kindness of their masters, or for having rendered military services to the state; when they were made free, they were obliged to chuse patrons, and had likewise the privilege of chusing a curator, who, in case their patrons injured them, was bound to defend them[g]. Having thus spoken of the people in general, let us return to the consideration of the *Athenian* citizens in their political capacity (L).

THE

[d] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. POLLUX lib. iii. [e] PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. POLLUX lib. viii. c. 9. [f] In vit. XENOCR. [g] PLUTARCH. in vit. Solon. ARISTOPH. in Avibus, &c. POLLUX lib. vii. PLAUTUS, &c.

(L) In *Cecrops*'s time the citizens were, as we have said above, twenty thousand; under the administration of *Pericles*, when the *Athenian* power was at it greatest height they were not so many (28). When *Demetrius* the *Phalereus* presided over them there was an exact account taken of the several sorts of inhabitants within the city, as we are informed by *Athenaus*, from whence it appeared that there were twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand sojourners or foreigners, and four-hundred thousand slaves (29). The knowlege of this is a material thing, for, without it, it would be a difficult matter to account for the smallness of the *Athenian* armies. At the time of *Cecrops*'s poll the whole number of his subjects was without doubt included; in early times they were glad of citizens; but when *Athens* rose in power and glory, she set a high value upon this dignity. *Menon*, who sent them a supply of two hundred horse, was refused the freedom of *Athens* when he desired it (30). *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia*, who had done them great services, could obtain no more than a right of dwelling in the city with an exemption from taxes; but though they were thus stiff in respect to persons

(28) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis.* (29) *Deipnos. lib.* vi. (30) *Potter's Arch. Vol. I. p.* 44.

a THE general assembly of the people which *Solon*, as we have shewn before, made the dernier resort, was called *Ecclesia*, and consisted of all the freemen of *Athens*, excepting such as were *atimoi* or infamous. The meetings of these assemblies were either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary were such as were appointed by law, the extraordinary such as necessity required. Of the first there were four in five and thirty days, for reasons which will be hereafter given. In the first assembly they approved or rejected magistrates, heard proposals for the public good, and certain causes. In the second they received petitions, and heard every man's judgment on the matters that were before them. In the third they gave audience to foreign embassadors. The fourth was employed altogether in affairs b relating to the gods and their worship. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magistrates when occasion required, whereas to the ordinary assemblies the people came of their own accord. The first were held either in the market-place in the *Pynx* a place near the citadel, and in the theatre of *Bacchus*; as to the latter the magistrates who appointed the extraordinary meeting appointed also the place, where it should be held. If any sudden tempest rose, or an earthquake happened, or any sign notoriously inauspicious appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned, to prevent the people from apprehending unhappy consequences from their deliberations. But if the weather was fair and serene, and nothing happened out of the ordinary course of things, they proceeded to purify the place where the c assembly was held, which was done by sprinkling it round with the blood of young pigs, then the cryer made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the republic, and that heaven would bestow a happy issue on their councils and undertakings; he then pronounced a bitter execration against any who should in that assembly propound what might be disadvatageous to the state; these ceremonies over, they proceeded to business. There were several magistrates who had the overseeing and regulating these assemblies; these were first the *Epistates*, or president of the assembly, who was chosen by lot out of the *Proedri*, his office was to give the signal for the peoples voting; next to him were the *Prytanes*, i. e. a committee of the senate, who of course were present on this occasion; by their order a *Programma*, or scheme of d the business to be proposed at the assembly, was previously set up in some public place, that every man might know what business to apply his thoughts to. The *Proedri* were nine in number appointed by lots out of all the tribes to which the *Prytanes* did not belong; they had the right of proposing to the people what they were to deliberate upon, and their office ended with the assembly; there sate with them assessors to were to take care that nothing they proposed was detrimental to the commonwealth; the first step to business was the cryer's reading the decree of the senate whereon the assembly was to deliberate; when he had finished this, he made proclamation in these words; *Who of the men above fifty will make an oration?* When the old men had done speaking, the cryer made proclamation again that any *Athenian* might then offer his sentiments whom the law allowed so to do, that is, all such as were above thirty years old, and were not infamous. If such a one rose

persons of high quality, they were more pliable towards men of distinguished merit. *Hippocrates* the physician was readily admitted a citizen of *Athens*, and the same favour was granted to all the inhabitants of *Plataa* for their seasonable assistance in the *Persian* war. It was only the general assembly of the people which could confer this privilege. Nay, when it was conferred, the grant was not valid unless ratified in a second assembly, wherein six thousand citizens were present. And as this honour was generally sued for by persons of eminent distinction, the people gave their votes privately by putting little stones into vessels that no sort of undue influence might reach them; if, after all these ceremonies, it appeared that the person on whom it was conferred was unworthy, there was a power lodged of taking it away in the court of *Areopagus*, nor are instances of this sort wanting in the *Athenian* story (31). As to the foreigners or sojourners, though they were incapable of the honours belonging to free citizens, yet if they manifested an extraordinary love towards the state by any shining action, they had a sort of half freedom bestowed upon them, whereby they were exempted from the taxes they bore before, and in respect to pecuniary matters were on the same foot with free denizens; this they stiled *Ateleia* (32). Such *Athenians* as thro' poverty became servants were stiled *Pelata*; except the right of voting, they enjoyed all the rights of free citizens, they changed their masters when they thought fit, and in case they found themselves in a condition to live in a state of independency, they were restored to their votes, and their servitude was no more imputed to them as a bar to their preferment (33). As to slaves they on their coming to a new place had a handsome entertainment given them, and sweet-meats thrown over their heads, as it were to welcome them to their service, which if they fell into good hands was sometimes easy enough, but for this they were obliged not to the gentleness of their laws, but of their masters.

(31) *Demost. Orat. in Nearam.* (32) *Suidas. Harpocration. Hesychius.* (33) *Pollux, lib.* iii. *c.* i. 8.

up

rose up to speak, the *Prytanes* interposed, and bid him be silent, and if he did not a
obey them, the *Lictors* pulled him down by force. When the debates were over, the president permitted the people to vote, which they did by casting first beans, but in aftertimes pebbles into certain vessels; these were counted, and then it was declared that the decree of the senate was either rejected or approved, after which the *Prytanes* dismissed the assembly [h].

Having spoken of the people, their privileges and assemblies, let us now proceed to the senate, which as we have already shewn, was instituted by *Solon* to prevent the dangerous consequences of leaving the supreme power in the people; at the time of his institution, it was to consist of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe, it was increased to five hundred, when the tribes were augmented to ten; and when they came to twelve, it was also swelled to six hundred. They were b
elected by lots after this manner: At a day appointed, towards the close of the year, the president of each tribe gave in a list of such persons belonging thereto, as were fit for and desired to appear for this dignity; these names were engraven on tablets of brass, and a number of beans equal to the number of the amount of them, among which were a hundred white ones put into a vessel, then the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn one by one, and such as were drawn by the white beans, were received into the senate [i]. After the senate was elected, they proceeded to appoint the officers who were to preside in the senate: these were the *Prytanes* beforementioned, and they were elected thus; the names of the ten tribes were thrown into one vessel, and nine black beans and a white one into another c
vessel. Then the names of the tribes were drawn with the beans. The tribe to which the white bean answered, presided first, and the rest according to the order in which they were drawn. The time in which they presided was thirty-five days, and was called *Prytania*, the *Attic* year being by this means divided into ten parts. Some authors say that the first four *Prytania* contained thirty-six days in order to make the lunar year complete, which according to their computation consisted of 354 days, but others affirm, that these four days did not belong to any of the *Prytania*, but were spent in the election of magistrates, and that during this space the *Athenians* were without magistrates [k]. The *Prytanes* while the senate consisted of five-hundred d
were fifty in number; for the farther avoiding of confusion therefore, ten of these presided a week, during which space they were called *Proedri*, and out of these an *epistate* or president was chosen, whose office lasted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once; the reason of this was, that he had in his custody the public seal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the exchequer [l]. The reader must distinguish between the *Epistates* and *Proedri* last mentioned, and those spoken of in the former paragraph, because, though their titles were the same, their office were perfectly distinct. The senate assembled by direction of the *Prytanes* once every day, excepting festivals, and sometimes oftner, in the senate house, which was thence called *Prytanium*. When a member of the senate made a motion for a new law, it was immediately engraven on tablets, that the members when they e
came next might be prepared to speak to it; at the subsequent assembly the *epistates* opened the matter, after which every senator that pleased delivered his sentiments, then any of the *Prytanes* drew up the decree, and repeated it aloud; after which they proceeded to vote, and if there was a majority of white beans, then it became *Psephisma*, and was afterwards propounded to the people; if they approved it, it became a law, otherwise it was of no force longer than the senate, who decreed it, subsisted. The power of the senate was very great, for they took the account of magistrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the provisions made for poor citizens out of the public treasure; they had the superintendancy of public f
prisons, and a power of punishing such as committed acts morally evil, though not prohibited by any law; they had the care likewise of the fleet and besides all these they had many other branches of authority, which it is not necessary for us to mention. Before they took their seats they were constrained to undergo a very strict examination, wherein the whole course of they lives was enquired into; and if the least slur on their reputation appeared, they were set aside. When this examination was over they took an oath, wereby they bound themselves to promote in all their councils the public good, to advise nothing contrary to the laws,

[h] Vide Sigon. & Ubbo. Emmius. Rep. Athen. [i] Steph. Byzant. de Urb. [k] Pollux l. viii. c. 9. Harpocrat. [l] Pollux ubi supra.

and

a and to execute their functions exactly. The highest fine the senate could impose was five hundred drachms; if they thought the offender deserved a heavier mulct, they then transmitted the cause to the *Thesmothetæ*, who punished them as they thought fit. The senators, when their year was out, gave an account of their management to the people, but that they might have the less to do, they always punished such of their number as they found offended, by expulsion, and in this they were mighty exact; yet an expelled senator was notwithstanding eligible to any other office, the most trivial omission being sufficient to procure a dimission from the senatorial dignity, and therefore when the tribes chose their senators they also chose a certain number of subsidiaries, out of which when a senator was expelled, another was substituted in his place [m]. Each senator was allowed a *Drachm* every day, for it was a constant b rule with the *Athenians*, that the publick ought to pay for every man's time, and therefore such of the poor *Athenians* as thought fit to demand it, had three *Oboli* for going to the assembly. If during their administration any ships of war were built, the senators had crowns decreed them; but if not, they were forbid to sue for them. The senate, as we have before remarked, was looked upon as one anchor of the *Athenian* state, we will now speak of the other.

The court of *Areopagus* was so called, because it assembled on a hill not far from the citadel called *Arious Pagos*, i. e. *Mars's hill*. Some say that *Mars* was the first criminal tried in this court. It is not agreed who instituted this court; some ascribe it to *Cecrops*, others to *Cranaus*, and many to *Solon*, among whom, though *Plutarch* and *Cicero* are reckoned, yet it is certain that they were mistaken, for *Aristotle* affirms directly the contrary; nay, *Plutarch* himself cites a law of *Solon's*, wherein the sentences of the *Areopagi* are mentioned as things of an old date [n]. The source of this error seems to be *Solon's* restoring the power of this court, and making it superior to the *Ephetæ*, whom *Draco* had made superior to it. It is very difficult to ascertain the number of which this court consisted, because authors are much divided about it. Such of the archons, though some say only such of the *Thesmothetæ*, as had given an account of their administrations before the *Logistæ*, and had obtained their approbation, were received into this senate; this was *Solon's* institution, and was strictly observed for a long course of years, whence it became d the most sacred and venerable tribunal in *Greece*. A senator in this court was an officer for life, unless he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled; to laugh while the court was sitting was an unpardonable offence, and the members thereof were forbidden by law to write a comedy; nay, if an archon was seen to be sitting in a tavern or publick house, it was sufficient to bar his admission. *Demosthenes* affirms, that to his time no judgment of that court had ever been questioned [o]. They had cognizance of all capital causes, and with them the intent to murder was punished as severely as if it took effect; 'till *Pericles* lessened their power they were a check upon the people; they could, if they thought fit, cancel e the sentence of an assembly where a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they likewise rescued innocent persons in danger from the rash sentences of the people; they had the custody of the laws, the direction of the public fund, the direction of youth, for which reason they were present at marriages and sacrifices to see that all things were transacted with decency and sobriety; they had the power of punishing of idleness, and, in consequence of this, they sent for any body they pleased, and examined him what he spent, and how he came by it, so that it was impracticable for a man to live dissolutely in *Athens* on ill-got wealth, since on the first appearance of profusion such a person would have been convened before the *Areopagi*. Matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of mysteries, all sorts of impiety, the consecration of new gods, the erection of temples and f altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, belonged wholly to this court. *Plato* therefore having learned in *Egypt* that there was but one God, was forced to conceal his knowledge for fear of being questioned by the *Areopagites* [p]; and St. *Paul* was on this account arraigned before them as a setter-forth of strange gods, when he preached *Jesus* and *Anastasis*, i. e. the resurrection [q]. As to state affairs, the court of *Areopagus* rarely meddled in them unless in times of publick calamity, when the citizens, fled to them as to their last refuge. They

[m] Æschin. in Timarch. Aristoph. Avibus. Pollux, ubi supra. Demost. Timocrat. [n] Meurs. in Areop. [o] Aristocrat. [p] Justin. Martyr. [q] Acts xviii. 18, 19.

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met three times every month, *viz.* on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days thereof, if a any sudden occasion required their assembling, they were wont to meet in the royal portico. It is observable that this court always sate in the open air; secondly, that they decided all causes in the dark, that seeing neither plaintiff nor defendant ther passions might be uninfluenced. Causes of murder were introduced by the *Basileus*, or second archon, who in right of his office had a seat amongst them; but before he took it, he was obliged to lay aside his crown, which as the mark of his dignity he wore at all other times. As to the form of tryals before the *Areopagus*, we shall not detain the reader here, but take a proper occasion to insert it in a note. All the great men of *Athens* paid a high regard to this venerable tribunal, till *Pericles* rose, who, because he could not become a member thereof, ha- b ving never been archon, took such a pique to them, that he left no means unessayed to diminish their authority, and sink their credit, which by the help of *Ephialtes* he in a great measure effected, causing most of his business which had been before them to be transferred to other courts, to which some authors, not without reason, have ascribed the sudden degeneracy of the *Athenians*, and, in consequence thereof, the ruin of this state[k].

We come now, having spoke of the *Athenian* people, the senate and court of *Areopagus*, to the magistrates. The chief of these were the *Archons* or *Archontes*; they were, as we observed, nine in number, and were chosen by lot; but after they were chosen they were obliged to undergo two examinations, one in the senate- c house, called *Anacrisis*, the other in the *Forum*, called *Docimasia*; in these they were asked who were their ancestors, whether by three descents they were *Athenian* citizens, of what tribe and ward they were, whether related to *Apollo Patrius*, or *Jupiter Hercæus*, whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had served the appointed times in the wars, had the estate required by law, and whether they were perfect in all their limbs; these questions some think were put to every other magistrate: These demands being satisfactorily answered, they were conducted to the royal portico, where each of the archons took an oath in these words; *I will be punctual in the observance of the laws, and if I am deficient in this respect, I will for every such default consecrate a statue of gold as big as myself to the Delphian* d *Apollo*[l]. These ceremonies over, the archons entered on their charge, some parts of which they executed separately, others belonged in common to them all; they had all the power of punishing with death such malefactors as deserved it; they were all crowned with wreaths of myrtle, had the power of appointing certain under-officers, and of enquiring into the conduct of other magistrates. As the reward of their labour in the service of the public, they were free from all taxes whatsoever, and if any was so hardy as to strike or affront them, he was punished with infamy[m]. The first of them was sometimes stiled *Eponymos*, because the year took its denomination from him; to him it belonged to determine all causes between men and their wives, all matters relating to posthumous children, dowries, legacies, and e e testaments. He had a right to appoint tutors and guardians to orphans, to decide such disputes as arose among neighbours, and many other things. The celebration of certain feasts, and the regulation of stage plays were also within his province, and he had a particular court of judicature, wherein he heard causes: If even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he suffered death[n]. The second archon, who was stiled *Basileus* or king, had his court of judicature in the royal portico; he decided all controversies among priests, took information on impiety, blasphemy, and such-like crimes; he presided in all the great feasts, and assisted in all the public sacrifices for the prosperity of the republic. It was required that his wife should be a citizen of *Athens*, and a virgin, and she too was stiled by the *Athenians*, *Basilissa*. f f Accusations of murder were first lodged in this court, and then he introduced them into the court of *Areopagus*[o]. The *Polemarchos*, a third archon, had all sojourners and strangers within his jurisdiction; he was bound also to offer a solemn sacrifice to *Mars*, and another to *Diana*, and to take care that the children of such as lost their lives in the state should duly receive the maintentenance settled on them by law. As it often happened that these three magistrates, by reason of their youth, were not so well skilled in the laws and customs of their country, as to be able to execute punctually all the branches of their respective offices; they chose each of them two

[k] Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Meursius Areop. [l] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9. [m] Demosth. in Midian. [n] Pollux, ubi supra. [o] Demost. in Neær. & in Lacrit.

grave

a grave and distinct persons who underwent the like examinations with themselves, to sit with them as assessors, and they were accountable as well as the archon for their behaviour in their posts[p]. The other six archons were stiled *Thesmothetæ*; they had one common tribunal where they heard causes of various kinds; they ratified all public contracts and leagues, settled the court days in the several judicatures of *Athens*, took care that no laws should be passed contrary to the interest of the public, and prosecuted such as endeavoured to persuade the people to give their consent to any such laws; they were likewise obliged every year to examine the whole *Corpus Juris* in order to discover whether there were any laws that contradicted each other, whether there was a multiplicity of statutes about the same thing, or whether b there were any so doubtful as to render it impossible to know their true sense; which if there were, then the *Thesmothetæ* drew up a report, wherein was briefly contained the state of the case; this was hung up in a publick place, and the next assembly of the people voted which of the laws should be preserved, and which repealed or altered[q]. Inferior to the archons there were many public magistrates; 'twill be necessary to mention some of them, because they will frequently occur in the course of this history. In the first place they had *Nomophylaces*, who were also stiled *the eleven*, because they were so many in number, one chosen out of each tribe, and a clerk or secretary who made up *the eleventh*. Their duty it was to look to the execution of the laws, they had authority to seize robbers and other capital of- c fenders, and if they confessed, to put them to death. Dr. *Potter* thinks they resembled our sheriffs[r]. The *Phylarchi* were the presidents of the *Athenian* tribes; but in time this became a military title. The *Philobasileus* was an officer in each tribe, who did the same things within his jurisdiction as the *Basileus* did with respect to the state. The *Demarchi* were the principal magistrates in wards; the *Lexarchi* were six in number, and were bound to take care that the people came duly to assemblies; in their custody was the public register of the citizens names; they had under them *Toxotæ*, who were lictors or bailiffs; they were sometimes a thousand in number; these men were necessary, but like most of their sort were in a manner infamous, as may be gathered from the comedies of *Aristophanes*; they were gene- d rally *Scythians*, raw-boned, brawny fellows, ready to execute any thing they was commanded[s]. The *Nomothetæ* were a thousand in number, their business was to watch over and inspect into the laws. There were two sorts of orators in the service of the state, some were appointed to defend an old law, when a motion was made to repeal it; these had their fee from the state, but the same man was incapable of being elected twice. Besides these, there were ten settled orators called *Retores*, elected by lots; their business was to plead public causes in the senate-house; for this they had their stated fees, and with respect to their qualifications the laws run thus; "Let no one be a publick orator who hath struck his parents, denied "them maintenance, or shut them out of his doors, who hath refused to serve in e "the army, who hath thrown away his shield, who hath been addicted to lewd "women, notoriously effeminate, or has run out his patrimony. If any man who "has been guilty of these crimes dare to deliver an oration, let him be brought "to trial upon the spot[t]. Let an orator have children lawfully begotten, and "an estate within *Attica*[u]; if in his oration he talks impertinently, makes idle "repetitions, affects an unbecoming raillery, digresses from the point in question, "or, after the assembly is over, abuses the president, let the *Proedri* fine him fifty "drachmæ; and if that is not thought enough, let him be brought before the "next assembly and fined again[x]". We shall conclude this draft of the *Athenian* government with an account of their courts of justice, which, exclusive of the *Areo-* f *pagus*, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal, and six of civil causes. These ten courts were numbered with the ten first letters of the alphabet, and were thence stiled, *Alpha*, *Beta*, *Gamma*, &c. When an *Athenian* was at leisure to hear causes he wrote his own name, that of his father, and the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet; this he presented to the *Thesmothetæ*, who returned it again to him with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his lot; then he went to the cryer of the court who presented him a scepter, and gave him admission. When the causes were over, every judge went and delivered his scepter to the *Prytanes*, and received a stated fee for every cause that was tryed. But as this was

[p] Pollux, ubi supra. [q] Æschin. in Ctesiph. [r] Cicero de Legib. lib. iii. [s] Aristophan. ejusque Schol. Acharn. & Thesmoph. [t] Æschin. in Timarch. [u] Dinarch. in Demosthen. [x] Æschin. ubi supra.

intended

intended only to compensate their loss of time, so that there might be no appearance a
of covetousness, a man was forbid to sit in two courts on the same day[y]. The first
criminal court, after the *Areopagus*, was that of the *Ephetæ*, of the institution of
which the reader has already had account; it consisted of fifty-one members, all
upwards of fifty-one years old; *Draco* gave it a very extensive jurisdiction, but
*Solon* took away from them the power of judging in any other causes than those
of manslaughter, accidental killing and lying in wait to destroy; the *Basileus* entered
all causes in this court[z]. The second criminal court was called *Delphinium*, because
it was held in the temple of *Apollo Delphinius*, it had cognizance of such mur-
ders as were confessed by the criminal, but at the same time justified under some pre- b
tence or other[a]. The *Prytaneum* was the third criminal court; it held plea of such cases
where death ensued from inanimate things; causes were heard here with the same
solemnity as in other courts, and on judgment given, the thing, whatever it was,
that had occasioned the death of a man, was thrown out of the territory of *Athens*.
This judicature was as ancient as the reign of *Erichtheus*, and the first thing tried
therein was an ax, wherewith *Jupiter*'s priests killed an ox which had eaten some
of the consecrated cakes, and who, as soon as he had committed the fact, secured
himself by flight[b]. The last criminal court was stiled *Phreatum*, it sate in a place
not far from the sea-shore, and such persons were brought before this court, as
had committed murders in their own country, and fled to *Attica*; the proceedings
of this court were so severe, that they did not permit the criminal to come on shore, c
but obliged him to plead his cause in his vessel, and if he was found guilty, he
was committed to the mercy of the winds and seas[c]. Of the judicatures for
hearing civil causes, the first was the *Parabaston*, so called, as some think, because
in it no matter could be heard, if the cause of action was above one drachm[d]. The
*Cainon* or new court was the second tribunal[e]. The third was stiled the court of
*Lycus*, because it assembled in a temple dedicated to that hero, whose statue, which
was represented with the face of a wolf, was set up in all courts of justice[f]. The
*Trigonon* was so called, because it was triangular in its form[g]. The court *Metidius*
derived its appellation from the architect who built it[h]. The sixth and last court
was called *Heliæa*, it was by far the greatest, and is generally conceived to have d
derived its name from the judges sitting in the open air exposed to the sun. All the
*Athenians*, as we observed before, who were free citizens, were allowed by law to
sit in these courts as judges. But before they took their seats were sworn by *Apollo
Patrius*, *Ceres* and *Jupiter* the king, that they would decide all things righteously,
and according to law, where there was any law to guide them, and by the rules
of natural equity, where there was none. The oath taken by the judges, who sate in
the court last mention'd, is reported by *Demosthenes* in these words; "I will give
"sentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people of *Athens*, and the
"counsel of five hundred; I will not consent to place the supreme power in the e
"hands of a single person, or a few; nor permit any man to dissolve the com-
"monwealth, or so much as to give his vote, or make an oration in defence of such
"a revolution. I will not endeavour to discharge private debts, nor to make a
"division of lands or houses: I will not restore persons sent into banishment, nor
"pardon those that are condemned to die, nor expel any man out of the city con-
"trary to the laws and decrees of the people and council of five hundred, nor permit
"any other person to do it: I will not elect any person into any public employ,
"and particularly I will not create any man *Archon*, *Hieromnemon*, embassador,
"public herald or synedros, nor consent that he shall be admitted into any of those
"offices which are elected by lots, upon the same day with the archons, who f
"has undergone any former office, and not given in his accounts; nor that any
"person shall bear two offices, or be twice elected into the same office in one year:
"I will not receive gifts myself, nor shall any other for me; nor will I permit
"any other person to do the like by any means, whether direct or indirect, to per-
"vert justice in the court of *Heliæa*: I am not under thirty years of age: I will
"hear both the plaintiff and defendant without partiality, and give sentence in all
"the causes brought before me: I swear by *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Ceres*; if I

[y] Athen. Deipnos. lib. vi. [z] Pollux lib. viii. c. 10. [a] Pollux ubi supra. [b] Ælian Hist. var. lib. viii. c. 3. Pollux ubi supra. [c] Sigonius de Repub. Athen. lib. iii. c. 3. [d] Pausan. Atticis. [e] Aristoph. Vesp. [f] Pollux, Suidas, Aristoph. ubi supra. [g] Sigon. ubi supra. Aristoph. ubi supra. [h] Pollux, Harpocr.

"violate

a "violate this oath, or any part of it, may I perish with my whole family; but if "I religiously observe it, may we live and prosper [i]." The *Heliæastic* court consisted at least of fifty, but its usual number was five-hundred judges; when causes of very great consequence were to be tried, a thousand sate therein, and now and then the judges were increased to fifteen hundred, and even to two thousand; there were many inferior courts in *Athens* for the decision of trivial causes, but of these there is no necessity of speaking, since we design no more than a succinct view of the *Athenian* republic, as it was settled by and in consequence of *Solon*'s laws.

We left that great lawgiver at his departure from *Athens* to visit foreign climates b for the sake of acquiring wisdom. He went first to *Egypt*, where he conversed with *Psenophis* the *Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis* the *Saite*,, the most learned priest of that age and country, from these he drew the knowledge of a multitude of things unheard-of by the *Greeks*, and particularly the situation and condition of the atlantic isle, of which he wrote an account in verse, which *Plato* continued. From *Egypt* he went to *Cyprus*, where he was extremely well entertained by one of the petty kings thereof; this prince reigned in a little city called *Apeia*, i. e. high, built by *Demophoon* the son of *Theseus* on an eminence near the river *Clarius* put in a soil craggy and barren. *Solon* observing that there was a very pleasant plain below, engaged the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their reception. *Solon* himself assisted in the execution of the undertaking which he had projected, and his scheme c succeeded so well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the place, came to settle themselves therein, whence the king, whose capital it was, changed its name out of gratitude, and called it *Solos*. He is thought to have visited about this time *Thales* the *Milesian*, with whom it is certain he had an intimate acquaintance; *Plutarch* hath recorded a very singular passage which happened at this time; *Solon* enquiring of *Thales*, why, considering the happy situation of his affairs, he had neither wife nor children, *Thales* for the present made him no answer. A few days after he introduced a stranger properly instructed, who said that he came ten days ago from *Athens*; *Solon* immediately asked him what news he brought from thence: "I know of nothing extraordinary (replied he) except that the whole city cele- d "brated the funerals of a young man, the son of a citizen most eminent for his "virtues, who, it seems went abroad upon his travels." *Miserable man*, cried *Solon: but did you not hear his name? I did*, returned the stranger, *but I have forgot it; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wisdom and his justice; Was it* Solon? (said our philosopher) *It was*, answered the stranger. Upon this our legislator began to beat his head, to weep and to bemoan himself. But *Thales* interposing with a smile, addressed him thus: "These, O *Solon*, are the things which "make me afraid of marriage and children, since these are capable of affecting even "so wise a man as you; be not however concerned, for this is all a fiction" [i]. e Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, *Solon* being desired by a person not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; he answered, with much humanity and good sense, *And for this cause I weep*. At *Delphi* he had an interview with the rest of the sophists, and the year following at *Corinth* by *Periander*'s invitation; some think that at this time also he went to *Crete* and visited *Epimenides*, he likewise conferred with *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, as has been before related in the history of that prince [k] (M).



[i] Plutarch. & Diogen. Laert. in vit. Solonis. Herodot. lib. i. [k] Vol. II. p. 335.

(M) As to the interview between *Solon* and *Cræsus*, there were in *Plutarch*'s time many who thought it a fiction; and this great Writer himself, though he thought it necessary to insert it in *Solon*'s life, owns that none who mentioned it as a fact were able to solve the difficulties in chronology which attended it. The very learned *M. Dacier* has the following note upon that passage; "*Solon*, they say, was archon the third year of the forty-sixth olympiad, "and *Cræsus* was overthrown by *Cyrus* the second "year of the 58th, which makes it impossible for "*Solon* to be living at that time, that is to say, "47 years after his archonship. This they prove "more strongly, by making it appear that *Solon* died when *Hegestratius* was archon, in the second "year of the 51st olympiad. Now *Cræsus* was not "king till the first year of the 56 olympiad, which "was twenty-two years after the death of *Solon*. "How then are we to make this voyage of *Solon* "into *Lydia* fall in with the reign of *Cræsus*; especially if according to *Plutarch*, this voyage was "performed even before the tyranny of *Pisistratus*? "This is so full of difficulties and contrarities, "that it is impossible to reconcile them, unless we "agree with *Plutarch* that the ancient chronological tables are by no means exact, notwithstanding the great labour and pains several persons have "been at to regulate them (28)". Mr. *Stanly* (following

(28) *In vit. Solonis.*

While *Solon* was abroad, *Athens* fell all into confusion again. The three factions a beforementioned began to be more troublesome than ever; *Lycurgus* put himself at the head of the country people; *Megacles* the son of *Alcmeon* was the chief of those who lived upon the coast, and *Pisistratus* placed himself at the head of the poorer sort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of *Solon* were indeed observed, because none of the factions found it for their interest to subvert them, but all looked for a change, and were uneasy till it was effected, though how to change for the better, none of them knew, nor pretended to know; in the interim *Solon* returned, and his return seemed propitious for his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to shew him the deepest reverence and respect, beseeching him to resume his authority, and to compose the disorders b of the state. But this however he declined on account of his age, which, as he said, rendered him unable to speak, and act for the public benefit, as he was wont. However, he sent for the chiefs of each party, and spoke to them in the mildest and most pathetic terms, beseeching them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private interest[l].

*Pisistratus*, among all the principal persons of *Athens*, seemed to be most affected with *Solon*'s discourses. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great similitude in their dispositions. *Pisistratus* was exceedingly courteous and affable, and as he was blessed with a fair estate, so he was generous without profusion, and beneficent without ostentation. He had always two or three slaves near him with c bags of silver coin; when he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any were dead insolvent, he comforted the one with a proper sum, and buried the others at his own expence; if he perceived people melancholy he enquired the cause, and if it was poverty, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly; in a word, he had, or seemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman: he could not so much as suffer his servants to shut his garden, or orchard gates, but allowed every body to go in and take what they pleased. His looks were easy and sedate, his language smooth and modest; he seemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the constitution. *Solon* penetrated all these appearances, yet he did not immediately break with him, but endeavoured d to shew him the iniquity of his dissimulation, and would often tell him, *Sir, were it not for your ambition, you would be the best citizen in* Athens; and when he found this made no impression upon him, *Solon* said the same thing to others, that men might beware of his designs, and not suffer his virtues to be fatal to his country[m].

About this time *Thespis*, who is generally esteemed the inventor of tragedy, either introduced or reformed it at *Athens*, with which the people were mightily charmed. *Solon*, who piqued himself upon learning, even in his old age, went to see this new divertisement, and after the performance was over, addressed himself to *Thespis* in these words: "*I wonder you are not ashamed of telling lies before so great* "*an* audience": *Thespis* replied, *That there could be no harm in giving a specious form to falshood, so that it were in jest*; *Ah, cried* Solon, striking the ground violently with his staff, *if once we are pleased with your falshoods in jest, we shall soon have them creep into our more serious affairs*[n]. e

Pisistratus *assumes the sovereignty. Years after the flood* 2439. *Before Christ* 560.

The michief which *Solon* apprehended his kinsman *Pisistratus* would bring upon the state was not long before it came to pass; that great politician perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, resolved to seize the present opportunity to cheat them out of that liberty they neither knew how to use or to keep. With

[l] Plut. ubi supra. Diogen. Laert. ubi supra. Herodot. lib. i. [m] Dacier. Not. in vit. Solon. Plut. ubi supra. Cicer. de Orat. lib. iii. [n] Plut. ubi supra.

lowing *Laertius*) and many others have thought that the placing this interview, not before, but after *Pisistratus* made himself master of *Athens*, would set this business quite right, and accordingly Sir *Isaac Newton* places this conference in the year after *Pisistratus* assumed the sovereignty, or rather in the same year, and makes this the year before the death of *Solon* (29). But to return from so perplexed a subject to the mention of a point or two, not taken notice of in the account before given of this conference in our history of *Lydia*: *Plutarch* says, that *Æsop* the fabulist was at the court of *Crœsus* at the same time with *Solon*, and that he was extremely concerned when he saw how much the king slighted so great a man. He could not therefore forbear giving *Solon* the following short piece of advice, *Let your visits to kings be as seldom or as pleasant as you can.* To which our *Athenian* answered, *No, rather let them be as seldom or as profitable as you can* (30). The love of liberty was so strong in *Solon*, that he could not gainsay so much as in a compliment.

(29) *Short Chronicle, p.* 40. (30) *Plutarch ubi supra.*

this

a this view having wounded himself, (and as *Herodotus* says) the mules that drew his chariot[o], he lashed into the market-place, as if pursued by his enemies, and shewing his bleeding body, besought the people to protect him from those whom his kindness to them had rendered his implacable enemies; they testifying loudly their concern, *Solon*, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him, and said, *Son of* Hippocrates, *you do not act* Homer's Ulysses *well, since you deceive your fellow citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country.* A general assembly was presently convened, wherein *Ariston* moved that *Pisistratus* might have a guard of fifty persons armed with clubs. *Solon* opposed it; he told the citizens that if misfortunes befel them, they must not charge the gods b with them, but themselves, for that evils were not accidental, but punishments; that crafty persons knew how to dress lies in the vestments of truth, and that before they made innovations they should well consider the consequences. After him *Pisistratus* spoke, and the people receiving all he said with loud applause, *Solon* contented himself with saying,

You doat upon his words and soothing speech.

The meaner sort of people adhering unanimously to the proposition of *Ariston*, and the richest *Athenians* remaining silent, when they saw how things would go, *Solon* took his leave, saying, that he was *wiser* than some, and *stouter* than others; wiser than those who did not penetrate *Pisistratus*'s design, and stouter than those who c did not oppose it. When he was gone the assembly proceeded to vote *Pisistratus* a guard, but what number is not easily settled; it should seem from *Plutarch*'s account that he had but fifty[p]. *Herodotus* does not mention any number at all[q]. *Polyænus* makes them three hundred[r], but *Solon* himself in his letter to *Epimenides*, says expressly there were four hundred[s]; however it was, he made use of his guard to seize the citadel, which having performed, he without more ado, according to *Herodotus*[t] and *Plutarch*[u], assumed the sovereignty. But *Polyænus* hath given us a very singular account of the method which he took to put it out of the power of the *Athenians* to defend themselves, even against the small number of men under his command. He summoned an assembly to be held at the *Anacium*, and directed d that the people should come thither armed; when they were accordingly come together, *Pisistratus* harangued them, but in a very low voice; the people complaining that they could not well hear what he said, he pretended that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and advised them to lay them down in the portico of a temple. This they did, and *Pisistratus* then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration, to which, while they listened with deep attention, *Pisistratus*'s guard conveyed away their arms, so that when he had done speaking, the *Athenians* saw themselves naked, and all power of resistance taken from them[x]. All historians agree, that amidst the confusion which followed this transaction, there was an assembly held, wherein *Solon* made a speech, inveighing against the e meaness of his countrymens spirit, and exciting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found nothing would do, he set down his own arms, and contented himself with saying, *To the utmost of my power I have striven for my country and my laws.* *Plutarch* says that he refused to leave his country, and that on *Pisistratus*'s sending to know what it was that inspired him with boldness enough to treat him in such a manner, he answered, *My old age*[y]. But other authors say, and with greater propability, that he immediately left the dominion of *Athens*. About this time it is most likely that he wrote the following letter to his friend in *Crete*[z],

f *Solon to Epimenides:*

" NEITHER are my laws likely to benefit the *Athenians* long, nor have you " done the city much good by your lustration. For sacred rites, and wise lawgivers, " cannot alone benefit cities, since it is of great consequence, of what disposition " those are, who influence the common people; sacred and civil laws, if such men " execute them well, are profitable, but if not, are of little use. My laws are " now in a very indifferent condition, those in whom the government was lodged, " making no opposition to *Pisistratus*'s designs, abandoned the state; this, when

[o] HERODOT. lib. i. [p] ubi supra. [q] lib i. [r] Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. [s] Vide Epist. Solon. ad Epimen. post. [t] ubi supra. [u] ubi supra. [x] Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. sect. ii. [y] ubi supra. [z] DIOGEN. LAERT. in vita Solon.

" I fore-

" I foretold, I could not be believed, the *Athenians* crediting rather his flatteries a
" than my truth. Perceiving this, I laid down my arms before the magazine,
" and said, that I was wiser than those who did not see *Pisistratus* aimed at tyranny,
" and stouter than those who were afraid to resist him. For this they looked upon
" *Solon* as a madman; however I hesitated, not to make this protestation before
" I departed; Behold, O my country, *Solon* ready to vindicate then in word and
" deed; they again cried out that I was mad. Thus, finding myself alone in
" opposing *Pisistratus*, I left them; let them still, if they please, guard with their
" arms this their tyrant, for you must, my friend, that the man very artfully pos-
" sessed himself of the sovereignty; he complied at the first with the democracy, b
" afterwards wounding himself, he came into the *Eliaea*, exclaiming, that he was
" thus wounded by his enemies, desiring that they would grant him a guard of four
" hundred men, which they, regardless of all I could say, complied with; after
" this he dissolved the popular government. In vain I laboured to bestow free-
" dom on the meaner sort of people, since now the people of all sorts are become
" *Pisistratus*'s servants."

*Pisistratus*, in possessing himself of the supreme power in *Athens*, did not overturn the laws established by *Solon*; on the contrary, he did all that in him lay to provide for their better execution, and lost nothing of that moderation for which he had been before remarkable[a]. With respect even to *Solon* himself, he preserved for him the highest veneration, and was so much disturbed at his leaving his country, c that he wrote to him the following letter to engage him to return[b].

*Pisistratus* to *Solon:*

" I AM not the only person among the *Greeks* who have acted in this manner,
" nor am I without right to the kingdom I possess, being the descendant of
" *Codrus*. That which the *Athenians* swore to preserve to *Codrus* and his heirs, and
" yet took away, I have recovered. I offend neither against God nor man: I take
" care to see those laws you framed for the *Athenians* strictly put in execution,
" and suffer none to do wrong. I claim no other privileges, though a tyrant,
" than the honour and dignity, and accept no more than what was thought due d
" to the ancient kings. The *Athenians* indeed pay the tenths of their estates, not
" to me, but for the defraying the expences of the public sacrifices, the other
" charges of the commonwealth, and that we may have wherewithal to carry on a
" war if we should be engaged in one. I do not at all blame you for discovering
" my intention; you did it out of regard to your country, rather than out of
" hatred to me; you were ignorant of the form of government I meant to esta-
" blish; had you known it, you would perhaps have born it, and not have gone
" into banishment; however return, and believe me, without an oath, *Solon* shall
" never suffer hurt from *Pisistratus*; my very enemies have nothing to charge me e
" with of that kind. If you will be of the number of my friends, you shall be
" the first, for I never observed any thing of fraud or falsehood in you; if you
" are resolved to continue otherwise, live at *Athens* as you will, only for our sake,
" do not deprive yourself of your country."

*Solon* to *Pisistratus*.

" I BELIEVE I shall not suffer any harm by you, for before you were a tyrant,
" I was your friend, and at present am no more your enemy than any other
" *Athenian* who dislikes tyranny. Whether it be better they be governed by a f
" single person, or by a democracy, let both parties determine. I pronounce you
" the best of tyrants; but to return to *Athens*, I think not fitting, least I incur
" censure, who settled an equality in the *Athenian* commonwealth, and would not
" accept of the tyranny; by returning, I should comply with thy actions".

*Solon* kept strictly to his word, and returned no more to *Athens*, but died abroad. How old this great man was at the time of his decease was not agreed even in the days of *Plutarch*[c], who says that *Heraclides Ponticus* affirmed, that *Solon* lived a long time after *Pisistratus* assumed the sovereignty, whereas *Phanias* the *Ephesian* reported that he did not live after it quite two years; *Ælian* agrees pretty well

[a] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. ARIST. Polit. lib. v. c. 12. [b] DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi supra. [c] In vita Solonis, prope fin.

with

a with this computation[d], for he says he died a little after, being decrepid with age; *Diogenes Laertius* informs us that he reached the age of fourscore[e], but *Lucian* however will have it that he lived a hundred and upwards[f]; where he died is another very disputable point; some say it was in *Cyprus*[g], others not[h]; *Diogenes Laertius* informs us that he directed that his bones should be burnt, and their ashes carried to *Salamis* and scattered over the island[i]. *Plutarch* treats this as a fable, but acknowledges at the same time that many eminent writers had given into it, and mentions particularly *Aristotle*[k]. The *Athenians*, after the death of *Solon*, paid him the highest honours, and erected for him in the forum and at *Salamis*, a statue in brass with his hand in his gown, the posture in which he was wont to speak; b which he certainly deserved, for the mighty services rendered by him to his country (N)[l]. But to return to *Pisistratus*:

At the very beginning of his administration, *Megacles* and his family retired out of the territories of *Athens*, but they did this with a view only to preserve themselves from being cut off to render his principality the surer. They did not renounce all hopes of returning to their country, or all correspondence with their countrymen; on the contrary, he and his associates entred into a treaty with *Lycurgus* and his party, and having brought them into a scheme for overturning *Pisistratus*, they prosecuted this with such effect, that he found himself obliged to retire, and seek, as they had done, shelter in a foreign clime; and the *Athenians*, notwithstanding all the c instances of love they had shewn him, were so far wrought on by his enemies, as to order his goods to be publickly sold. However, though this resolution was not only taken, but put into execution, there was nobody but *Callias* who would venture to buy any of them; from an apprehension, no doubt, that one time or other he would be restored[m].

As *Megacles* and his party had negotiated with *Lycurgus* the ruin of *Pisistratus*, so some time afterwards, finding that *Lycurgus* and his faction were not implicitly governed by them, they began to treat with *Pisistratus*, and to offer him, in case he would marry the daughter of *Megacles*, to reinstate him in his principality, to which *Pisistratus* readily assented. It is easy to conceive that this affair required rather d fraud than force for its being conducted with success. *Pisistratus* and *Megacles*

[d] Hist. var. lib. viii. c. 16. [e] ubi supra. [f] In Longævis. [g] Diogen. Laert. ubi supra. Valer. Max. lib. v. c. 3. [h] Plutarch. ubi supra. [i] ubi supra. [k] ubi supra. [l] Æsch. in Timarch. [m] Plut. ubi supra. Herodot lib. i.

(N) We have already said so much of the genius of *Solon*, that it would be tedious to dwell upon it here; we shall therefore take notice only of some remarkable passages which are related concerning his death, give a succinct account of his writings, and of the praises bestowed upon him by the most eminent among the ancient *Romans* as well as *Greeks*. The very last day of his life some friends of his sitting in the chamber fell into a discourse, to which he listened with great attention; being asked the reason, he answered, *I do this, that when I have learned whatsoever it is you dispute about, I may die* (31). A little before his last agonies, hearing his brother singing an ode of *Sappho*, he was so well pleased with it that he called the young man, and bad him teach it him; and the reason of this being also demanded, *It is*, returned he, *that I may learn while I am departing out of this life* (32). As to his writings, we stand indebted to *Laertius* for the following account; his laws; orations to the people; poems; the *Atlantic* history, which was his last work, and left unfinished; again attempted by his kinsman *Plato*, and by him also left unfinished. Occasional epistles; amongst these there is the following one preserved by *Laertius* addressed to the tyrant of *Corinth*, who was esteemed one of the seven sages of *Greece*; it is very short, and therefore we did not think fit to omit it.

*Solon* to *Periander*.

" You send me word there are many who plot " against you; if you should put them all to death, " it would advantage you nothing; some one there " may be of those whom you suspect not, who " plots against you, either fearing himself, or dis- " daining you, or desirous to ingratiate himself with " the city, though you have done him no injury. " It is best, if you would be free from jealousy, to " acquit yourself of the cause; but if you will " continue in tyranny, take care to provide a greater " strength of strangers than is in your own city; " so shall you need to fear no man, nor put any to " death (33)."

*Plato* in various places commends the wisdom, learning, and genius of *Solon* (34), so also does *Aristides* (35); *Dion Chrysostom* speaks of him with the greatest respect (36), as an orator and legislator, as a warrior, and a patriot; *Demosthenes* has in few words celebrated his praises (37); *Cicero* affirms that before the times of *Solon* and *Pisistratus* eloquence was unknown (38); *Seneca* mentions *Solon* with great respect (39), and *Valerius Maximus*, as he records many things relating to himself, so he fails not greatly to commend him. In fine, ancient and modern writers agree, that without flattery *Solon* might be stiled brave, wise, and honest; how shall we commend him more?

(31) *Valer. Maxim. lib.* viii. *c.* 7. (32) *Stob. Serm.* xxix. (33) *Diogen. Laert. Vit. Solon.* (34) *In Amator. de Repub &c.* (36) *Orat. Parafth.* (36) *Orat.* xxi. (37) *In Amator.* (38) *De Orat.* (39) *Epist.* xc.

resolved to rest all upon an expedient which *Herodotus* stiles a ridiculous project; but a
ridiculous as it appeared, it succeeded. They found out a woman whose name was *Phya*, the daughter of *Socrates*, a man of mean family and fortune; this woman was it seems of prodigious stature, and otherwise very handsome; her they dressed in armour, placed her in a chariot, and having disposed all things so as to make her appear with all possible advantage, they conducted her towards the city, sending heralds before with orders to speak to the people in these terms, "Give a kind recep-"tion, O *Athenians*, to *Pisistratus*, who is so much honoured by *Minerva* above "all other men, that she herself condescends to bring him back to the citadel;" when the heralds had published this in several places, the report was universally spread, that *Minerva* was bringing home *Pisistratus*, and in the city the multitude, b
believing this woman to be the goddess, addressed her with prayers, and readily received *Pisistratus*. When he had recovered the sovereignty, he married, as he had promised, the daughter of *Megacles*, and out of gratitude to *Phya*, gave her in marriage to his son *Hipparchus*[n].

It was not long *Pisistratus* enjoyed in quiet that authority to which he had been so odly restored; we have already observed that he kept his word to *Megacles* in marrying his daughter, and it seems *Pisistratus* conceived that his word bound him to nothing more. But considering that he had children by a former wife, and that *Megacles*'s family were held by the *Athenians* to be *execrable*, he never conversed with this new wife of his as a wife, which for a time she concealed; but at length, mentioning of it to his mother, the family so highly resented his proceeding, that c
*Megacles* instantly began to negotiate with the malecontents, which *Pisistratus* perceiving, and seeing what an effect it produced on the minds of the people, he once more quitted *Attica* voluntarily, and retired to *Eretria*. There, as soon he found himself in safety, he consulted with his sons what course was fittest to be taken in the present situation of their affairs. *Hippias* proposed the reducing *Athens* by force, which was agreed to, and immediately *Pisistratus* applied to several of the *Grecian* cities to furnish him with men and money for the carrying this design of his into execution. Several yielded him their assistance as they desired, but the *Thebans* exceeded all others in their liberality. Some troops of *Argives* were quickly levied d
by the help of these subsidies, and all things were much forwarded by the kindness of *Lygdamis*, a *Naxian*, who, as a volunteer, joined them with a considerable number of men, and advanced also a large sum of money. In the eleventh year of their banishment, says *Herodotus*, *Pisistratus* with his family, and the army he had drawn together, marched from *Eretria* and entered *Attica*. The first place they possessed themselves of was *Marathon*, and when they were incamped there they were joined by multitudes of *Athenians*, who loved the government of *Pisistratus* better than a democracy. It seems the government of that city had not taken any very vigorous steps, though they knew that *Pisistratus* was raising men, and borrowing money; but when they heard he was marching directly towards *Athens*, e
they assembled all their forces to defend themselves, and to repel the invader. In the mean time, *Pisistratus* advancing with his army from *Marathon*, arrived at the temple of the *Pallenian Minerva*; and after they had placed their arms before the gates, *Amphilytus*, a prophet of *Acarnania*, by divine impulse, went to him and pronounced this oracle in *Hexameter* verse:

The net is spread, and dexterously thrown,
By the clear moon-light shall the tunnies come.

When the prophet had delivered these words, *Pisistratus* comprehending the oracle, and saying, he accepted the omen, broke up with his army. In the mean time the *Athenians* having drawn their forces out of the city, and taken their dinner, f
betook themselves afterwards to dice or sleep. So that the army of *Pisistratus* falling upon them by surprize, soon put them to flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their escape, *Pisistratus* contrived an artful stratagem in order to disperse them so intirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his sons to ride before with speed, and in his name to inform all those they should overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every man might return to his own habitation[o]. Thus *Pisistratus* became a third time possessed of the sovereignty of *Athens*, out of which that he might be no more driven, he took a method directly

[n] Herodot. ubi supra. Polyaen. Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. Valer. Max. lib. i. c. 2. [o] Herod. lib. i. c. 61.

contrary

a contrary to that which *Theseus* had made use of for aggrandizing his kingdom; for whereas that prince made the inhabitants of *Attica* retire from the country, and live together in the city, *Pisistratus* obliged them to addict themselves again to agriculture, that they might not meet together in the market-places, and cabal against him. By this means he greatly mended the state of the *Athenian* territories, and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over *Attica*, which before was not only almost void of corn, but also bare of trees[p]. He likewise commanded that in the city men should wear a certain kind of sheep-skin vest reaching only to the knees, which in succeeding times became proverbially the habit of slavery[q]. The *Athenians* being so nice in respect to liberty, that if things right in themselves were commanded by persons void of lawful authority, they b looked on obedience as the greatest misery. On this account it was that *Pisistratus*'s laws against idleness were held tyrannical, though they were enacted meerly in support of those of *Solon*. He received as prince of *Athens* the tenth part of every man's rents, and even of the fruits of his grounds, which, though applied, as the ancient revenues were, *viz.* to the service of the state, seemed to the *Athenians* an intolerable grievance. It happened once that *Pisistratus* being in the country, perceived an old man busy in creeping over the rocks, and picking something; *Pisistratus* asked him what he was doing in that uncouth place, and what were the fruits of his labour. *Troubles and a few plants of wild sage*, replied the old man, *and of these* Pisistratus *must have the tenth:* to which *Pisistratus* made him no reply, but on c his return to the city, discharged him from paying this duty[r]. He endeavoured by all means possible to eradicate the fierceness of the *Athenians*, but to little purpose, for as he was averse to severity, so it was a difficult thing for them to learn submission. Some young men who had been drinking at a feast, in their return met his wife and insulted her grossly; the next day, however, when their spirits were cooler, they went in the most humble manner to ask him pardon. *Pisistratus* heard their apology very graciously, and when they had done, *I would advise you, gentlemen*, said he, *to behave for the future more modestly; but as for my wife she was not abroad yesterday*[s]. He adorned the city with fine edifices, particularly the temple of the *Pythian Apollo*; and when the *Athenians*, to shew their aversion to d him, went and eased themselves there he first endeavoured by gentle means to reclaim them from so scandalous a practice, and finding this had no effect, he commanded a herald to make proclamation, that such as for the future were guilty of that offence should suffer death[t]. He laid the foundations of the famous temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, mentioned before in our description of the city of *Athens*. He was the first who built a library for public use, and directed that *Homer*'s poems should be digested into regular order, as we have them at present. In all other respects he was a great encourager of learning, and conversed familiarly with *Crotoniates* the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the *Argonauts*[u]. As to his military virtues, we have already shewn what a share he had in the reduction of *Salamis*; he is also reported by *Herodotus* to have conquered the island of *Naxus*, which he put into the hands of *Lygdamis*; he also conquered the city of *Sigeium*, and purified the island of *Delos*; so that on the whole it seems he wanted nothing but a legal title to have rendered him an excellent prince[x]. He not only maintained the laws as became him in his station, but when he heard he was accused in the court of *Areopagus* of a murder, he came like a private man, and submitted himself to judgment[y]. At another time having some way offended certain *Athenians* of principal dignity, and they retiring to the castle of *Phylæ*, he went thither the next day with a cloak-bag on his back; when they asked him what he meant, Either, said he, to engage you to go back with me to *Athens*, or to stay with you myself, and therefore you see I am come provided[z]. From the time of his first possessing himself of the sovereignty to his death, there intervened thirty-three years, of which he reigned but seventeen, as we learn from *Aristotle*, and consequently his first and second exile included sixteen years; as to the latter, *Herodotus* tells us expressly, that it lasted eleven years; consequently his first exile was five years only[a]. He left behind him, amongst other children, two sons, both men of great capacity, *viz. Hippias* and *Hip-*

[p] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. vii. Maxim. Tyr. Differt. xiii. [q] Suidas in voce Κατωνακοι. [r] Zenobius Cent. iv. Prov. 76. [s] Plutarch. Apothegm. [t] Anp. Schot. Append. Vatic. Prov. Cent. i. p. 82. [u] Suidas. Vitruvius. Præf. lib. vii. A. Gellius Noct. Attic. lib. vi. c. 17. [x] Herodot. lib. i. [y] Arist. Polit. l. v. c. 12. [z] Plutarch. Apophthegm. Polit. l. v. c. 12. Herodot. l. i.

*parchus*,

*parchus*, but which of these was the eldest is a point never to be determined; *Thucydides* a more than once affirms that it was *Hippias*, and charges such as believe the contrary with being in a gross error [b]. *Polyænus* says the same thing [c], yet *Plato* is as positive that *Hipparchus* was the eldest [d]. *Ælian* follows him, and *Heraclides Ponticus* seems to be of the same opinion. *Thucydides* supports his account of the matter by some arguments, which in the opinion of the learned *Meursius* are not very conclusive. Without troubling the reader farther with so perplexed a business, we will proceed to the relation of facts better asserted (O).

The

[b] Bell. Pelop. lib. i. & lib. vi. [c] Stratagem. lib. v. c. 14 [d] In Hipparch.

(O) It would have interrupted the current of our history too much to have dwelt therein on the family affairs of *Pisistratus*, and yet it is necessary, in order to have a perfect comprehension of the affairs of the *Athenians* during this space of time, that all the circumstances mentioned in ancient authors relating to the *Pisistratida*, should be somewhere preserved and explained. As to the descent of *Pisistratus* himself, we see from his own letter to *Solon* that he was of the house of *Codrus*, the last king of *Athens*. Ancient authors assure us that he was of the same family with *Nestor* (40), so that it point of nobility of birth few princes have had greater cause to value themselves than *Pisistratus*. His father's name was *Hippocrates*, as we are more than once told by *Herodotus*; and as the ancients were very circumspect in noting whatever had relation to the birth of their children, so as to the nativity of *Pisistratus* something very extraordinary is recorded. *Hippocrates* being at the celebration of the *Olympic* games, caused a victim which he had slain there to be put into a cauldron of water, which immediately began to boil without the assistance of fire. *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* being present when this prodigy happened, immediately addressed himself to the *Athenian*, advising him not to marry any woman by whom he might have children; in case he was married to such a one to divorce her, or, if he had a son to abdicate him; but *Hippocrates* did not take his advice, for his wife being not long after delivered of *Pisistratus*, he educated the child with great care; nor is it unlikely that *Hippocrates* apprehended why the *Lacedemonian* gave him this advice, since he called his son after the name of the son of *Nestor*, that he might continually remember his lineage, and be from thence excited to hope and to do great things (41). As to his mother we are not acquainted either with her name or family, or indeed with any thing relating to her, except the following passage, which shews that she lived to be pretty far in years. When her son was possessed of the principality of *Athens*, she fell in love with a young man, with whom she conversed secretly, and with great caution; however *Pisistratus* had intelligence thereof, he therefore invited the young man to an entertainment, and when they rose from table, *What think you, my friend*, said Pisistratus, *of your treatment to day? That it was most excellent, Sir*, answered he, *Why then, replied* Pisistratus, *you may be assured that you shall meet with the like fare every day, as long as you please my mother* (42). As to his affability and generosity we have spoken sufficiently already; but it may not be amiss to note that the wisest both of the *Greeks* and *Romans* have left us high panegyrics on the eloquence of *Pisistratus*, which they agree was the chief instrument he used in acquiring the dominion of his country (43). And that it was wonderfully great, appears from another testimony still stronger than the former, *viz.* from the mighty apprehensions the *Athenians* were in, that *Pericles* would attempt to make himself a prince, because in his countenance and manner of speaking he was said to resemble *Pisistratus* (44). *Cicero* writing to *Atticus* concerning *Cæsar*'s conquest of the commonwealth, tells him, that it was yet uncertain whether the victor would prove a *Phalaris* or a *Pisistratus* (45), whereby he plainly means to delineate the worst of tyrannies and the best. It may therefore be affirmed of *Pisistratus*, that of all the sovereigns who illegally acquired their principalities, he governed with the greatest justice, since both *Solon* and *Cicero* testify as much, and since it was thought the highest compliment that could be paid *Cæsar*, that he governed like another *Pisistratus*. We have seen many instances of his humanity; there is yet another which ought not to be suppressed. *Thrasibulus* or *Thrasimedes*, was in love with *Pisistratus*'s daughter, and it seems was not hated by her. When therefore she was going in a public procession to sacrifice, the young man imprudently kissed her, with which *Pisistratus*'s family was so much disgusted, that they entreated him to punish severely this insolent offender; to which *Pisistratus* mildly answered, *if we are severe to those who love us, what shall we do to those that hate us?* *Thrasimedes*, either encouraged by this, or distracted by his passion, drew in some young men of his acquaintance to assist him in carrying off the lady; this they performed as she came to the shore to offer sacrifice to the sea, and having conveyed her into a bark, made all the sail they could for *Ægina*. *Hippias* being at that time employed in scowring the seas of pyrates, without knowing any thing of what happened, boarded this bark, and recovered his sister. When the delinquents were brought before *Pisistratus* and threatned with death, they could by no means be induced to acknowledge their offence. *Pisistratus*, when he had while a considered them, told *Thrasimedes* that he bestowed on him his daughter in marriage, that no broils might be created among the *Athenians* on account of his family; and by this means bound the relations and friends of that young man for ever to his interest (46). Amongst the worthy acts of this great man, his collecting the works of *Homer* is generally looked upon as one of the chief. We think it therefore necessary to inform our reader how this was performed, the rather because it is contained in an extract from a *Greek* book, the whole of which is hitherto unpublished; and this very extract not easily met with. Our author says, that *Pisistratus*, considering the various ways by which *Homer*'s poems had been corrupted, and fearing lest in the end they should be totally lost, he caused public notice to be given throughout *Greece*, that all who were possessed of any genuine works of *Homer* should bring them to him, promising to give them so much a line, which he punctually performed, even where several persons brought the same verses; because to the first

(40) *Herodot. lib.* v. *c.* 65. *Eustath. ad Iliad.* γ. (41) *Herodot. lib.* i. *Diog. Laertius in vit. Chilonis.* (42) *Plutarch. Apophtheg.* (43) *Dion Chrys. Orat* xxii. *Cicer. de Orat. lib.* iii. *c.* 34. *Isocrat. in Panathen.* (44) *Plutarch. in vita Periclis.* (45) *lib.* vii. *Epist.* 20. (46) *Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* v. *c.* 4.

a THE brothers *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* shared, as most think, the supreme authority between them, some say that the former only had the title, and others, that *Pisistratus* bequeathed his authority, not only to these two, but also to his third son *Thessalus* [g]; clear it is that *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* lived and reigned together; as to the former, he was a person of great sweetness of temper, a mighty favourer of learning, and also himself a very learned man. He directed that the rhapsodists, a sort of bards by profession, should at the great feast stiled *Panathenæa* sing all the poems of *Homer*, that the *Athenians* might be generally instructed both in the sciences, and in the moral conduct of life. He treated *Simonides* the poet with great kindness,
b and kept him always near his person, and sent a galley on purpose to bring the celebrated *Anacreon* to *Athens* [h]. *Onomacritus* was another of his favourites, but he having been catched in the fact of interpolating the oracles of *Musæus*, *Hipparchus* not only dismissed him the court, but banished him *Athens* [i]. So assiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the people, that he caused in city and country, but especially in the latter, statues of *Mercury* to be set up, and certain wise counsels in *Elegaic* verse to be inscribed on both sides of them. Sometimes there was only a short saying such as, *This is the precept of* Hipparchus, *be thou strictly just*, or *deceive not thy friend*. On account therefore of these shining virtues, he was greatly admired by his citizens, and the principality of the *Pisistratidæ* seemed to be thoroughly and quietly established [k]. But when it was least expected, a conspiracy was formed
c for taking off both the brothers, which succeeded in respect to *Hipparchus*, and narrowly missed with regard to *Hippias*. Several authors report this fact with variety of circumstances; as to the most material, however, they are pretty well agreed, and they are these: There were two young men in *Athens*, *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*; the former was exquisitely beautiful in his person, and on that account, according to the infamous custom of the *Greeks* violently beloved of the other; this *Harmodius* was also beloved by *Hipparchus*, who, if we may believe *Thucydides*, forced him; *Aristogiton* grievously resented this, and with the injured youth determined to revenge it. Another accident concurred to heighten their resentment: *Hipparchus* finding that *Harmodius* endeavoured to avoid him, publickly affronted him by
d not permitting his sister to carry the offering of *Minerva*, as if she was a person unworthy of that office. The two young men, not daring to shew any public signs of resentment, consulted privately with their friends, among whom it was resolved at the approaching festival of the *Panathenæa*, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, to attempt, by the death of both the tyrants, to restore *Athens* to liberty; the conspirators believing that the people would be unanimous in support of a design so manifestly calculated for their advantage. When the day came appointed for putting this design in execution, and the conspiracy appeared as it had been agreed on near the person of *Hipparchus*, they perceived at a distance one of their own number talking very familiarly with *Hippias*; this amazed them, they
e were afraid that he had discovered to him the conspirators, taking courage therefore from their supposed desperate state of their affairs, they instantly fell on *Hipparchus*, and with a multitude of wounds dispatched him. The people however did not se-

[g] ATHENÆUS Deipnos. lib. xiii. THUCYD. ubi supra. HERAC. PONT. Fragm. [h] PLATO ubi supra. [i] HERODOT. lib. vii. [k] PLATO, ubi supra.

first the money was due, and the latter he said deserved it for their good will; he caused the whole to be revised by the most experienced critics, amongst whom *Zenodotus* and *Aristarchus* were the chief (47). He is said to have had three wives, two before he arrived at the sovereignty, and the third the daughter of *Megacles*, whom, as we have shewn, he married merely to keep his word. By the first he had *Hipparchus*, whom *Justin* calls *Diocles*, and *Hippias*, but her name is not known; the second was called *Timonassa*, an *Argive* by birth, by whom he had *Jophon* and *Thessalus*; when he was about to marry this woman, his sons came to him and asked him, If any misbehaviour of theirs had induced him to think of another marriage? *No*, answered he, *I approve your conduct so much, that I would have more children like you* (48). Yet he refused to have children by his last wife, because her family, though noble, was stained with an indelible mark of infamy among the *Athenians*. The name of his daughter is not known. Besides these children by his wives, he had a bastard son by an *Argive* woman whose name was *Hegistratus*, to whom he left the principality of *Sigeum*, whither his son *Hippias* retired when expelled by the *Athenians* (49). As to the dates when the several memorable transactions above-recited happened, authors are not thoroughly agreed about them; we shall therefore postpone what we have to say to them, till we come to the death of *Hippias*, and then consider the whole matter together.

(47) *Dionys. in Comment. Dionys. Thrac. de Arte Gram. apud Meurs. in Præfat. Gronov. Thes. Graec. Vol. IV.* (48) *Plutarch de vit. Caton.* (49) *Herodot. Thucyd. &c. ubi supra.*



cond

cond them in this great exploit, but suffered *Harmodius* to be killed upon the spot by a *Hipparchus*'s guard, and having seized *Aristogiton* themselves delivered him up [n]. *Herodotus*, who was very curious in picking up strange stories, relates a very odd one in relation to this transaction; *Hipparchus*, he tells us, in the night preceding the day on which he was killed, beheld in a dream a tall handsome youth standing by him, who repeated distinctly these obscure lines;

Lion unmov'd, sustain the greatest ill;
For punishment attends injustice still.

At break of day he acquainted such as had skill in dreams with what he had seen: what their interpretation was, *Herodotus* does not inform us; he adds that at length *Hipparchus* despising this omen, went to celebrate the feast, and was there b slain in the manner we have related [o]. *Hippias* behaved on this occasion with great prudence; he dissembled his grief for his brother's death, that he might the better preserve himself and family; he approached the great croud of people with his guards, and having picked out such as either their looks or their wearing daggers engaged him to believe conspirators, he dismissed the rest [p]. As for the *Athenians* in general, though they seemed to have a high esteem for the *Pisistratidæ*, and had been governed by them with great gentleness for the space of a long series of years, and had not made any general insurrection in order to favour the attempt of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, yet they carried their respect for them after their deaths to a height scarce to be accounted for; they caused their praises to be sung at the *Panathenæa*, c they forbid any citizen to call his slave by either of their names [q]; they erected brazen statues for them in the forum, which statues, as *Pliny* informs us, were the work of *Praxiteles* [r]; these statues *Xerxes* afterwards carried into *Greece* from whence they were sent back to *Athens*, either by *Alexander* [s], *Antiochus* [u], or *Seleucus* [x]; for authors do not agree which. They likewise granted several immunities and honorary privileges to the descendants of these patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory venerable, as we shall see elsewhere [y] (P).

The supreme power being now in the hands of *Hippias*, he began to alter his conduct towards the people, and to treat them with a severity unknown to his family before, and which was the worse borne, because himself had been so mild a d prince. The first effects of this change in his temper fell upon those concerned in the late conspiracy; he ordered *Aristogiton* to be put to the torture in order to extort from him the names of those who were privy to this transaction. This man, as soon as he began to feel the torments which were prepared for him, named some of *Hippias*'s best friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more, who received the same fate, and when *Hippias* asked him if there were not still some others, he replied smiling, *I know of none now, but your self that deserves to suffer death* [z]. But it was not *Aristogiton* only who triumph'd over the cruelty of *Hippias*; a woman he kept whose name was *Leæna*, behaved with no less intrepidity than he. *Hippias* having directed her to be tortured in order to extort discoveries, she e bore it patiently as long as she was able; but when she found she could endure it no longer, she bit off her tongue, and spit it out, that it might not be in her power to declare any thing to the prejudice of the man she loved. The *Athenians* con-

[n] Thucyd. lib. vi. Plato, ubi supra. Ælian. var Hist. lib. xi. 8. [o] Herodot. lib. v. [p] Thucydid. lib. vi. [q] Dion. Chrys. Orat. xi. Philost. in vit. Apoll. lib vii. c. 2. [r] Liban. Declam. xxix. [s] H. N. lib. xxxiv. c. 8. [t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. iii. [u] Pausan in Atticis. Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 10. [y] Demost. Orat. in Leptin. [z] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. i. c. 22.

(P) The history of *Hipparchus*'s murder is variously reported. *Thucydides* says expressly, that *Harmodius*, who was in the flower of his age, was beloved by *Aristogiton*, a citizen of the middle rank, and ascribes the murder of *Hipparchus* to his rival's hatred (50). *Aristotle* calls *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* lovers (51), and so does *Maximus Tyrius* (52). *Justin* differs from every body, and gives quite another turn to the whole affair. After *Pisistratus*'s death, *Diocles*, one of his sons, says he, having ravished a virgin, was killed by the brother of the maid (53). He had this probably from *Trogus Pompeius*, whose work he abridged; but where he had it, is not known. *Aristogiton* is by some authors said to have been an humble dependant on *Hermodius*, and his mistress *Leæna* no better than a singing woman who used to attend at feasts (54). On the whole therefore, whatever honours the *Athenians* thought fit to decree these men, their conspiracy seems rather the effects of passion, than any desire to do their country good; or at best the latter was pretended to cover the former; but it suited the *Athenians*, who were violent enemies to the government of a single person, to magnify this action as glorious, and to give the actors therein the title of heroes.

(50) *Thucyd. lib.* vi. (51) *Rhetor. lib.* ii. (52) (53) *lib.* ii. c. 9. (54)

ceiving

a ceiving it indecent to set up the statue of a lewd woman in their citadel, contented themselves with erecting that of a honess without a tongue, alluding to her name, on which was engraven these words, *Her tongue herself bit off* [a]. This conspiracy being, as *Hippias* conceived, thoroughly quashed, he took all the measures which human policy could suggest to secure himself in the possession of his dignity; he contracted leagues with foreign princes, he encreased his revenues by various methods, though till then he had been contented with the twentieth part of every man's annual income; he obliged the *Athenians* to bring in their silver coin at a certain price and coined new. These violent methods soon put an end to a government, the lenity of which had alone preserved it so long. *Hippias* held the sovereignty only three years after b the demise of his brother, and in the fourth was expelled [b] (Q).

*The Pisistratidæ expelled Athens, and the democracy restored.*

We have already observed that *Megacles*, who was of the family of *Alcmæon*, left his country, when *Pisistratus* was a second time restored, but he and those who were with him carried away a great sum of money; the *Alcmæonidæ*, for so the family of *Megacles* from their great ancestor *Alcmæon* were stiled, settled at *Lipsydrum* in *Paeonia*, and there gave refuge to all who fled from *Athens*, which were not a few; for *Pisistratus*, as some say, or, as others report, *Hippias*, banished all that depended on that family, and suffered not so much as the dead to rest in their graves on the old superstitious account, it may be, of their being thought *execrable* [c]. This family residing, as we have said, at *Lipsydrum*, busied themselves intirely in contriving means c for expelling the *Pisistratidæ*, and at last devised a method which proved not unsuccessful. They agreed with the *Amphictyons* or states-general of *Greece* to rebuild the temple of *Delphi*; as they were possessed of great riches, they executed what they undertook with much greater magnificence than they were tied to by their contract, and particularly faced the frontispiece with *Parian* marble instead of common stone, to the use of which only they were obliged. While they were thus employed in the public service of *Greece*, they served themselves too a little, for they corrupted the *Pythia*, i. e. she who gave out the oracles, and engaged her to exhort all the *Lacedemonians* who came to consult the oracle, either on behalf of the state, or on their private account, to deliver *Athens*. This had the effect they d expected, for the *Lacedemonians* finding this admonition incessantly inculcated, sent *Anchimolius*, a man of great quality, at the head of an army into *Attica* to perform what the oracle had directed, notwithstanding the *Pisistratidæ* were at that time their good friends and allies [d]. *Hippias* however, receiving advice of these proceedings, sent to the *Thessalians*, who were his confederates, to demand their assistance, who readily sent him a thousand horse under the command of *Cineas* one of their princes. A short time after, *Anchimolius* with his fleet arrived on the *Athenian* coast, and immediately after the army landed and encamped. The *Pisistratidæ* did not however abandon *Athens*, but *Hippias* having cleared the adjacent country in such a manner, that the *Thessalian* horse might act with ease, attacked the *Lacedemonians* suddenly,

[a] Plut. de Garr. [b] Herodot. lib. v. c. 45. [c] Suidas. [d] Herodot. ubi supra.

(Q) It may seem a little strange, that in speaking of the government of the *Pisistratidæ* we have asserted that they did not greatly violate the laws or constitution of their country. In order to explain this, we must descend a little into the particulars of *Pisistratus's* policy. He pretended, as we see in his letter to *Solon*, to act as a lawful monarch, yet he did not degrade any of the magistrates of the commonwealth, but suffered them to continue vested with the same power they had before, taking care however that the archon should be either of his family, or one whom he could depend on, so that he at once preserved that superiority over his countrymen which he affected, and that form of rule which was so pleasing to them. That all the family of *Pisistratus* had in their turns a share in the administration might be made appear from various testimonies; at present we will insist only on one. *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippias* and grandson of the great *Pisistratus*, as we learn from *Thucydides*, placed, during the time that he was archon, an altar in the forum of the twelve gods, and another in the temple of the *Pythian Apollo*; the inscription on the former the *Athenians* demolished, but that on the latter they suffered to remain, which run thus: *This monument, during the time of his magistracy,* Pisistratus *the son of* Hippias *placed in the temple of the* Pythian Apollo. It is true his name is not found in the table of archons, because the year in which he was archon could not be settled, however the authority before produced may be assuredly relied on. The excesses committed by *Hippias* after the death of his brother are evident proofs of the mildness of the administration preceding it; for few things that he did, would have been thought extraordinary in another king. We will conclude this note with observing, that *Augustus Cæsar* affected, like *Pisistratus*, to leave the popular magistrates and the senate in the nominal possession of their authority, tho' at the same time he held the supreme power himself.

(55) *Thucyd. lib.*

routed

routed them with a great slaughter, slew their general *Anchimolius*, and obliged the a
shattered remains of his army to betake themselves to their ships. The body of the *Spartan* general was honourably interred near the temple of *Hercules* in the *Cynosarges*. The *Lacedemonians*, incensed at this unfortunate expedition, determined to send another army into *Attica*, which accordingly they did under their king *Cleomenes*, who marched by land, and having at his entrance into the *Athenian* territories defeated the *Thessalian* horse, who thereupon retired precipitately into their own country, he made use of this opportunity to besiege *Hippias* who had retired within the *Pelasgic* wall; this siege however could not have produced any great matter, *Hippias* and his forces being well provided with all things within, *Cleomenes* and his b
army destitute of all things without; but an accident changed the scene, and constrained *Hippias* to abandon *Athens*. The *Pisistratidæ* were so careful of their children that, to prevent any unlucky accident from befalling them, they attempted to send them out of *Attica*; which measure of theirs, though intended for the preservation of their offspring, proved the ruin of themselves, their children falling into the hands of the *Lacedemonians*. The *Pisistratidæ* retaining still the same affection for their children, agreed by treaty to retire in five days out of *Attica* in order to redeem them[e]. This accordingly they did, nor were they in any danger of wanting a place of refuge, the princes of *Thessaly* invited them into their country, the king of *Macedon* offered them a city and a territory if they would retire into his dominions[f]. But *Hippias* and his family chose rather to go to the city of *Sigeum*, c
which *Pisistratus* had conquered and left behind him to his posterity, *Herodotus* says to *Hegistratus* his natural son. From this time forwards the *Athenians* pursued this family with implacable hatred, retaining such a sense of their usurpation, that lest other eminent persons should imitate them, and through their interest in the people assume the sovereignty; they were most ready to banish even the most worthy of their citizens, that at all events they might be safe, as we shall have frequent occasion to shew in the succeeding pages of this history.

THE *Athenians* did not enjoy an uninterrupted quiet as they expected, after the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ*. The people were quickly divided into two factions, at the head of the one was *Clysthenes* the most eminent of the *Alcmæonidæ*, and at d
the head of the other *Isagoras* the son of *Tirsander*, a man of great quality, and in high esteem with the nobility of *Athens*. *Clysthenes*, who was a person of great parts, as we may guess from his having a principal hand in corrupting the *Pithia*, which was the prime cause of *Hippias*'s expulsion, applied himself chiefly to the people, and in order thoroughly to engage them in his interest, sought by all methods possible to encrease their power. With this view he altered many things in *Solon*'s scheme of government; for whereas till this time the *Athenian* tribes had been but four in number, he augmented them to ten, and encreased the senate from four hundred to five. *Isagoras* penetrating his design, and readily conceiving that by this course he would get the better of him and his faction, immediately resolved to seek aid from the *Lacedemonians*. This seemed to him the more easy, because in their last expedition he had contracted a strict friendship with *Cleomenes* their king; he like- e
wise devised a very proper expedient for the expulsion of his rival, *viz.* the so often mentioned story of the putting to death *Cylon*'s associates after their taking sanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*; but as we have heretofore observed, the *Alcmæonidæ* were of the same family with *Megacles*, who was principally concerned in that transaction: the *Lacedemonians* readily came into *Isagoras*'s proposition, and *Cleomenes* suddenly dispatched a herald to *Athens* with a declaration of war in case the *Alcmæonidæ* were not immediately banished. The *Athenians* either dreading the *Lacedemonian* power, or being tired already of *Clysthenes*, made no great difficulty of the thing; but to avoid a war, banished their benefactors. The worst of it was, that this did not answer their end, for *Cleomenes*, at the head of a *Spartan* army soon after entered *Attica*. On his arrival at *Athens* he drove seven hundred families into banish- f
ment, exclusive of those whom the *Athenians* had before banished with *Clysthenes*; after this he would have dissolved the senate, and have vested the government in three hundred of the principal persons of *Isagoras*'s faction; this was pushing the matter too far; the *Athenians* perceiving that either they must submit to slavery, or resist the *Lacedemonians*, they therefore immediately took up arms, and constrained

[e] ARISTOPH. Lysistr. PAUSAN. in Lacon. HERODOT. ubi supra.

*Cleomenes*

a *Cleomenes* and his troops to retire together with *Isagoras* and his friends into the citadel, where they besieged them for two days. On the third the king of *Lacedemon* being now convinced that force would do nothing with the *Athenians*, surrendered upon these terms, that all who were in the citadel should have leave to retire out of *Attica* unmolested. The *Athenians* however fell upon such as were separated from the army, and put them to death without mercy; amongst these was *Timesitheus* the brother of *Cleomenes*, so that the *Athenians* no longer kept any measures with the *Lacedemonians*, looking upon them as avowed enemies, who above all things sought to subvert that democracy of which they were so fond, and to constitute an aristocracy which in truth was ever the aim of the *Spartans*, b who, where-ever they had authority, set up that form of rule. One reason of which among others was this, that they could better depend on the friendships of such states than such as were governed by the people, who very seldom know their true interest; and are frequently prevailed on to change their counsels. But to return to the current of our history.

*Cleomenes* and his *Spartans* had no sooner quitted the *Athenian* territories, than the people of that country recalled *Clysthenes* and all the families they had sent into exile, that they might be the better able to support a war which they foresaw they should be engaged in. Their conjectures were perfectly well founded, *Cleomenes* raised forces throughout all *Peloponnesus*, though without declaring positively c his intention, which was to make *Isagoras*, who was still with him, tyrant of *Athens*; when all things were ready, the *Lacedemonian* king engaged the *Bœotians* on one side, and the *Chalcidians* on the other to attack the *Athenians*, while he at the head of the grand army entered the country of *Eleusis*. The *Athenians*, knowing that it was impossible for them to set on foot armies sufficient to look all their enemies in the face, resolved to leave their territories to the mercy of the *Bœotians* and *Chalcidians*, and with all the forces they could draw together to march against *Cleomenes*. This resolution of theirs they carried accordingly into execution, but before the armies were ready to engage, the *Corinthians*, who were among the forces of *Cleomenes*, began to doubt the justice of their cause; and thinking it safest not to act where they d were doubtful, marched back to their own country. *Damaratus* the son of *Ariston*, the other king of *Sparta*, and collegue of *Cleomenes*, was also against this expedition; and his opposition was the more remarkable, because till then he had never differed with his collegue. The confederates observing that neither the *Lacedemonian* princes could agree amongst themselves, or prevail upon the *Corinthians* to remain with the army, began to distaste this business, and dropping off by degrees, put the *Athenians* out of fear.

When the *Spartans* and their allies were withdrawn, the people of *Athens* determined to revenge themselves upon the *Chalcidians*, against whom the army marched immediately; but finding the *Bœotians* had assembled a considerable body of forces e between them and the *Euripus*, they determined to attack them, which they did accordingly with such success, that the *Bœotians* were intirely routed, a great number of them slain, and seven hundred taken prisoners. This victory having opened a free passage into *Eubœa*, whither the *Athenians* passed over the same day, and falling upon the *Chalcidians*, obtained a glorious victory over them, taking a vast number of prisoners, who with the *Bœotians* they carried back with them to *Athens*, leaving in *Eubœa* four thousand men. All the prisoners taken in this battle the *Athenians* put in irons, though they afterwards set them at liberty on receiving two *Minæ* for each man by way of ransom. The fetters however they hung up in the f citadel, and having consecrated the tenth part of what they received for their ransom, they purchased therewith a chariot with four horses a-breast, which they set up in the portico of the citadel with this inscription:

Warm with just rage, when the *Athenian* youth
O'ercame *Bœotian*, and *Chalcidian* bands;
Their foes, in fetters bound, to *Pallas* then,
These, as the tenth of all their spoils, they plac'd.

This happy success of the *Athenian* arms falling out in a short time of the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ*, *Herodotus*, makes the following observation thereupon; " thus the affairs of the *Athenians* flourished, yet they are not the only example " of this kind. For all places abound in instances of the prosperity that attends " an equal distribution of power. Under their tyrants indeed they were not

" inferior in war to any of their neighbours: But they had no sooner freed them- a
" selves from that servitude, than they far surpassed all the rest, and became the
" principal nation of *Greece*; which manifestly shews, that as long as they were
" oppressed they acted remissly, and would not exert their courage to the utmost,
" because they knew their victories could only redound to the advantage of their
" masters; whereas, after they had recovered their liberty, every man contended
" who should do best, because they fought for themselves. And such was the
" state of the *Athenian* affairs"[g]. That *Herodotus* had reason to introduce this reflection here, appears from the subsequent conduct of the people of *Athens*, who, no longer passive under any affronts, took up arms frequently against her insulting neighbours, and forced them to be both quiet and submissive. b

*The war with Æginatians.*

The *Bœotians*, stung with the indignities offered to their countrymen, when made prisoners by the *Athenians*, resolved to revenge themselves; and, as the custom of those times was, before they began the war, sent to consult the oracle at *Delphos*. Having received its answer, and having spent a considerable time in consulting on its meaning, they at last resolved to engage the inhabitants of *Ægina* to invade *Attica* at the same time, which it was easy for them to do, lying but a few miles from that coast. This nation having an hereditary hatred to the *Athenians*, and being elate on account of their great wealth, readily embraced the proposal; and while the people of *Athens* bent all their attention towards the *Bœotian* war, landed a considerable army on the opposite side, and wasted all the sea-coasts. The *Athenians* immediately took fire at this, but sending to and fro to *Delphi* before they equipped a fleet against *Ægina*, they had suddenly a new affair upon their hands. c

*Cleomenes* when he returned to *Sparta*, after his unsuccessful expedition, produced certain oracles, which he said he had found in the citadel of *Athens*, while he was besieged therein; the purport of these oracles was, that *Athens* would in time rival *Sparta*. On the back of this came out the discovery of *Clysthenes*'s confederacy with the priestess of *Apollo*, whereby the *Lacedemonians* had been engaged to drive the *Pisistratidæ* out of *Athens*, or, in other words, to sacrifice their fast friends to such as by their interests were bound to be their enemies. The *Spartans* repenting d sorely of the folly they had committed, sent for *Hippias* from *Sigeum*, in order to restore him to his principality. He readily obeyed their summons, and though it cost him a long voyage by sea, came in person to *Lacedemon*, where the kings of *Sparta*, and the deputies of the states in alliance with them, were in deep consultation. *Soficles* the *Corinthian* made a long harangue against the proposition for restoring *Hippias*, which had such an influence on the deputies from the rest of the confederates, that the *Lacedemonians* found it impossible to engage them in this design, and were therefore constrained to abandon it themselves, so that *Hippias* was obliged to return to *Sigeum*, without relinquishing however his hopes of one day reducing *Athens*.

*The* Ionian *war.*

*Aristagoras* the *Milesian* having set on foot a revolt in *Ionia*, and having failed in e his attempt to engage the *Lacedemonians* to abet it, came to *Athens*, and, as *Herodotus* observes, found it easier to manage all the citizens thereof by his eloquence, than to persuade the *Lacedemonian* king. In consequence of his fine speeches, they decreed that twenty ships should be sent to the assistance of the *Ionians* under the command of *Melanthius*, an *Athenian* nobleman universally esteemed; by the assistance of which fleet the *Ionians* did many great exploits, and amongst the rest sacked *Sardis*, of which when the *Persian* king had advice, he declared himself the sworn enemy of *Athens*, and solemnly besought God that he might one day have it in his power to be revenged of them. This was the source of those wars which followed afterwards between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, and which were so fatal f to both nations. In the end however, the *Ionians* were unsuccessful, and the *Persians* reduced them again under their yoke.

When the *Ionian* war was ended, the *Persian* king sent to demand *Earth* and *Water*, as tokens of submission from the *Greeks*, to which, out of fear of his mighty power at sea, most of the islanders yielded, and amongst the rest the inhabitants of *Ægina*. The *Athenians*, as soon as they received notice of this, took it into their heads that this nation had submitted themselves to the great king, that they might

[g] Herodot. lib. v.

be

a be at liberty to act against the *Athenians* under colour of their being subject to the *Persian* crown. On this account *they*, that is, the *Athenians*, sent embassadors to *Sparta* to accuse the inhabitants of *Ægina* of treachery towards the *Greeks*. The *Spartans* upon this complaint sent their king *Cleomenes* to *Ægina*, who on his arrival attempted to seize the persons principally concerned in making their submission to the *Persians*. But when he attempted this, *Crius* the son of *Polycritus* interposed, and told him he should not carry away any of his countrymen, because he apprehended what he did was of his own head, and not by any commission from the *Lacedemonians*. This exceedingly irritated *Cleomenes*, who notwithstanding was constrained to return without effecting what he designed; his collegue *Demaratus* b having accused him at home. But having after he came back procured his collegue to be deposed, and his own kinsman *Leutychides* to be crowned in his stead, he brought the last mentioned prince with him into the island of *Ægina*, and having seized ten of the principal persons of that island, and amongst them *Crius* before mentioned, he brought them away prisoners, and delivered them up to the *Athenians*. Not long after having in his phrenzy kill'd himself, all his tyrannical acts were disapproved by the *Spartans*, who, on the inhabitants of *Ægina*'s accusing *Leutychides* for the injury he had done them, delivered up that prince to them, who however desired nothing more of him, that that he would go with them to *Athens* in order to solicit the release of *Crius* and his associates. When they arrived there the *Spartan* king made a long oration, in which he endeavoured to shew that the c hostages were only deposited by him and his collegue in *Athens* that they might be safe, and that now when he came again to demand them, it was their duty to deliver them up. But this either the *Athenians* did not or would not understand, so that the war between them and the people of *Ægina*, was still carried on with various success. The latter being informed, that the *Athenian* galley which went annually to *Delphi*, lay at anchor at *Sunium*, they resolved to intercept it, which they did, and took many persons of distinction aboard it. The *Athenians*, to revenge this indignity, entred into a treaty with one *Nicodromus*, a person of great interest in *Ægina*; he had been formerly banished his country by those who then governed it, and in order to be revenged on them, resolved to betray it to the *Athenians*. The *Athenians* for this purpose fitted out a considerable fleet, but not thinking it suf- d ficient for their purpose, *Ægina* being then mistress of those seas, they had recourse to the *Corinthians* for their assistance; this state being the fast friend and ally of *Athens*, did not give her a denial, but alledged a law of theirs, whereby they were forbidden to lend their ships; but with much ado an expedient was found, whereby the *Athenians* obtained what they wanted; and yet the *Corinthians* did not break their law, the latter yielding to the former five of their ships in consideration of their paying them five drachmæ for each. The length of this treaty frustrated the *Athenian* hopes, for *Nicodromus* depending on their arrival, on the day prefixed, seized on the old town, and declared for the *Athenians*; but he and his party not being able e alone to resist the whole force of the island, they were obliged to secure themselves by flight, which they did the very day before the *Athenian* and *Corinthian* fleet appeared before *Ægina*. This defection of *Nicodromus* however proved very beneficial to the *Athenians*, for they having assigned to him and his associates land on the shore opposite to *Ægina*, they from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. What the issue was of this war, *Herodotus* does not inform us: It is generally conceived that its continuance was a thing fortunate for the *Athenians* and for *Greece* in general, for it exercised that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the use and consequence of a naval force, which hitherto they had little understood. When the first news came that the *Persian* had in view the conquest f of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Ægina*, as well as the rest of the *Grecian* states, compromised their differences, that they might be the better able to resist the power of the great king, who threatened at least the liberties of the *Greeks* in general in revenge for the *Athenians* assisting the *Ionians*, when they sought to recover their freedom [s].

Hippias *endeavours to be restored to the principality of* Athens.

We have already taken notice of the displeasure which *Darius* had taken against the *Athenians* on account of the sacking of *Sardis*; but we hitherto forbore to mention the intrigues of *Hippias* in order to obtain by force the principality of *Athens*,

[s] Herodot. ubi supra.

from

from whence, as we have before related, through the assistance of the *Lacedemonians*, a he had been expelled. This old man, after his returning from *Lacedemon* to *Asia*, went to *Artaphernes*, governor of the adjacent provinces for the *Persian* king, and excited him to make war upon his country, promising that himself would be obedient to *Darius*, and greatly further all his designs in case he could be restored to that authority which formerly he had enjoyed at *Athens*. The *Athenians* were not ignorant, either of his journey, or of the propositions he had made to *Artaphernes*; they therefore sent ambassadors to this nobleman, to entreat him not to give any heed to *Hippias*'s proposals, but to suffer the people of *Athens* to remain free and quiet as they were. But *Artaphernes* conceiving that it would be more for his master's interest to have a prince governing *Athens*, than to leave it under a democratic form b of rule, answered the *Athenians* haughtily, that if they would have peace with the great king, they must receive *Hippias*, and obey him; but this was so distasteful to that generous people, that they immediately resolved to give the enemies of *Darius* all the assistance they could, and to endeavour, if it were possible, to cut him out so much work near home, that he might have no opportunity to attempt any thing either against them or *Greece*. At last however, *Darius* commissioned *Mardonius* to revenge him of the insults which he conceived had been put upon him by the *Greeks*, but *Mardonius* and his troops, through a storm at sea, and other accidents, having been able to do nothing, *Datis* and *Artaphernes* the son of *Artaphernes* were commissioned to do what he was to have done [h].

*The Persian war.*

c The misfortune which the *Persians* had had in suffering shipwreck, when their fleet doubled the promontory of *Athos*, made such an impression on the commanders last mentioned, that they resolved to avoid that dangerous navigation, by drawing their forces into the plains of *Cilicia*, and passing over from thence through the *Cyclades* to *Eubœa* in order to destroy *Eretria*; and from thence to proceed to *Athens*, they having it in charge from *Darius* to ruin both places, and to bring away the inhabitants, that they might be at his disposal. The *Eretrians*, as soon as they had advice of the arrival of the *Persian* fleet among the *Cyclades*, sent to demand assistance from the *Athenians*. That state, with a magnanimity scarce to be paralleled, ordered the four thousand men whom they had left in the *Chalcidian* territory to ad- d vance to the aid of the *Eretrians*, which they did. But the inhabitants of that city were neither steady nor honest; one party was for receiving the *Athenian* succours into the city, and holding out to the last extremity; a second was for abandoning the city, and retiring to the mountains of *Eubœa*: A third party sought to betray their country to the *Persians* for the sake of private advantage. *Æschines* the son of *Nothon*, a man of principal authority among his countrymen, perceiving the situation things were in, generously informed the commanders of the *Athenian* troops, and advised them to return home: in consequence of which advice they immediately retired to *Oropus*, and thereby escaped that total destruction which would have befallen them, if they had remained in the neighbourhood of *Eretria*. For e that city being betrayed to the *Persians* by some of its inhabitants, was pillaged, burnt, and its inhabitants sold for slaves, according to the command of *Darius*.

The *Athenians*, who as we have often remarked before, were generally divided among themselves, and persecuting one another when they wanted foreign wars to employ them, united now with with great zeal and earnestness, when they heard that the *Persians* were so near them. They raised with the utmost expedition all the forces they were able, and yet could not draw together above nine thousand men. These with a thousand *Plataeans* who afterwards joined them, were commanded by ten general officers, who had equal power. Among these were *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, f and *Themistocles*, all men of distinguished valour, and great abilities. But it being generally conceived that it would be impossible for them, with their small forces, to give any interruption to the *Persians*, they sent *Phidippides* to *Sparta* to intreat the immediate assistance of that state. This man, as *Herodotus* informs us, affirmed afterwards to the *Athenians*, that passing by mount *Parthenius*, he heard himself loudly called by his name, upon which, turning about, he beheld the god *Pan*, who, after asking him why the *Athenians* held him in no greater esteem, assured him that he had deserved very well of their state and would continue to do so; of which when the People of *Athens* had information, they caused a temple to be erected to his honour near the citadel and honoured him thenceforward with annual sacri-

[h] Id. Ibid.

fices,

a fices, and a lamp continually burning. *Phidippides*, after this strange adventure, arrived on the second day at *Sparta*, where he communicated his business to the senate in the following terms: *Men of* Lacedemon, *the* Athenians *desire you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient of all the* Grecian *cities to be enslaved by the* Barbarians. Eretria *is already destroyed, and* Greece *consequently weakened by the loss of so considerable a place.* The *Lacedemonians* readily agreed to what he proposed, and ordered their troops to be ready to march, but at the same time declared that they would not depart in less than five days, one of their laws forbidding them to begin an expedition, but at the full of the moon, of which it was then but the ninth day. The *Persians* in the mean time being informed by *Hippias* that the plains of *Ma-*
b *rathon* would be the most advantagious place for them to engage in, because it would afford them room to act with their horse; they following his advice, after the destruction of *Eretria*, made all the haste they possibly could thither, of which when the *Athenians* had advice, they immediately ordered their forces to march to *Marathon* also. An act of amazing confidence, considering the mighty disproportion between the *Persian* and *Athenian* army.

*The battle of Marathon. Year after the flood 2509. Before Christ 490.*

THE *Athenians* being encamped at the temple of *Hercules*, were there joined by a thousand men, the whole strength of the little city of *Platæa*, which she now hazarded in the cause of *Athens* out of gratitude for former favours (R). A council of war being held there, the generals were very much divided in their
c opinions; some were for fighting, others not; *Miltiades* observing this, and considering the great importance of the matter in debate, addressed himself to *Callimachus* of *Aphidna*, who was *Polemarch*, and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals, in these words; "You alone, O *Callimachus*, must now determine, either to see the *Athenians* reduced to the condition of slaves, or by preserving the liberty of your country, have an eternal monument of your fame, surpassing the glory of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. For the *Athenians* were never in so great danger from the time they were first a people. If they fall under the power of the *Medes*, one may easily imagine what usage they must expect from *Hippias*: But if they conquer, *Athens* will be the principal city of *Greece*.
d "To let you know then by what means these things may be effected, and from what cause the fate of *Athens* is now in your hands, I shall acquaint you, that we are at this instant divided in opinion touching a battle; some of us proposing to fight, and others advising the contrary. If we decline a battle, I foresee some great dissension will shake the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance with the *Medes*. But if we fight before the corruption slides into the hearts of the *Athenians*, we may hope from the equity of the gods to obtain the victory. All these things are in your power, and entirely depend upon the resolution you shall take. For if you would support my opinion with the ac-

(R) The city of *Platæa* was in old times free. *Herodotus* has given us a very full account of the reasons which reduced its inhabitants to raise their utmost force in the cause of *Athens*. We cannot therefore deliver it better to our reader than in his words; "The *Plataeans* were already under the protection of *Athens*, and the *Athenians* had gone through many dangers in their defence. For when the *Plataeans* saw themselves oppressed by the *Thebans*, they first offered their submission to *Cleomenes* the son of *Anaxandrides*, and to the *Lacedemonians*. But they rejected the offer in these terms: *We are placed*, said they, *at such a distance from you, that in time of necessity our succours will prove ineffectual. For your country may be frequently ravaged before we can be informed of your danger. We advise you therefore to put yourselves under the protection of the* Athenians, *who are your neighbours, and sufficiently able to defend you.* This counsel the *Lacedemonians* gave, not out of any good will to the *Plataeans*, but because they were desirous to see the *Athenians* weakened by a war against the *Bœotians*. However, the *Plataeans* approving their advice, went to *Athens*, and arriving there, when the *Athenians* were met to sacrifice to the twelve gods, they sat down by the altar in the posture of suppliants, and made their submission to that place. Which when the *Thebans* heard, they sent an army against *Platæa*, and at the same time the *Athenians* marched to assist the *Plataeans*. But as they were ready to engage in battle, the *Corinthians* apprehending the consequences, interposed their good offices to reconcile the contending parties, and with the consent of both sides, determined the dispute on this agreement; *That the* Thebans *should permit all those* Bœotians *who would no longer be accounted members of* Bœotia, *to do as they thought most convenient for themselves.* After this reconciliation the *Corinthians* returned home, and as the *Athenians* were retiring likewise, the *Bœotians* fell upon them in their march, but were repulsed with loss. Upon which success the *Athenians* enlarged the frontiers of the *Plataeans*, and instead of that appointed by the *Corinthians*, fixed the limits of the *Thebans* at *Asopus* and *Hysia*. In this manner the *Plataeans* came under the protection of the *Athenians*, and joined their forces at *Marathon* (55)."

(55) *Herodot. lib.* vi.

"cession of your vote, you will see your country free, and *Athens* the most illu- a
"strious city of *Greece*: But if you join with those who would dissuade us from
"a battle, you can expect no other consequences, than such as are most contrary
"to these hopes." *Callimachus*, whose voice was decisive according to the *Athenian* laws, joined directly with *Miltiades*, and declared for giving battle immediately. Each of the captains commanded in chief by turns, but *Aristides* giving up his day to *Miltiades*, the rest did so too. That excellent person accepted this compliment for the good of his country, but he would not fight till his own proper day of command came about, for fear that through any latent sparks of jealousy and envy, any of the generals should be led not to do their duty. But when the day beforementioned came, he, without waiting for any farther succours, disposed b
the troops in order of battle, placing the chief of his strength in the wings. *Callimachus*, as *Polemarch*, commanded on the right, the *Plataeans* were posted on the left, and the sacrifices being offered, they began instantly to advance with inexpressible order towards their enemies. The *Persian* army was ranged in battalia near a mile off, and when they beheld the *Athenians* running towards them, they imputed it to folly and ignorance of military discipline, and were convinced of this, when they observed that they had neither horse nor pikemen. However they soon found their error when the charge began: For the *Athenians* and *Plataeans* fought with such obstinate valour on the right and left, that the *Barbarians* were forced to fly on both sides. The *Persians* and *Sacae* however perceiving that the *Athenian* center was weak, charged with such force that they broke through it: This those on the c
right and left perceived, but did not attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the *Persian* army; then bending the points of their wings towards their own centre, they enclosed the hitherto victorious *Persians*, and cut them to pieces. This put an end to the engagement, for the remains of the army fled, as fast as they could, to their fleet, whither the *Athenians* pursued them. When therefore the *Persians* in haste hurried on board the booty they had acquired in *Eretria*, and sought to escape by sea that ill fate which attended them on shore; the *Athenians*, in order to hinder this, began to set the ships on fire, and to board such as lay nearest the shore; in which bold attempt, though they had some success, yet the d
*Persians* at last got under sail, and bore away for *Athens*[i]. It was reported in those times, that the *Alcmeonidae* encouraged the *Persians* to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal; however it was, the *Persian* fleet endeavoured to double the cape of *Sunium* with a view to surprize the city of *Athens* before the army could return. But *Miltiades* seeing the danger his countrymen were in, leaving *Aristides* with a thousand men to guard the prisoners and the spoil, marched at the head of the other nine thousand with such diligence, that they arrived at the temple of *Hercules* in *Cynosarges*, which was but at a small distance from the city, before the *Barbarians* were in a condition to attack it. Which when the *Persian* admiral had notice of, he sailed from the port of *Phalerum* e
for *Asia*, and so put an end to a very unfortunate expedition[k].

The battle of *Marathon* makes deservedly a great figure in history; *Cornelius Nepos* assigns a just reason, because never before had so small a body of forces overcome so vast a host[l]. *Herodotus* tells us, that six thousand three hundred of the *Persians* were slain there, and of the *Athenians* one hundred ninety two[m], which is infinitely more probable than what *Justin* relates of the *Persians* losing two thousand thousand men in the battle and by shipwreck[n]. The same author says that the *Athenians* took many of the ships, and destroyed many more; *Herodotus* says there were only seven ships taken. Certain it is that the *Athenians* behaved with amazing intrepidity, and that several amongst them distinguished themselves in a most f
extraordinary manner. *Callimachus* the *Polemarch*, after having done all that a brave and wise officer could do, lost his life in the field; *Stasileus* the son of *Thrasylus*, one of the ten commanders, was also killed; *Cynegyrus* the son of *Euphorion* laid hold on the prow of one of the *Persian* ships with both his hands, and having them struck off by an ax, died of his wounds; this is *Herodotus*'s account. *Justin* carries matters much farther; he says that *Cynegyrus* having done wonders in the fight, pursued the *Persians* to the shore, and laid hold of a ship ready to

[i] Herodot. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Arist. Corn. Nepos in vit. Miltiad. Valer. Max. &c.
[k] Plutarch. in vit. Arist. [l] ubi supra. [m] ubi supra. [n] lib. ii. c. 9.

sail

a fail with his right hand, when that was cut off he seized it with his left, of which being likewise deprived, he caught hold of it with his mouth, his spirit being such, that, untamed by long fatigue, and the loss of both his hands, he with the rage of a wild beast, fought at last with his teeth. *Herodotus*, who speaks so modestly of *Cynegyrus*'s bravery, tells us a very extraordinary tale of one *Epizelus* the son of *Cephagoras*; he says, that fighting in his rank with a becoming valour, he of a sudden lost his sight without receiving any blow, and continued blind all the rest of his life. This would not have been worth repeating, if *Herodotus* had not affirmed that he heard this man declare that he thought he saw a man of uncommon height standing by him in complete armour, holding a shield, which was covered by his b beard; and that this phantom afterwards passing by him, killed the person who was posted next to him. Whatever we may think of the *Athenian* story, this must be admitted an indubitable proof, that *Herodotus*'s account of this battle deserves credit to all probable circumstances, since what he relates he had from the mouths of those who were eye-witnesses. The numbers of the *Persians* is very differently reported; *Justin* says that they were six hundred thousand, *Cornelius Nepos* makes them ten times the number of the *Athenians*, that is one hundred thousand, which is probably not far from the truth [o].

Amongst the many eminent persons who were present in this famous engagement, was *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who hoped through the power of the *Per-* c *sians* to be restored to the principality of *Athens*. He it was, who, as we have said before, conducted the *Barbarians* into the plains of *Marathon*, when, as *Herodotus* tells us, he dreamt one night that he lay with his mother, and from thence concluded that he should be restored, and die peaceably at home in his old age; but a day or two after, when he was busy giving direction as to the disposal of the booty taken at *Eretria*, and putting the *Persian* troops in order on the shore, he was seized with such a fit of coughing and sneezing, that most of his teeth grew loose, and one of them fell out of his head upon the strand, for which, when those about him had long sought in vain, *Hippias* fetching a deep sigh, said, *This country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be subdued by us, and I shall have no other part here than that where my tooth lies.* This was his second, and, as it happened, the more just con- d struction of his dream [p]. As to what became of him in the battle, both *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are silent thereupon, *Justin* [q] and some other later authors say that he was killed there; if he was, the *Athenians* lost in him an implacable enemy, very capable of contriving mischiefs against them, and one who was alike indefatigable in thinking and in acting (S).

[o] In vit. Miltiad. [p] ubi supra. [q] ubi supra.

(S) We have more than once in the text promised to speak of the family of *Hippias*; he married *Myrrhine* the daughter of *Callias*, by whom he had five children (56); he had also another wife of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of one *Charinus* (57). Amongst these children was *Pisistratus* junior, whom we have before mentioned; he had also a daughter whose name was *Archidice*, who married the son of the tyrant or prince of *Lampsacus*. This lady was honoured with a fine tomb, whereon was an inscription to the following effect; *This earth covers* Archidice *the daughter of* Hippias, *a man in his time famous throughout* Greece, *who, tho' her father, husband, and brothers were princes, suffered not her mind to be elated therewith* (58). *Hippias* visited her before he went to the *Persian* court, in order perhaps to take his leave of her, from an apprehension that the expedition in which he was about to embark, might some way or other prove fatal to him. The dream above recorded was, certainly, according to the usual rules of interpretation fortunate, and so it was accounted to *Julius Cæsar* (59); but it may be that this interpretation was with a restriction, that the person dreaming was to have been on good terms with his country, whereas *Hippias* at the time of this dream was in the *Persian* host warring against his country. There is yet another account of this matter, if a dream deserves any farther account, *viz.* that among the *Persians* it was held ominous, and a sign that a man would repent what he was about (60). As to his death, *Cicero* speaks of it in these terms, *Nefarius Hippias Pisistrati filius, qui in Marathonia pugna cecidit arma contra Patriam ferens* (61). *Tertullian* speaks of it likewise (62); yet *Suidas* tells us quite another story; he says that the *Barbarians* being routed, *Hippias* retired to *Lemnos*, and there laboured under a very grievous malady, which at length made him blind, and the blood flowing through his eyes, brought on a miserable and painful death, which he reckons a punishment for his having conducted the *Persian* forces into the plains of *Marathon*. The reader will pardon the length of our history of the *Pisistratidæ* when he considers that from the time of *Pisistratus*, his assuming the sovereignty, to the death of *Hippias*, at the battle of *Marathon*, there intervened upwards of fourscore years.

(56) *Thucyd. lib.* vii. (57) *Clidem ap. Athen. lib.* xiii. (58) *Thucyd. ubi supra.* (59) *Suetonius in vit. J. Cæsaris. cap.* vii. (60) *Achem. Oenocrit.* cxxviii. (61) *Ad Attic. lib.* ix. *c.* 10. (62) *Adv. Gentes.*

*Aristides*

*Aristides*, who remained on the field of battle while *Miltiades* marched back to a *Athens*, discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest integrity; for though there was much gold and silver in the *Persian* camp, and though the tents and ships they had taken were full of riches of all sorts, yet he neither took any thing himself, nor omitted to the utmost of his power the necessary precautions to prevent other people's meddling therewith. Yet some there were who in spight of his orders and his care, found means to enrich themselves by private plunder, particularly *Callias* the torch-bearer, *Aristides*'s cousin german (T). For this man having long hair, and a fillet about his head, one of the *Persians* took him for a king, and falling down at his feet, discovered to him a vast quantity of gold hid in a well; *Callias* not only seized it, and applied it to his private use, but most inhumanly put to death the poor b man who shewed it him, to prevent his discovering what he had done. By this action he not only blemished his own reputation, but transmitted infamy to his posterity, who notwithstanding their eminency in the state, were stiled by the comic poets *Laccopluti*, i. e. *enriched by the well* [r], an example which merits consideration perhaps as much as any other recorded in history. The *Athenians* in token of their respect towards those brave men who fell in this engagement, erected for them public monuments in the field of battle, with inscriptions containing their names, and the names of their tribes and families. At some distance they erected other monuments for the *Plataeans*, *Bœotians*, and slaves, who were slain here. They likewise caused this battle to be painted in the *Pœcilian* portico, where the *Plataean* c auxiliaries were represented, as well as the *Athenian* soldiers, and at the head of these their ten captains, *Miltiades* holding the first place [s], which was all the reward they bestowed upon them.

It cannot seem strange that the *Athenians* were highly elate on this victory. In the first transports of their joy, they granted all the *Plataeans* the freedom of their city; as for *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, and *Themistocles*, who had exceedingly distinguished themselves in the service of their country, they were for the present treated with all the marks of gratitude and respect they could have wished, though in their turns we shall see them all slighted, prosecuted, and condemned. While *Miltiades* was thus high in the people's favour, he proposed in a general assembly of the d people, that he should be intrusted with a fleet of seventy ships well manned and provided, promising them that he would put them in possession of great riches, and make the expedition in other respects turn to vast account. The *Athenians* readily embraced this project, and fitted out such a fleet as he desired, of which *Miltiades* taking the command, sailed to *Paros*. The reason he pretended for invading this island was, that the inhabitants thereof had assisted the *Persians* with ships in the expedition of *Marathon*, but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one *Lysagoras* a *Parian* had done him ill offices with *Hydarnes* the *Persian*. As soon as he arrived on the island, he sent heralds to the capital thereof, requiring a hundred talents to be paid him, threatening in case of refusal to besiege e the city, and in case he took it, to give it up to the plunder of his soldiers. The *Parians* however were not to be terrified, they refused so much as to deliberate on his proposition, but on the contrary, provided themselves the best they could for an obstinate defence. *Miltiades* caused the place to be invested, and carried on the siege with great vigour, till one *Timo* a *Parian* woman, who was a

[r] Plutarch. ubi supra. [s] Corn. Nepos in vit. Miltiad.

(T) Torch-bearers, stiled in *Greek Daduchi*, were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and admitted even into the most sacred mysteries. On this account, *Pausanias* speaks of it as a great happiness to a woman, that she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son, successively enjoy this office (63). We have observed in the text from *Plutarch* that *Callias* was mistaken for a king, because of his flowing hair bound with a fillet, which was not unlike the royal ornaments in use among the eastern nations; the reason of this was, that amongst the ancients it was an opinion almost universally received, that there was a very near affinity between the offices of king and priest; on this account the *Romans* preserved the title of *Rex* among their sacred officers when they expulsed the *Tarquins*, and the *Athenians*, as we have heard, stiled their second archon who presided in the public sacrifices *Basileus*; so that in affairs relating to the gods, both the *Athenians* and the *Romans*, though they hated monarchy, made use of kings. The same notion prevailed through the east, for we find *Jeroboam* standing by the altar at *Bethel*, when the prophet came to denounce its ruin (64). And *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, when he had been victorious over the *Philistines Arabians* and *Ammonites*, was lifted up in his heart, and desired to add to his royal dignity the honour of being priest of the most High God (65).

(63) *In Atticis*. (64) 1 *Kings* xiii. (65) 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16.

priestess,

a prieſteſs pretended to inform him how he ſhould take the city. In conſequence of what this woman told him, he went to the temple of *Ceres* the lawgiver, and not being able to open its gates, he got to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down; but being ſeized with a ſudden horror, and reſolving to go back, he re-aſcended the wall, and from thence leaped down, but his foot ſlipping he fell, and either broke his thigh, or diſlocated his knee-pan; however it was, he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, after having lain twenty-ſix days before the town, and to return, wounded as he was, without effecting any thing, to *Athens*. An unfortunate man was never welcome there! The whole city began to murmur, and *Xanthippus* the father of the famous *Pericles* accuſed him to the general aſſembly for deceiving b the *Athenians*, as *Herodotus* ſays; of treaſon, as *Cornelius Nepos* informs us; or rather of peculation, as *Juſtin* from *Trogus Pompeius* acquaints us, for that is much the moſt propable opinion, and for this he demanded that they ſhould paſs upon him ſentence of death. The unhappy *Miltiades* was in no condition to defend himſelf, nature had already paſſed that judgment which his enemies ſought; his wound perhaps through lowneſs of ſpirits had induced a mortification, ſo that he could not be moved out of his bed; his brother *Tiſagoras* ſpoke for him; he repreſented to the *Athenians* that this *Miltiades*, who had failed in his laſt expedition, had ſaved *Athens* at *Marathon*, and had conquer'd for them the iſland of *Lemnos*; he therefore entreated them to remember his paſt ſervices, as well as his preſent error, and to c pity him to whom they owed the power of deliberating, whether they would pity him or no. Having heard both parties, the people declared that he had not deſerved capital puniſhment, but at the ſame time fined him fifty talents, which was the whole expence of the *Parian* expedition; and becauſe he was unable to pay this great ſum, they put him into goal, ſays *Cornelius Nepos*, where he died; but *Herodotus* ſays, that his ſon *Cimon* paid the fine, which is true, but not till after his father died in priſon, himſelf being alſo ſent thither on the ſame account, and remaining confined, till *Callias* furniſhed him with the money to pay his fine in lieu of his wife *Elpinice*, who was alſo his ſiſter by the one ſide[x]. Such was the gratitude of the *Athenians* towards *Miltiades* and his family. If the nature of this work would have d allowed it, we ſhould have digreſſed in favour of ſo great a man, who out of his paſſion for his country, quitted ſovereignty to ſerve the *Athenians*; but conſidering that this manner of writing would protract the *Athenian* hiſtory exceedingly, we have contented ourſelves with throwing into a note at the bottom of the page ſuch circumſtances relating to *Miltiades* as are neceſſary to be known (U).



[x] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [y] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Cornelius Nepos in vit. Miltiad. & Cimon.

(U) The hiſtory of the family of *Miltiades*, and their becoming princes, is related by *Herodotus*; he ſays that the *Thracian Dolonces* inhabiting a part of *Cherſoneſus*, and having ſuffered much in a war againſt the *Abſynthians*, ſent to inquire of the oracle at *Delphi* whom they ſhould elect king, to which they received for anſwer, that they ſhould invite him to lead a colony into their country, who ſhould firſt invite them into his houſe, after their leaving the temple in order to return home. Accordingly the *Dolonces* paſſing by the ſacred way, through the territories of the *Phocians* and the *Bœotians*, and receiving no offer of entertainment, turned into the road of *Athens*. In that time *Piſiſtratus* had indeed the ſupreme power, but *Miltiades* the ſon of *Cypſelus* was not without authority in *Athens*, being of an illuſtrious family anciently deſcended from *Æacus* and *Ægina*, and afterwards eſtabliſhed among the *Athenians* by *Philaus* the ſon of *Ajax*, the firſt of that blood that ſettled there. This *Miltiades* ſitting before his gates, and ſeeing the *Dolonces* paſſing by cloathed and armed in a different manner from the *Athenians*, called out to them, and upon their coming to him, deſired they would be his guests, and accept the entertainment of his houſe. They accepted his invitation, and after they had been hoſpitably entertained acquainted him with the oracle, and requeſted him to act in conformity to the admonition of the god. *Miltiades* hearkened to their propoſition, and complied with more readineſs, becauſe he grew impatient of the government of *Piſiſtratus*, and deſired an opportunity to withdraw. In theſe ſentiments he went to *Delphi* to conſult the oracle, whether he ſhould yield to the requeſt of the *Dolonces*, and received an encouraging anſwer from the *Pythian*. Upon which *Miltiades* the ſon of *Cypſelus*, who had formerly been victorious in the *Olympian* chariot-race, taking with him all ſuch *Athenians* as were willing to join in his expedition, ſet ſail with the *Dolonces*, and arriving in their country was inveſted with the ſovereign power. The firſt thing he did was to build a wall upon the iſthmus of *Cherſoneſus*, from the city of *Cardia* to that of *Pontys* in order to prevent the *Abſynthians* from infeſting the country for the future with their incurſions; this iſthmus is thirty-ſix ſtades in breadth; and the whole length of *Cherſoneſus* beginning in that place is four hundred and twenty ſtades. When *Miltiades* had built this wall on the neck of *Cherſoneſus*, and by that means excluded the *Abſynthians*, he in the next place made war upon the *Lampſacians*, and falling into an ambuſcade, was taken alive by the enemy. *Croeſus* king of *Lydia* being informed of this event, threatened the people of *Lampſacus* with his diſpleaſure, in caſe they did not releaſe *Miltiades*; which they taking into conſideration;

*The contests between* Aristides *and* Themistocles.

The people of *Athens* being now released from all apprehensions of foreign war, a fell as usual into dissensions among themselves; they were divided on the old subject, whether all things should be in the power of the people, or whether the state should be governed only by the best. *Aristides* whom we have already often mention'd was at the head of one party, and *Themistocles* was chief of the other. It will be necessary to say something of the character of each of these great men, that the nature of their disputes, and the consequences of them with respect to the state may be the better known. *Aristides* was the son of *Lysimachus* of the tribe of *Antiochis*, and ward of *Alopece*. *Themistocles* was the son of *Neocles* of the tribe of *Leontes*, by his mother's side a stranger, neither of them of any extraordinary family; *Plutarch* tells us that they were boys together, and that they were always at variance, b not only in serious matters, but even in their sports and plays; nor could it well be otherwise, for *Aristides* is said by him to have been firm and steddy in his behaviour, immoveable in every thing that appeared just, and incapable of using the least falshood, flattery, or deceit, even in jest; whereas *Themistocles* was of an impetuous nature, full of spirit, subtle, daring, complaisant, and in fine one who could put on any appearance to carry his point; he spent even his times of recreation in study, and was wont to divert himself with composing orations, in which he either excused or accused some of his companions, whence his schoolmaster pronounced thus of him; *Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary person, but will at some time or other become either a mighty blessing, or an outrageous curse to thy country.* As they grew c up, they differed still the more in their sentiments and conduct; *Aristides* studied the laws of *Lycurgus*, and by the reasoning of that great man, became a favourer of aristocracy. *Themistocles*, rather out of spleen to him than any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cause of the people; and thus childish quarrels ripening into a strong aversion in the breasts of two private men, created great disorders in a potent state, and shook the very constitution of *Athens*.

How much soever the dissensions, between *Aristides* and *Themistocles* might in fact injure the *Athenian* state, and how ready soever they might be to oppose each other, even in points where they were conscious that what they opposed was right,

[a] Plut. & Corn. Nepos. in vit. Aristid. & Them.

tion, and being afraid to disoblige so great a monarch, restored *Miltiades* to freedom. Thus having escaped by the means of *Crœsus*, and afterwards dying without children, he left his dominion and riches to *Stesagoras* the son of *Cimon*, his brother by the same mother. The *Chersonesians* honour him with sacrifices, as the founder of their city, in the accustomed manner, having instituted gymnastic and equestrian exercises on that occasion, in which no *Lampsacinian* is permitted to contend for the prize. During the war which still continued against the people of *Lampsacus*, *Stesagoras* likewise died without children; being killed by the blow of an ax he received on the head from the hand of one who pretending to be a deserter, was indeed a most cruel enemy. After whose death the *Pisistratida* sent *Miltiades* the son of *Cimon*, and brother of *Stesagoras* to *Chersonesus* with one ship to take upon him the government, having been already favourable to him in *Athens*, as if they had not had any part in the murder of his father *Cimon*, who was assassinated by their order. Arriving in *Chersonesus*, he kept himself retired under colour of honouring the memory of his brother *Stesagoras*; which the *Chersonesians* hearing, the principal persons of every city assembled together, and coming to his house with intentions to condole with him, were all seized and imprisoned. By this means *Miltiades* made himself master of *Chersonesus*, entertained five hundred auxiliaries for his guard, and married *Hegesypla* daughter to *Olorus* king of *Thrace*. But he had not been long in possession, before he met with greater difficulties than he had yet experienced. For in the third year of his government he fled out of the country, nor daring to wait the coming of the *Scythian Nomades*, who having been irritated by the expedition of *Darius*, had assembled their forces, and advanced to the frontier of *Chersonesus*. Nevertheless upon the departure of the *Scythians*, he was again restored by the *Dolones*; and in the third year after this, hearing that the *Phœnicians* were at *Tenedus*, he put all his riches on board five ships and sailed for *Athens*. The reader may possibly think this note very long, but there was a necessity for it since so eminent an author as *Cornelius Nepos* hath rendered the history of this great man unintelligible by confounding him with his grandfather, and attributing promiscuously the deeds of one to the other. As to his putting *Lemnos* into the hands of the *Athenians*, it happened thus: The inhabitants of that island having had long differences with the *Athenians*, and being admonished by the *Delphian* oracle to compromise them, they sent to *Athens* to know upon what terms it might be done; the *Athenians* offered them no other than the absolute surrender of their country, to which the *Lemnian* deputies answered, that they would obey when a ship from the *Athenian* dominions should come with a north wind in one day into a haven of *Lemnos*, which because *Attica* was situated to the south of *Lemnos* they conceived impossible; but *Miltiades* being possessed of the *Chersonesus*, and sailing from a port in the *Hellespont*, arrived in one day at *Lemnos*, driven thither by a strong north wind, upon which he immediately demanded that the island should be given up to him, which partly through terror, partly by force, he obtained, and united it to the *Athenian* territories. As to the imprisonment of his son as well as himself, and the manner in which his fine was at last discharged, *Cornelius Nepos* expressly asserts it as delivered in our text, whereas the account given of it by *Plutarch* is neither clear nor consistent.

a yet it must be owned that they sincerely loved their country, and were ashamed and sorry for the very things they did. *Aristides* was the honester man of the two, and therefore the most frank. When *Themistocles* had one day proposed to the assembly of the people something much for their advantage, *Aristides* made a long oration against it, which so far misled the people, that they rejected what *Themistocles* had proposed. *Aristides* was however so much affected with what he had done, that when he went out of the assembly he could not help saying, *The* Athenians *can never be perfectly safe till they have sent* Themistocles *and I to goal*[a]. We have before shewn how not only men in rank in *Athens*, but all *Athenian* citizens had seats in courts of judicature. As these rivals differed in every thing, so they were opposite b in their notions of what a man's duty was in such a station. *Aristides* conceived that he ought to be inflexibly upright, and to be void alike of affection and passion; whereas it was a common saying with *Themistocles*, *God forbid that I should ever sit on a tribunal where my friends should not have more favour than strangers.* *Aristides*'s conduct was certainly the more laudable, and he piqued himself so much upon acting strictly up to the maxims he laid down, that he acquired the surname of *just*, and was looked upon as the most worthy and virtuous of the *Athenians*. *Themistocles* instead of repining rejoiced at this, for knowing well the nature of the people, he conceived it an easy thing to destroy a rival arrived at so high a reputation[b]. The *ostracism* was already introduced into the *Athenian* state, though it is not certain by whom, some say by *Pisistratus*, or rather by his sons; others by *Clisthenes*; but c this not being clear, we did not think fit to attribute it to him, or to mention the *ostracism* till we come to a particular instance of it. By this men eminent to such a degree, as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years. *Plutarch* says this exile was not a punishment for any crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, used as the curb of too great power, and the remedy of the people, for those apprehensions with which they were so often taken. The method in which they proceeded to inflict the *ostracism* was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or shell, on which having wrote the name of the person he would have banished, he carried it to a certain place of the market-place, which was inclosed with rails; then the magistrates began to count the number of the shells; for if they were less d than six thousand, the vote did not take place; but if they surpassed that number, they laid every name apart, and the man whose name was found on the greatest number of shells was of course exiled for ten years, with free leave however to make what use he thought fit of his estate (X)[c]. It may seem strange that *Themistocles* could raise the popular resentment against a man amiable from peaceable virtues; yet he effected it by causing it to be whispered about, that *Aristides* having

[a] Plut. ubi supra. [b] Plut. in vit. Themist. Corn. Nepos in vit. Arist. [c] Plut. in vit. Arist.

(X) The *ostracism* makes so great a figure in all the *Greek* history, and occurs so often in that which we are now writing, that it is fit that we should give the reader a more particular account of it in a note, than we found it proper for us to do in the text. It derived its name from *ostracon*, which signifies a tile, because at first the names of persons banished in this manner were wrote on pieces of tiles, or broken earthen vessels (66). *Diodorus Siculus* says, that such as were ejected from their country by the *ostracism* were not allowed to return in five years (67); but in this he is mistaken, for all writers agree that the time limited was ten years (68), and the time allowed him on whom this punishment fell to quit the *Athenian* territories was ten days (69). The fundamental rule of telling the gross number of the shells, and rendering the *ostracism* void, if they did not amount to six thousand, was a great point in favour of eminent persons, since in a city where there were not above 18 or 20,000 free citizens, it must have been a very difficult thing to engage a third part of them to enter upon such a design. It may seem strange that the author of so extraordinary a law as this, should not be known; and yet it is certain that about no historical point authors differ more. *Ælian* ascribes it to *Clysthenes* beforementioned (70); *Diodorus Siculus* says it took place under the *Pisistratida* (71), and many are of that opinion besides him. For *Plutarch* reports that *Hipparchus* was banished under their administration (72). *Heraclides* fixes this general assertion to *Hippias*, whom he expressly declares the author of this severe practice (73). *Photius* in his extracts from *Ptolomy Hephestion* ascribes it to *Achilles* the son of *Lyson* (74); but *Suidas*, and *Eusebius* both set it far higher than the days of the commonwealth, *viz.* under the reign of *Thesens*. However uncertain its beginning is, there is no dispute, that it ended in the banishment of *Hyperbolus*. This practice *Aristotle* seems to ascribe to all the democracies of his time (75), and we are assured by various authors that the *Argives*, *Milesians*, *Megarensians*, and *Syracusians* had the same law, though under different titles, amongst them.

(66) *Suidas Hesychius.* (67) *Biblioth. lib.* xi. (68) *Pollux*, *Plutarch. in vit. Arist.* (69) *Scholiast. Aristophan. ad. Equit.* (70) *Var. Hist. lib.* xiii *c.* 14. (71) *Biblioth. lib.* xi. (72) *In vit. Nicia.* (73) *De Resp.* (74) *Biblioth. lib.* vi. (75) *Polit. lib.* iii. *c.* 13.

assumed

assumed the name of just, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending parties, had insensibly erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards; *for what* (said the agents of Themistocles) *constitutes a tyrant but giving laws?* On a sudden, and when it was least expected, citizens and countrymen flocked to the *forum*, and demanded the *ostracism*. One of the clowns from a borough in *Attica*, who could neither write nor read, brought his shell to *Aristides*, and said, *Write me* Aristides *upon this*. *Aristides*, surprized, asked him if he knew any ill of that *Athenian*, or if he had ever done him hurt. *Me hurt!* (said the fellow) *no, I don't so much as know him, but I am weary and sick at heart on hearing him every where called the just*. *Aristides* therefore took the shell, and wrote his own name upon it. This was certainly a strong proof of his firmness of mind, but he gave yet a greater. When the magistrates signified to him that the *ostracism* fell upon him, he retired modestly out of the *forum*, and as he went out he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, *I beseech the Gods, that the* Athenians *may never see that day which shall force them to remember* Aristides [f].

The war against the inhabitants of *Ægina* revived after the battle of *Marathon*, and was carried on by both parties with great animosity; the nobles and their party had fallen upon the remains of *Nicodromus*'s party, and put many of them to death with such circumstances, as not only irritated the exiles, but made many of their own citizens uneasy. The *Athenians* had revenged the death of their confederates in several expeditions, but the inhabitants of *Ægina* had in their turn done the subjects of *Athens* considerable damage, which was entirely owing to their great power at sea, their fleets being more numerous, and their ships better than their neighbours. *Themistocles* considering this, continually exhorted the *Athenians* to observe and weigh it in their minds. He also gave them to understand, that in his opinion the *Persian* war was so far from being ended that it was but begun, because it was unreasonable to suppose that *Xerxes*, who succeeded his father in his empire, would not also succeed him in his hatred to the *Grecians*, from whom the honour of his empire had suffered so much. Having often insisted on these topics, he had at last the boldness to move that the money produced by the silver mines, which hitherto the *Athenians* had divided amongst themselves, should be applied to building ships, with which, being thoroughly possessed of the nature of the thing, they complied, and a hundred gallies were immediately put upon the stocks; and this sudden increase of the *Athenian* fleet, with their addicting themselves continually afterwards to maritime affairs, proved the means of preserving, not only *Athens*, but all *Greece* in the enjoyment of its liberties, as *Themistocles* rightly foresaw it would [g].

*The Greeks prepare to resist the* Persians.

By this time, that is, about three years after the banishment of *Aristides*, the *Athenians* found that *Themistocles* had spoke the truth, where he affirmed that the *Persian* war, instead of being ended, was but just begun; for *Xerxes* after having made prodigious preparations for the total conquest of *Greece*, sent messengers with a *Greek* interpreter to its several republics to demand *Earth* and *Water*. *Themistocles* desiring to make the breach still wider between these two nations, engaged the *Athenians* to seize the interpreter, and put him to death, for presuming to publish the decrees of the king of *Persia* in the language of the *Greeks*. This act of severity was followed by another; one *Arthmius* of *Zele* a town in *Troas* had settled at *Athens*, and had an half freedom granted him; this man having received large sums of money from the king of *Persia*, endeavoured to corrupt some of the principal persons of the city therewith, for which *Themistocles* procured him to be banished *Attica* by sound of trumpet, and his family to be degraded. Lastly with the assistance of *Chilens* the *Arcadian*, he engaged the several states of *Greece* to lay aside their quarrels, and provide for their mutual defence [h].

When it came to be debated who should be appointed the general of the *Athenians*, in case the *Persians* should invade them, one *Epicydes* a great orator, but a man otherwise little capable of the charge, influenced the people so much by his speeches, that it was generally believed he would be elected to that important office. *Themistocles* seeing the danger of his country, and knowing the man to be covetous, strained his own circumstances and bought him off. By engaging him to desist, he made way for his own election, for there was no body then left capable of contending with him, so he was presently elected [i].

[f] Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in vit. Arist. & Themist. [g] Herodot. lib. vii. Plut. in Themist. [h] Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. Plut. in vit. Themist. [i] Plutarch. in vit. Themist.

When

a When news came to *Athens* that the *Persians* were upon the point of invading *Greece* by the streights of *Thermopylæ*, and that to this end they were transporting their forces by sea, *Themistocles* advised his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their gallies, and go and meet their Enemies, yet at a distance; to this they would by no means yield. He then put himself at the head of their army, and having join'd the *Lacedemonians* marched towards *Tempe*. But when advice came that the streights of *Thermoplæ* were forced, and not only *Thessaly*, but *Bœotia* had yielded to the *Persians*, the army returned without effecting any thing [k].

The *Athenians* in this distress sent messengers to the *Delphian Apollo*, who on their b arrival having performed the usual ceremonies, sat down in the sanctuary, and there received from *Aristronica*, who was that at time priestess, the following oracle.

Fly to the fartheſt regions of the earth,
Unhappy men, and shun th' impending ill.
Fly from your houses, and desert your walls;
For total ruin shall subvert that place.
An angry *Mars* in *Asia* born shall come,
And all your stately piles, and temples burn.
I see the sacred walls trembling for fear,
The lofty roofs cover'd with sweat and blood.
Depart, and be prepared to bear your fate [l].

c The *Athenian* deputies were extremely amazed at this answer, they therefore humbled themselves in a most extraordinary manner before the god, holding olive branches in their hands, beseeching a better answer, or vowing to remain in the temple till they died. The priestess feeling herself a second time inspired, delivered at length the following response:

*Pallas* in vain has used her utmost art,
To pacify the wrath of angry *Jove*.
So that my present answer must again
Of almost adamantin hardness be.
Yet for *Minerva*'s sake the god will give
d A safe protection under walls of wood
To all that lies contained within the bounds
Of *Cecrops*, or *Citheron*'s sacred hills.
These, these alone impregnable shall prove,
But never stay to fight the dreadful troops
Of horse and foot, advancing thro' the plains:
If e'er you see them, save yourselves by flight,
The divine *Salamis* shall lose her sons;
Tho' *Ceres* be brought home, or left abroad [m].

The *Athenian* deputies having wrote down this answer brought it away, and produced it to the general assembly at *Athens*, where the people were mightily divided about its true sense and meaning, many were of opinion that by walls of wood the citadel was to be understood, because, as we observed before, it was palisadoed, but others imagined e that it could intend nothing but ships, and therefore advised their countrymen to place all their hopes in their fleet; but the maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the two last lines of the oracle were directly against them, and that they without question portended the destruction of the *Athenian* fleet near *Salamis*. *Themistocles* however declared for trusting in the fleet, and in answer to what was urged from the last lines of the oracle, alledged, that, if the oracle had intended to foretel the destruction of the *Athenians*, she would not have called it the divine *Salamis*, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in that oracle were stiled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the *Persians* who were scandalously effeminate. All discreet people concurred in their sentiments that *Themistocles* had most judiciously interpreted the the oracle, and that the f *Athenians* could only hope for freedom by following his advice. The *many* however had much ado to be reconciled thereto; the leaving their country and estates bore hard upon them; their forsaking their houses and employments still harder; their leaving the tombs of their ancestors and the temple of their gods hardest of all. But *Themistocles* had a set of arguments in store for them, he made the very notions

[k] Id. ib. [l] Herodot. ubi supra. [m] Herodot. ubi supra.

 which

which would have kept them, contribute to drive them away; for having drawn over a the priests who attended in the temple of *Minerva*, he caused them to give out that the dragon refused to eat, that the offerings set before him were found untouch'd, that at last it disappear'd, so that without doubt the goddess had quitted the city, and taken her flight before them towards the sea. By degrees the populace were so intoxicated with these pious frauds, that they made no manner of question of the *Persians* being defeated, and that *Salamis* would be the place. They therefore decreed that the city should be recommended to the protection of *Minerva*, that all such as were of age to bear arms should embark on board the fleet, and that all possible care should be taken for the preservation of children, women, and slaves. One *Cyrsilus* an orator vehemently opposed the decree, he urged all the common b topics of love to the place of one's birth, and affection for wives and helpless infants; but the *Athenians* conceiving that the falling in with his proposition would betray a mean desire of preserving life, tho' at the expence of liberty, stoned him in the midst of his discourse, and the women, to shew how little they relished such arguments, and how far they were for desiring that the cause of *Greece* should suffer from them, stoned his wife. And thus *Themistocles* not only persuaded his countrymen to do what he conceived was expedient for their safety, but even infused into them the same spirit with which he himself acted [n].

*The* Athenians *quit their city.*

When they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourse c to the council of *Areopagus*, who, from funds to us unknown, distributed eight drachms to every man who went on board; but this sum not being sufficient, *Themistocles* with his usual quickness devised an expedient for furnishing the rest of the money. He gave out that in the present hurry somebody had stolen from the statue of *Minerva* her shield, whereon the head of *Medusa* was engraven, and having authority granted him to search for it, under colour of this he took away all the money he could lay his hands on, and applied it to the use of the public. The people in this their great distress, began to lament the loss of *Aristides*, and to express their apprehensions, lest he, to revenge himself of the ingratitude of his country, should d go over to the *Persians*. *Themistocles* thereupon proposed a decree, that all who were banished might return again in order to assist the *Greeks* with their counsels and persons; thus he who, had been banished by the artifices of *Themistocles*, was recalled by his virtue. *Aristides*, on his return, behaved himself with more than ordinary civility to *Themistocles*, and did not suffer any aversion to that general's person to influence him in his conduct as to public affairs [o] (Y).

Notwithstanding the *Athenian* fleet was superior to that sent by any of the confederates, nay to all the rest of the fleet taken together, yet such was the power of the *Lacedemonians*, that the command thereof was committed to *Eurybiades* a *Spartan*, a man either unskilful, or wanting fortitude enough for such an undertaking;

[n] Plutarch. in vit. Aristid. [o] Id. ib.

(Y) At the same time that the *Greeks* thought of defending the pass of *Thermopyla* by land, they sent a fleet to hinder the passage of the *Persian* navy through the streights of *Euboea*, which fleet rendezvoused at *Artemisium*. We have taken no notice of this in the text, because we shall be obliged to enter into a detail of this matter elsewhere; but inasmuch as the *Athenians* sent a squadron of ships, and on board them *Themistocles*, to this place, we are obliged to take some notice of his conduct here. The *Euboeans*, not being able to prevail with *Eurybiades* to remain on their coast till they could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves to *Themistocles*, and made him a present of thirty talents. He took the money; with five talents he bribed *Eurybiades*. Then *Adimanthus* the *Corinthian* being the only commander who insisted on weighing anchor, *Themistocles* went on board him, and told him in few words; *Adimanthus, you shall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater present for doing your duty than the king of the* Medes *would send you for deserting the allies.* Which he performed by sending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the *Euboeans* requested, and put 22 talents into his pocket. In the succeeding engagement *Themistocles* and all the *Athenians* behaved with extraordinary bravery, for which they received the applause of all *Greece*. At length, when it was thought necessary to retire from *Artemisium*, *Themistocles* caused certain stones to be set up in all the ports, with inscriptions, intreating the *Ionians* either to desert the *Barbarians* and join the *Greeks*, who were fighting for their liberty, or at least to act but faintly in the cause of their master, remembering that they were originally *Greeks* themselves, and that this very quarrel began on account of the assistance given by the *Greeks* to them. This he did with double intent, first to influence the *Ionians* to act as he desired; secondly to give the *Persian* monarch a jealousy of them, that he might be the less inclined to trust those in whose power it was to do him most service, since the *Ionians* were by far the best seamen in his fleet (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib.* vii.

for

a for he, when danger approached, was for ſtanding away for the gulph of *Corinth* in order to join the land army; which when *Themiſtocles* vehemently oppoſed, *Eurybiades* was pleaſed to ſay, *Such as riſe up before the reſt at the olympic games are laſhed.* To which the *Athenian* wiſely anſwered, *But they that are left behind are never crown'd.* *Eurybiades* at this lifting up his batoon, as if he would have ſtruck him, *Themiſtocles* cried out, *Ay, ſtrike if you will, but hear me*; upon which *Eurybiades* laid down his ſtaff, and patiently attended to his diſcourſe. One of the *Lacedemonians* however, who had not ſo much ſenſe as the admiral, replied to *Themiſtocles*'s oration, that it did not become ſuch as had neither houſe nor home of their own to endeavour to prejudice others by hindering them from returning to their habitations. *Themiſtocles* taking fire at this, ſaid "We have indeed, baſe fellow, b "left our houſes and our walls, not thinking it fit to become ſlaves, for the ſake "of thoſe things that have neither life nor ſoul, and yet our city is the greateſt of "all *Greece*, as conſiſting of two hundred gallies, which are here to defend you, "if you pleaſe; but if you run away and leave us, as you did once before, the "*Greeks* will ſoon perceive that the *Athenians* can find for themſelves as fair a coun-"try, and as large and free a city, as that they have left". In a word, he took ſuch pains to demonſtrate to this aſſembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madneſs to think of fighting any-where but where they were, that the wiſeſt of the *Grecian* captains concurred with him. The chief of his arguments were theſe; he ſhewed them that, if once they retired from *Salamis*, the fleet c would never fight at all, becauſe being made up of quota's from different ſtates, the ſeveral ſquadrons would immediately ſail back to their own ports, and leave the common cauſe of *Greece* without defence; that fighting before the iſthmus, which was the ſcheme of the oppoſite party, would be attended with two dreadful conſequences; the one that *Salamis* and *Ægina*, with all the women and children in them, would be abandoned to the enemy; the other, that with a ſmall fleet they would be obliged to engage a very great one, and that in an open ſea; that on the contrary, if they fought in the channel of *Salamis* the *Perſians* would not have near ſo great an advantage from the number of their ſhips, becauſe the front of the line would d be on both ſides nearly equal, that fighting here would effectually ſave *Peloponneſus*, whereas retiring to the coaſt thereof would withdraw the *Perſians* thither, and induce all thoſe conſequences which thoſe that propoſed it ſought to ſhun. As to the wall built croſs the iſthmus, upon which ſome depended, he ſhewed that it was a fooliſh and ridiculous defence, in caſe they yielded the ſuperiority of the ſea to the *Barbarians*, who would then make their deſcents on every ſide of it without being obliged to force the wall at all. Theſe arguments, with the dread *Eurybiades* was in, that, in caſe he took other meaſures, the *Athenians* would deſert him, and ſail to *Italy*, as *Themiſtocles* had hinted, engaged that general to declare for fighting, and in this reſolution they remained for ſome time[p].

The courage of the *Athenians* on this occaſion can never be enough commended, e ſince the chief cauſe of that fear which ſpread itſelf among the reſt of the *Greeks*, was the miſerable deſtruction of the city of *Athens*. We have already given ſo full an account of this matter of the *Perſian* hiſtory, that there is no neceſſity of repeating it here. We ſhall content ourſelves with noting two or three things, which will illuſtrate the hiſtory now before us. Such of the *Athenians* as had fled to the *Acropolis* or citadel, out of a fond opinion that it was the place pointed at by the oracle, were all put to the ſword. The *Perſians*, with whom the deſcendants of *Piſiſtratus* returned, ſhewed no mercy to ſuch as obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit themſelves again to their obedience. As to pillaging the temples, and ſetting fire to all the ſacred things which gave ſuch high offence to the *Greeks*, theſe were not ſo properly f to be aſcribed to the barbarity of their enemies, as to their zeal; for we have ſhewn before that the *Perſians* were *deiſts* in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and looked upon temples, images and altars, as they were the marks of *polytheiſm* to be ſo many indignities offered to the Supreme Being, which was the cauſe that they deſtroyed them without pity, as their reſentment of the injuries done them by the ſtates of *Athens* engaged them to ſhew no mercy to ſuch of its people as fell into their hands.

When *Xerxes* drew down all his land-forces to the ſea-ſide, and at the ſame time caused his fleet to approach that of the *Greeks*, the *Peloponneſians* who were in that *Debates amongſt the generals of the Greeks.*

[p] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

navy,

navy, fell again into their old opinion of leaving all to preserve *Peloponnesus* from a being ravaged. To this end a council of war was summoned, for their murmurs ran so high, that *Eurybiades* was afraid of their deserting; in this council their opinion prevailed, for they would neither listen to arguments, nor pay any respect to authority. *Themistocles* therefore, seeing his opinion set aside by the *Peloponnesians* resolved to take measures for forcing them to stay; for, as *Herodotus* informs us, withdrawing privately from the assembly, he sent away a man to the enemy's fleet in a small vessel, properly instructed; the name of this man was *Sicinus*, he was tutor to *Themistocles*'s children, and every way capable of being made the instrument of great things. When he arrived in the *Persian* fleet, he was conducted to their council b of general officers, to whom he delivered the following message, as from *Themistocles*. "The general of the *Athenians*, who is in the interest of the king, and de- "sires your affairs may prosper, rather than those of *Greece*, has sent me privately "away with orders to let you know, that the *Grecians* in great consternation have "determined to betake themselves to flight, and that you have now an opportunity "of atchieving the most glorious of all enterprizes, unless your negligence opens "a way to their escape. For being divided in their opinions, they will not oppose "your forces; but you will see those who are your friends fighting against those "who are not of your party". This message had its desired effect, the *Persians* conceived, not without some show of reason, that the *Athenians* finding it to no purpose any longer to oppose the great king, were resolved by this piece of intelli- c gence to make their peace with him at once, and thereby procure their city and country to be restored [q]. They therefore made all the preparations necessary for shutting up the *Grecian* navy, and reckoned already that they were so many prizes, and that they now should regain their honour, and compensate themselves for the loss which they had sustained at *Artemisium*. *Aristides* was the first who perceived what the *Persians* aimed at; he immediately went to *Themistocles*, and when they were alone, he addressed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, who in the mean time is supported by *Herodotus* in these terms: "If we are wise, *Themistocles*, we shall now "for ever lay aside that vain and childish contention that has hitherto been between "us, and begin a more safe and honourable emulation, by contending which of us d "two shall do most towards the safety of *Greece*; you by performing the part of a "wise and great general, and I by obeying and assisting you with my person and "and advice. I understand that you alone have determined rightly, advising to en- "gage in the streights without delay. Your allies are of a different opinion, but "the enemies themselves seem to confirm and strengthen your advice; for the sea "all round us is covered and shut up by their fleet, so that they who have opposed "coming to an engagement must be forced to fight, and shew themselves men of "courage, there being no room left for flight". To this *Themistocles* replied, "I am ashamed, *Aristides*, at your having got the start of me in this noble e "emulation; I shall use my utmost endeavours to outdo this beginning, which is so "much to your honour, and to obscure, if possible, this glorious step of yours by "the lustre of my future actions". At the same time *Themistocles* acquainted him with the stratagem made use of to compel the enemy to take the measures they did, and which in fact compelled also the *Grecians* to take those which were most adviseable for their own interest, and to which he had so often pressed them, though to little purpose. Thus ended the interview between these two rivals for reputation, whose new cemented friendship proved of the utmost consequence to the cause of *Athens* and of *Greece* [r].

*The battle of Salamis. Year after the flood 2519. Before Christ 480.*

The detail of the battle of *Salamis* is unnecessary here, since the reader has met f with it before in our account of the *Persian* affairs. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing that the *Athenians* reaped the highest honour from their behaviour on that remarkable occasion, though *Herodotus* is for bestowing the palm on the inhabitants of *Ægina*. We have more than once noted, that till *Themistocles* persuaded the *Athenians* to apply themselves to maritime affairs, the people of this little isle were lords of the sea. It is not therefore to be wondered that their long experience enabled them to perform great things in a sea fight, of which the *Persian* emperor was a spectator in person, and on the event of which their own liberty and that of all their confederates depended. The *Athenians*, after the *Persian* fleet was

[q] Herodot. lib. viii. [r] Plutarch. in vit. Aristid.

once

a once broke, drove their scattered ships towards the coast of *Attica*. The squadron of *Ægina* stretching out to sea, got on the other side of the flying *Persians*, and sunk many of those vessels which out sailed the *Athenians*. Thus the skill and conduct of these two nations preserved all their confederates, and not only carried away victory from the prodigious fleet of their enemies, but likewise obliged the *Persians* to account it a great happiness, if after this extraordinary defeat they preserved any part of that navy, which had so lately darkened the coasts, and struck a pannic through *Greece*.

The morning after the battle of *Salamis*, the *Greeks* perceiving the enemies land-
b forces still encamped in the same place, conjectured that their fleet was retired into the *Phalerum*, one of the ports of *Athens*; but they were mistaken, for *Xerxes* had given orders that they should sail with the utmost diligence to the *Hellespont*, while himself with his land-forces pretended to throw up an artificial isthmus in order to unite the island of *Salamis* to the continent of *Attica*. The *Greeks* in the mean time were for pursuing the *Persian* fleet in hopes of taking straggling ships in order to increase their booty; but coming to *Andros* without discovering any of the enemy's ships, they there called a council of war, in which *Themistocles* gave it as his opinion, that they should shape their pursuit by the way of the islands, and make all the sail they could for the *Hellespont*, in order to destroy the bridge which *Xerxes* had thrown over it, and thereby cut off that monarch's communication with *Asia*. *Plutarch* says that he communicated his sentiments to *Aristides*, who opposed it;
c but *Herodotus*, with greater probability, ascribes this opposition to *Eurybiades*. That *Themistocles* communicated his sentiments to *Aristides* might be, but that he informed *Eurybiades* of them is morally certain, because he commanded in chief. It is therefore more likely, that he and not *Aristides* opposed the carrying them into execution, because he thought that shutting *Xerxes* into *Europe* with such a mighty army, would be to compel him to repair his former omissions, and to exert himself with vigour against the *Greeks*. When *Themistocles* perceived that this reasoning prevailed, and that the *Grecian* chieftants were like to come into it unanimously, he formed another scheme, which *Plutarch* says he likewise communicated to *Aristides*, and that was this; he sent a trusty messenger to *Xerxes* to inform him that the
d *Greeks* intended to break down his bridge over the *Hellespont*; wherefore he advised him to march back with the utmost speed, promising to delay as much as he was able the intended project of his countrymen. *Herodotus* says that he actually advised the *Athenians* to give over the pursuit, in order to return to their country and rebuild their houses, into which they readily gave, as it was natural for people to wish for a quiet retreat, after having so long endured so violent a tempest; but at the same time our author intimates, that *Themistocles* had in view the safety of the *Persians*, and not the interest of the *Athenians*, which he attributes to his foresight of following misfortunes, and his willingness to secure an asylum, when the envy of his countrymen should doom him to banishment. These sort of censures are the tribute paid by the great for the lustre of their actions. Whether *Themistocles* really intended his country ill or no is what none can tell; that he generally meant its good is universally allowed, and that this advice suited his scheme of making *Xerxes* of his own accord abandon the war in *Greece*, is plain from the nature of the thing. It is hard therefore to tarnish his glory by receiving such insinuations, and we had better suppose that he did not foresee his disgrace, than by a conjectural magnifying of his prudence diminish the reputation he acquired as a true patriot[t].

*Herodotus* relates another thing of *Themistocles*; he says that while the *Grecian* fleet and army were employed in besieging *Andros*, this general sent to *Paros* and other islands, and threatening the inhabitants of them that the *Greeks* would invade their country, extorted from them vast sums of money, which he insinuates he applied to his own private use. *Plutarch* relates another passage, which must have happened pretty near this time, *viz.* that when the *Grecian* fleet was arrived at *Pegasa*, a maritime town of *Magnesia*, where it wintered, *Themistocles* made an oration to his countrymen, in which he declared that he had it in his mind to do something which would prove of infinite consequence to *Athens*; but that it was of such a nature, that he could not communicate it to the assembly. Upon this the *Athenians* directed him to communicate it to *Aristides* only; and in case he approved it

[t] Herodot. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Themist.

to put it in practice. When therefore these great men were alone, *Themistocles* dis- a covered in few that his scheme was to burn the rest of the *Grecian* fleet, which would leave *Athens* mistress of the seas. *Aristides* made his report to the people that what *Themistocles* intended was indeed the most advantagious thing that could possibly happen to them, but at the same time it was the most unjust; upon which they readily directed him to think no more of it, esteeming it far better to sacrifice their interest to their fame, than for the sake of present advantage, how great soever it were, to hazard the censure of succeeding ages, and the stain of infamy never to be blotted out.

When the fleet was returned to *Salamis*, and the booty was divided amongst all who had served on board, the *Greeks* resolved to sail to the isthmus in order b to confer there the customary honours on him, who by the free votes of their chiefs had deserved best, and these being assembled in the temple of *Neptune*, and directed to write down his own in the first place, and the name of *Themistocles* in the second, whereby, without designing it, they unanimously proclaimed him the most worthy of the *Greeks*. From thence he went to *Lacedemon*, where he was received with the greatest honour and respect, and the *Spartans*, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after decreeing the prize of valour to *Eurybiades*, assigned that of prudence to *Themistocles*, and crowned him with a wreath of olive; they presented him also with the most magnificent chariot in *Sparta*, and when he returned to *Athens* he was escorted by five-hundred horse, an honour never paid c to any stranger but him.

*The* Persians *attempt to treat with the* Athenians.

On *Themistocles*'s coming back to *Athens*, there were not wanting some who endeavoured to insinuate that his receiving such high honours from the *Lacedemonians* was injurious to his country; but he, confiding in his innocence, treated these clamours with contempt, and contented himself with exhorting the people, not to entertain any doubts of their confederates, but to be careful in maintaining the mighty reputation they had acquired, and the respect paid them by all the states of *Greece*. About this time some of the families of the *Athenians* returned from *Salamis* to *Trœzene*, where they had taken refuge while the *Persians* ravaged *Attica*; the former belonged to the *Athenians*, but the latter was free. They gave however a very kind recep- d tion to the women and children committed to their charge, they appointed them a maintenance out of their public funds, and paid also the best school-masters they could find for taking care of their youth; such a high regard had the generosity of the *Athenians* in abandoning all for the sake of liberty drawn from every state in *Greece*. The *Persians* themselves were no less ready in preferring them to all the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had left to command the army, destined for carrying on the war, chose to treat with the *Athenians* rather than to fight with them; to this end he made use of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, a person well known, and highly respected at *Athens*. Him, as a tributary and ally of the *Persian* king, he sent to make proposals of peace, not in his own name, but in that of his master. e When he arrived, the *Athenians* entertained him like a friend, but delayed giving him audience from a foresight, that the *Lacedemonians* would not be long after hearing this news before they sent embassadors, which accordingly came to pass. They then appointed a day for *Alexander* to have audience of the people, on which, as *Herodotus* informs us, he spoke to this purpose: "*Athenians*, I am sent by *Mar-* "*donius* to tell you, that he has received a message from the king in these words: "I forgive the *Athenians* all the injuries they have done me, and therefore, *Mardo-* "*nius*, observe the following orders: Reinstate them in the possession of their own "territories; give them moreover whatever other country they shall chuse; let "them govern by their own laws, and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, f "if they will come to an agreement with me. Having received these orders, I am "obliged to put them in execution, unless you prevent me; and now I myself "would ask you what madness pushes you on to make war against a king you will "never conquer, nor always be able to resist? You are not ignorant of the nume- "rous forces and great actions of *Xerxes*; you have heard of the army I have, and "if you should happen to be victorious, and to defeat us, which you can never hope "so long as you have the use of reason; another much more powerful will come "against you; suffer not yourselves then to be dispossessed of your country, and "continually alarmed for your own lives, by measuring your strength with the

"king;

a "king; but be reconciled to him, since you have now so favourable an opportunity in your hands from the present disposition of *Xerxes*. Enter therefore into "an alliance with us sincerely, and without fraud, and continue to be a free "people. These, O *Athenians*, are the words which *Mardonius* ordered me to say "to you: For my own part, I shall not mention my constant affection to your "state, because you have had sufficient proof of that in former time. I beseech "you then, hearken to the counsel of *Mardonius*; for I see you will not always "be able to make war against *Xerxes*. Had I not known this, I should never "have undertaken to bring you such a message; but the king's power is incompa-"rably greater than that of all other mortals, and his reach so extensive, that unless b "you immediately accept the favourable conditions he offers, I dread the con-"sequences to you, who, lying in the way of danger more than any other of the con-"federates, and possessing a country placed as a prize between the contending "parties, must be always most exposed to ruin. Let these reasons prevail with "you, and consider the important advantages you will receive, if the great king "forgives you alone among all the *Grecians*, and becomes your friend". The *Lacedemonian* embassadors spoke in their turns, as soon as *Alexander* had made an end of his oration; they said that they were commissioned to exhort the *Athenians* not to listen to the proposals of the *Barbarians*, because it was a thing unreasonable on many accounts; *First*, because the original quarrel was between the *Persians* and c *Athenians*, into which the rest of the *Greeks* were drawn, merely through their respect to them: *Secondly*, that the *Athenians* were always wont to be the foremost in the cause of liberty, which it would not become them now to desert: *Thirdly*, that there were no grounds to believe the *Persians* would observe any terms with a people they so much hated, when occasion would serve; that the *Spartans* were exceedingly grieved for their misfortunes, and as a mark of their regard would in conjunction with their allies take care of their wives and children, till this war was at an end, and give them what other assistance was in their power. The *Athenians* having deliberated on this proposition, answered first that of *Alexander*. They said they were well acquainted with the great power of the king, but that they were also well assured d of the justice of their own cause; that as long as the sun and moon endured they would never desert the cause of *Greece*, nor forget the injuries done them by the *Persians*. To the *Lacedemonians* they answered they were sorry they should conceive so meanly of them, as to think they would ever compare interest with glory; that they would continue firm to their confederates without being a burden to them; but that it being probable *Mardonius* would be ready for action in the spring, they hoped the *Lacedemonians* would think it more reasonable to meet him with united forces in *Bœotia*, than to suffer him to ravage *Attica* again[1].

Athens *a second time destroyed.*

WHAT the *Athenians* foresaw came exactly to pass; *Mardonius*, according to the orders of his master, marched directly into *Attica*, and began to waste and plun-e der the country, levelling even the ruins of ancient buildings, and throwing to the ground such as the *Athenians* had either erected or repaired. He proceeded to *Athens*, which its inhabitants were forced a second time to abandon, the *Spartans* sending help so slowly, that the enemy arrived long before their confederates, so that the *Athenians* were constrained to retire with their families to *Salamis*, and to send the army which they had raised under the command of *Aristides*, to join that of the *Spartans* and other states of *Greece*, which under the conduct of *Pausanias*, tutor of king *Leonidas*, was preparing to resist the *Persians*. This army soon after advanced into *Bœotia*, where they fought the famous battle of *Platæa*, in which they made a far greater slaughter of the *Persians* than they had ever done before. It would be foreign f to our present purpose to say any thing more of this battle here, because it was fought out of the territory of *Athens*, and the *Lacedemonians* had the supreme command. It will be necessary however to observe, that *Aristides*, with the body of troops under his command, behaved with such bravery and resolution, as procured him the praise of all the *Greeks* who were their cotemporaries, and hath transmitted their fame both for valour and prudence, even to this far distant age. The same day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought in *Greece*, the *Persians* were also defeated at *Mycale* in *Ionia*. The *Grecian* fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty gallies under the command of *Leutychides* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*.

*Year after the flood* 2521. *Before Christ* 478.

[1] HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid. & Themist. JUSTIN. lib. ii.

It

It is universally allowed that the *Athenians* behaved better than any of the rest of a the *Grecians* in this engagement, of whom, *Herodotus* says, that *Harmelycus* the son of *Eutboinus*, a famous wrestler, deserved the first place. When they had defeated the *Persian* navy, the *Greeks* had the boldness to land and to attack the forces they found on shore, whom having also routed, they plundered all the country, and carried off an immense booty. Having done this they sailed to *Samos*, where it was debated in their council, whether or no it would be fit to transport the *Ionians* into *Greece*, and leave *Ionia* to the *Barbarians*, since it would be very difficult, if not impracticable for the *Athenians*, or indeed for the rest of the confederates, to assist them at all times, and in case they were not protected, their pre- b sent revolt might prove fatal to them. It was likewise proposed in case they were transported to *Greece*, to give them the territories of such *Greek* states as had in this war sided with the *Persians*; but after all the *Athenians* changed their minds, and shewed a visible reluctance, when this design should have been put in execution. They were apprehensive that if the *Ionians* were transported into *Greece*, they would rival them in point of trade, or at least throw off that obedience and respect which hitherto they had paid *Athens* as their mother city and constant protectress. They were likewise uneasy at the *Peloponnesians* interfering in matters relating to their colonies, and as the *Athenians* were at this time the state of greatest consequence in *Greece*, their confederates thought it necessary to satisfy them by their particular condescension in this point, and therefore, after promising the *Ionians* such assistance c as they should have occasion for from time to time, the fleet left their coast. The *Lacedemonians* sailed back to *Laconia*, but the *Athenians*, under the command of *Xanthippus*, resolved to make some farther attempts before they quitted these seas [a].

*The strong fortress of* Sestos *taken.*

This resolution being taken, the *Athenians* crossed over to the *Chersonesus* and besieged *Sestos*. It was a strong place, and had a great garrison under the command of *Artayctes* a *Persian*, whom *Herodotus* represents as a man of very dissolute morals. The siege was long and troublesome, and autumn drawing on, the *Athenians* were very desirous of returning home, but their general *Xanthippus* declared that he would not depart till he had either taken *Sestos*, or was recalled by a decree of the *Athenian* people, because *Artayctes* had been guilty of sacrilege in rifling the sepulchre of *Protesilaus*, and taking thence a vast sum of money. At last the garrison being pressed with hunger, and having no hopes of relief, resolved to shift for themselves, and accordingly made their escape in two parties, the one led by *Oibazus*, the other by *Artayctes*; *Oibazus* and his party were overtaken by the *Thracians*, who, after surrounding him and his guards, killed most of them, and took the rest of his family prisoners; after which they sacrificed him to *Plistorus* a *Thracian* god, and put the rest of their captives to the sword. The *Athenians*, as soon as they were masters of the place, sent out detachments to scour the country, and one of these coming up with *Artayctes* and his corps of troops near the river *Ægos*, engaged, routed them, and make him and his son prisoners. When they were brought back to *Sestos* and put under a guard, *Herodotus* relates a very extraordinary prodigy, which he attributes to the sacrilege beforementioned. He says that one of the *Athenian* soldiers, to whose custody this *Persian* general was committed, broiling some dried fish, saw them leap upon the coals, as if they had been just taken out of the water, upon which *Artayctes* addressed himself to him in these words; "*Athenian* friend, be not afraid, you are not at all concerned in this pro- "digy. *Protesilaus*, though dead and embalmed at *Eleus*, admonishes me, by "this sign, that the gods have given him power to revenge the injury he has re- "ceived: Resolving therefore to make him reparation I will consecrate a hun- "dred talents to his divinity, instead of the riches I took out of his temples; "and I will give two hundred talents to the *Athenians*, if they will spare my life, "and the life of my son." But their general *Xanthippus* would not be persuaded by these promises, partly because he himself was averse to the thing, and partly because the people of *Eleus*, to avenge the injuries done to *Protesilaus* earnestly sollicited him that *Artayctes* might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the shore, where the bridges of *Xerxes* terminated, or, as others say, to an eminence standing near the city of *Madytus*, they caused him to be impaled on a stake fixed in the ground for that purpose, and at the same time stoned his son before

[a] Herodot. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos. Justin. &c.

his

a his eyes. When the *Athenians* had done these things, they returned with their fleet to *Greece*, carrying besides other riches all the materials of the bridges, in order to be consecrated in their temples, and nothing more was done that year[x] (Z).

THE victories of *Platæa* and *Mycale* sealed the freedom of *Greece*, and particularly eased the *Athenians* of their apprehensions; they therefore brought back all their families into *Attica*, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not only with the utmost expedition, but also with some degree of magnificence[y]. The people were more elate than ever, they were conscious of the mighty share they had in driving the *Barbarians* back into *Asia*, and were therefore resolved to preserve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had so warmly contended against strangers. *The-*
b *mistocles*, who was always for a popular government, encouraged them in these expectations, and *Aristides* having thoroughly considered the genius of his countrymen, thought it would be better to concede to them freely what they so much desired, than to hazard new disturbances by the rising up of different factions. He therefore proposed that every citizen should have an equal right to the government, and that the archons should be chosen out of the body of the people without preference or distinction; with this the commons were satisfied, and the men of figure were also contented[z]. *Themistocles* proposed also at this time that *Athens* should be instantly fortified in the best manner possible to prevent the misfortunes which they had lately sustained by the sudden invasions of the *Persians*. He had other views than this,
c but they were not then ripe for discovery, so he contented himself with moving that first which was first to be put into execution. The *Lacedemonians*, as soon as they received this news, were exceedingly alarmed: they had been hitherto the principal people in *Greece*, and were of consequence, very jealous of a rival. They therefore sent embassadors to *Athens*, who on their arrival declared to the assembly, that the *Spartans* having nothing in view but the general good of *Greece*, could not avoid remonstrating against the proceedings of the *Athenians* in fortifying their city, since it was clear to them, that this measure must prove very disadvantagious to their confederates, because if the *Persians* should again make an irruption into *Attica* with the same success as before, and possess themselves of a fortified city, they would
d make use of it as a bridle on *Greece*, and fill it with such a garrison as would render it inexpugnable. These arguments seeming to have no great weight with those to whom they were urged, the *Spartan* embassadors proceeded to exert an authority, which had been admitted in other *Grecian* cities, that is, they absolutely forbid the *Athenians* to carry their walls any higher. The people infinitely offended at this, and at the same time doubtful how it might be remedied, listened readily to *Themistocles*'s advice, which was to the following effect: He said, that considering their own imbecillity, and the power of *Sparta*, they were in this case to make use rather of prudence than prowess. That to free themselves from the *Lacedemonian* embassadors, who were but a kind of spies, they should promise not to proceed any farther in walling their city, till by an embassy of their own they should give satisfaction to
e *Lacedemon* and the rest of their allies. He then offered to go himself at the head of that embassy, and undertook to bring all things to a happy conclusion[a].

[x] HERODOT. ubi supra. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xi. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 5. [z] PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid. [a] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

(Z) The story of *Artayctes*'s sacrilege we have from *Herodotus*, who relates it thus: "The government of the whole province was in the hands of "*Artayctes*, a person of profligate and detestable "manners who had been placed in that station by "*Xerxes*, and by imposing a fraud upon him, "when he marched to *Athens*, he rifled the treasures of *Protesilaus*, the son of *Iphicles*, which "were at *Elæus*. For the city of *Elæus* in *Chersonesus* the sepulchre of *Protesilaus* was erected in "the midst of this temple, and a great sum of "money, with gold and silver plate, vessels of "brass, and other offerings, were taken from thence "by *Artayctes*, in virtue of a grant from the king, "which he obtained by this artifice: *Sir*, said he, "*here is the habitation of a certain* Grecian, *who* "*having entered your territories with an army, perished as he well deserved. Give me the house of* "*this man, that for the future none may dare to invade* "*any part of your dominions.* By this representation "he doubted not to obtain the house from *Xerxes*, "because he could have no suspicion of his project; and told him *Protesilaus* had invaded the "royal dominions, because the *Persians* imagine that "all *Asia* is the property of their kings. Thus "after *Artayctes* had obtained his request, he brought "away the treasure to *Sestus*, converted the sacred "place into pasture and arable land; and when he "was at *Elæus*, lay with divers women in the "sanctuary (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib. ix. prope fin.*

*The Lacedemonians deceived by Themistocles.*

*Themistocles*, according to his own proposal, being named with some other *Athenians* embassadors to *Sparta*, he set out before the rest, having intimated to the senate that it would be for the interest of the state, if they delayed as long as possible sending the rest of the embassadors to *Sparta*. When he arrived at *Lacedemon*, he put from time receiving audience on account of his being alone, and expecting daily his collegues. These in the mean time exhorted the *Athenians* to proceed in building their walls with all imaginable application; this they readily gave into, sparing neither houses nor sepulchres for materials, while women, children, strangers servants and citizens, all wrought night and day, so that in a short space the walls were almost finished. The *Lacedemonians* having received advice of this, and the collegues of *Themistocles* being arrived, they summoned them before the *Ephori*, who began immediately to exclaim against the perfidiousness of the *Athenians* in thus violating their promise. *Themistocles* denied the charge; he said his collegues assured him of the contrary, that it did not become a great state to depend on flying rumours, but that the *Lacedemonians* ought to send deputies back with the *Athenian* embassadors to take cognizance of the affair, while himself remained as a hostage to to be answerable for the event. This being agreed to, *Themistocles* engaged his associates to advise the *Athenians* to commit the *Spartan* embassadors to safe custody till he should be released. He then publickly avowed the whole transaction at *Lacedemon*, took the scheme upon himself, and said, *That all things are lawful for our country*. The *Spartans* seeing no remedy, concealed their resentment, and sent him home in safety [b].

The next year, which was the last of the seventy-fifth olympiad, *Adimanthus* being archon, *Themistocles* opened himself further to his citizens, as to the schemes he had formed for raising their power, and encreasing their wealth. He observed that the port *Phalerum* was very narrow and inconvenient, he therefore advised them to make the *Pyræum* the port of *Athens*, from whence he said that he was sensible that great advantages would accrue to the state, but that it was not proper for him to disclose them to the assembly, or to lay down publicly the methods by which his design might be carried into execution. He entreated them therefore to chuse two persons of rank and capacity, to whom he might communicate the whole of his project. The assembly thereupon made choice of *Aristides* and *Xanthippus*, to whom *Themistocles* freely imparted his contrivance, which was to render the *Pyræum* the most capacious haven in *Greece*, and to unite the city thereto by long walls, for he did not conceive it fit that the port should be made part of the city, because knowing that sailors are generally dissolute, he was afraid that their mixing with the citizens would work a corruption of manners. He observed that the *Ionians* were originally from the same stock with themselves, and that of consequence, if *Athens* were mistress of the sea, they would attach themselves to her rather than to *Lacedemon*, which he said would be the case of the islanders also, who having no idea of a land-force would sue for protection to that state who naval power was greatest; he concluded with shewing the easiness with which his scheme might be put in practice, if its ends were kept secret, and the danger there would be of its coming to nothing, if the *Spartans* had once an idea of what was intended. *Aristides* and *Xanthippus* went then out to the people, and told them that *Themistocles*'s project was of the utmost advantage to the state, and yet might be performed with the greatest ease. This instead of satisfying the assembly, inspired them with new suspicions, they therefore directed *Themistoles* to apply himself to the senate, and if they approved his design, they empowered them to furnish him with what he wanted; accordingly *Themistocles* addressed himself to that venerable body, and they went unanimously into all his measures. In the first place embassadors were dispatched to *Sparta*, to insinuate there how fit it would be for the *Greeks* to have some great port, where a fleet might always continue in safety in order to watch the designs of the *Persians*; having thus prepared the *Lacedemonians* not to take offence at their first preparations for enlarging and establishing the harbour of *Pyræum*, *Themistocles* took such care, that every thing was finished, and the place in a posture of defence, before it was well known at *Sparta* what the *Athenians* were about [c].

*The sovereignty of sea transferred to Athens.*

The *Greeks* continuing the war all this time against the *Persians*, *Aristides* and *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* were sent commanders of the *Athenian* forces, *Pausanias* the

[b] Plut. in vit. Themist. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themist. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [c] Plutarch. in vit. Themist. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

*Lacedemonian*

a *Lacedemonian* having the command in chief. This *Pausanias* elate with the success he had had at *Platæa*, and full also of new designs, having engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the *Persian* king, treated all the captains under his command with such haughtiness and state, that they were not able to bear it; for he never spoke to them but in very harsh terms; he would not allow them to provide forage, or draw water for themselves or their soldiers, till his *Spartans* were all served. As for the private men, under colour of preserving discipline, he treated them as if they had been all slaves, making them for the smallest offences stand with an anchor bound down on their shoulders, so that it almost sunk them into the earth. On the other hand the justice of *Aristides*, and the candour and generosity of *Cimon* attracted b the hearts both of captain and soldiers, they saw that the *Athenians* were far more powerful at sea than the *Lacedemonians*, and that the authority of the latter was founded only on their pride; they therefore applied themselves first to *Aristides*, to desire that he would interpose with *Pausanias* in order to hinder him from behaving so roughly; but when *Pausanias* turned from him disdainfully, and said he was not at leisure to hear him, they unanimously besought the *Athenian* commanders to take them under their protection, promising for the future to acknowledge *Athens* as the first city of *Greece*. *Aristides* upon this proposition told them that he saw clearly, not only the fitness, but the necessity of what they proposed; but as he would never hazard either the safety or honour of his country, by attempting to do what might not succeed, so he would never comply with their request, till by some public c act they put their sincerity out of question, and fix the concurrence of all the troops beyond a possibility of retracting. Upon this *Uliades* the *Samian*, and *Antagoras* of *Chios*, having agreed together, ran foul of *Pausanias*'s galley as she rode at the head of the fleet before *Byzantium*, and upon his threatning to make them know they had not affronted him, but his country, they not only slighted his menaces, but also told him in answer, that the best thing he could do was to retire and thank fortune for her favours at *Platæa*, for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action restrained the *Greeks* from resenting and revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. Thus the *Lacedemonians* lost that preeminence which they had hitherto maintained, and the supreme command was transferred to the *Athenians*[d].

*Aristides taxes all Greece by common consent.*

d The conduct of *Aristides* derived yet greater honour and advantage to his country; the states of *Greece* saw very clearly that it was necessary for them to be always on their guard against the *Persians*, and they had already learned that war was not to be made without money; they therefore inferred that a standing fund would be convenient for the maintenance of that force which it behoved them to keep on foot; but then the settling the proportions of this fund according to the abilities of the several states, seemed to be a difficult thing. Under this dilemma all *Greece* cast her eyes on *Aristides*, they demanded him of the *Athenians* as the only person as could be intrusted with such a plenitude of power. He executed his e commission in such a manner, that his taxation was unanimously stiled *The happy lot of Greece*, all its states being perfectly well satisfied with the sums he allotted them to pay. The gross account of this tax was four hundred and sixty talents. When he had finished this business, he obliged all the people of *Greece* to swear to the observation of all the articles of their grand alliance, himself taking the oath in the name of the *Athenians*, throwing at the same time pieces of red-hot iron into the sea, when he pronounced curses against all such as should violate any article of the alliance they swore to. Afterwards indeed, when necessity compelled the *Athenians* to act a little against the letter of that treaty, *Aristides* advised them to transfer the curses on him, adding, that he would willingly bear the punishments f of their perjury, rather than behold them fall upon the state. *Themistocles* saw with great concern the mighty honours heaped upon his rival, and in order to lessen his reputation, he was pleased to say in a public assembly, that the praises bestowed on *Aristides* were not praises worthy of a man, but of a money-chest, which safely keeps what is deposited therein. But this did not avenge him of an observation which *Aristides* had made on a former speech of his, wherein he declared that he thought it the greatest excellency in a general to penetrate the designs of his enemy; to which *Aristides* replied, that it was indeed a most necessary qualification but that there

[d] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. c. 6. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Aristid.

was another equally illustrious, which was *to have clean hands, and not be a slave to money*. Thus when the *Athenians* were free from foreign wars, and from any contentions with their confederates, they were continually employed in domestic quarrels; the dissensions of eminent men were never failing to raise disturbances among their fellow citizens. An observation which we shall content ourselves with making here once for all, though the verification thereof will occur to our readers in almost every page of the *Athenian* history[e]. a

Themistocles *banished* Athens, *and driven out of* Greece.

The *Lacedemonians*, though at first they made a semblance of submitting to the pleasure of the *Greeks*, who transferred the preheminence with respect to maritime affairs from from *Sparta* to *Athens*, yet in a short time they began to look on this as a mighty diminution of their authority; and they were the more concerned at it, because it was reported among them, that an oracle had bid them beware that they enjoyed not half an empire, yet their anger being moderated by the wisdom of some of their citizens, they laid aside all thoughts of war, and the *Athenians* who had provisionally built some stout gallies, reaped thereby some advantage from their threatenings. There seems just reason to believe that the *Lacedemonians* acted more politically in remaining at peace, than if they had taken arms; for a little after they accused *Themistocles* to his countrymen of having conspired with their king *Pausanias* to betray the cause of *Greece*. When this matter came to a hearing, it did indeed appear that *Pausanias* had discovered his intrigues to *Themistocles*; but it appeared likewise that *Themistocles* did all in his power to persuade him to let them fall, so that he was acquitted of this accusation with honour. But the minds of the people being once stirred against him, as well to gratify their own private resentment, as to make their court to the *Spartans*, there were enow found to calumniate *Themistocles*. We have already shewn some of the reasons which induced the people of *Lacedemon* to hate this great man, there remains yet one more which deserves the readers notice, because of all others it exasperated them most. A little after the battle of *Platæa*, it was proposed in the council of the *Amphictyones*, or states-general of *Greece*, that all such cities as had not fought against the *Persians*, should lose their right of sending deputies to that assembly. This *Themistocles* opposed, for he foresaw that if the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, and many others should lose their right of sending representatives to this assembly, the *Lacedemonians* would rule all; wherefore he represented to the members there present, that there were but one and thirty cities, and most of them very small ones, which had concurred in the war against the *Persians*, and that if the deputies of those only had session in their council, it would undoubtedly come to pass that this august senate would be entirely under the influence of two or three great cities, which would be at once disadvantagious and dishonourable to *Greece*. These suggestions of his having destroyed the *Lacedemonian* scheme of empire, the chiefs of that city ever after befriended the rivals of *Themistocles*, and sought to bring him into odium with the *Athenians*. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian*, who was a famous poet in those times, wrote libels against *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, and *Cimon* promoted exceedingly that spirit of jealousy which began to spring up against him. *Themistocles* himself gave them a handle, by erecting near his own house a temple which he dedicated to *Diana, the giver of the best council*; intimating that himself had given the best council both for the safety of *Athens* and *Greece*. The end of these disputes was, that the *Athenians* by the ostracism banished *Themistocles*. The *Lacedemonians*, not satisfied with this, accused him afresh of having been concerned in *Pausanias*'s conspiracy, which obliged that great man man to fly from one place to another, and at last to take shelter in the court of *Admetus*, king of the *Molossians*; but the *Spartans* sending embassadors thither to threaten that king with the *Greeks* making war upon him by a confederacy, he furnished *Themistocles* with money to make his escape into *Asia*, where learning not only the *Persian* manners, but the language also, he raised himself to greater favour with *Artaxerxes* than any of the native *Persians*, so that in time he bestowed on him a *Persian* wife, a large estate, and great privileges, which descended to his posterity, insomuch that *Plutarch* affirms that he knew one of them whose name was also *Themistocles*, who lived at *Magnesia* in full possession of them above five-hundred years, after the ingratitude b c d e f

[e] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit Aristid. [f] Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themist. Diodor. Sicul. Biblith. lib. xi. c. 12. Plutarch. in vit. Themist.

of

a of the *Athenians* sent this excellent person to receive his bread from strangers, and to make known to *Persia* those virtues of which *Greece* was no longer worthy [f] (A).

[f] Corn. Nepos in vit. Themist. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. c. 12. Plut. in vit. Themist.

(A) As far as the affairs of *Themistocles* were mingled with those of the state of *Athens*, we have followed his various fortunes in the text; but now when they are no longer connected, we think it necessary to throw together some memoirs of the latter part of this great man's life in a note. It does not appear that *Themistocles* when banished had any design either to revenge himself on *Athens*, or to take refuge in the court of the king of *Persia*. The *Greeks* themselves forced him upon this, or rather the *Lacedæmonians*; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to banish him, so by their procurement after he was banished, he was never suffered to remain in quiet, let him take refuge where he would. His journey into *Persia*, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was very dangerous; the great king having promised by proclamation two-hundred talents for apprehending him. *Nicogenes* the *Eolian* found means to convey him to court in safety, for having put him into a close litter, he caused the servants who attended him to give out that they carried a young *Grecian* lady out of *Ionia* to a nobleman attending on the king's person; thus he arrived safely at the court of *Artaxerxes*, where he addressed himself to *Artabanus*, and informed him that he was a *Grecian*, who desired to be admitted to an audience of the king, which *Artabanus* having promised, demanded whom they should say he was; for you seem, said he, to be no ordinary person. *Themistocles* answered, no man must be informed of this before the king himself. When admitted to the royal presence, and commanded to declare who he was, he spoke thus: "I am *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, banished and persecuted by the *Greeks*; I fly to thee for refuge, mighty monarch: The evils I have done to the *Persians* are easily to be forgiven, in consideration of the many atchievements performed for them, when I hindered the *Grecians* from pursuing the *Medes* after the fatal battle of *Salamis* and *Platæa*; when having freed my country, and placed the *Greeks* in safety, my ambition led me on to greater enterprizes; in which being successful, I gratified the far-extended *Persian* empire, and performed services acceptable to the greatest prince on earth: Since which all things having conspired to augment my present calamities, suitable to such a condition, I come hither hoping to receive mercy from a gracious reconciled emperor, who hath laid aside his anger, and is no longer mindful of former evils; humbly imploring you, that taking the *Greeks* for witnesses of the services I have done for *Persia*, you will make use of this occasion to shew the world the nobleness of your virtue, rather than the greatness of your resentment. Hereby you will preserve an humble suppliant; if otherwise, you destroy a servant of the *Persians*, and a public enemy of the *Greeks* (77)". *Thucydides* mentions a letter sent by *Themistocles* to *Artaxerxes*, differing very little from this speech, attributed to him by *Plutarch*. *Cornelius Nepos* hath copied this letter from *Thucydides*; and all agree that the *Persian* monarch received him with great kindness. *Plutarch* says, that he was so well pleased with him, that he cried out thrice, the night of his audience, in his sleep, *I have* Themistocles *the* Athenian (78). The next morning the king sent for him again, and as soon as the first compliments were over, said, *I am in your debt two hundred talents, for so much I promised to him who brought* Themistocles; he likewise promised him far greater favours, and desired he would speak his mind freely of the affairs of *Greece*. *Themistocles* answered by his interpreter, *That discourse, like a* Persian *carpet, had in it a variety of figures, which never appeared to advantage, but when it was thoroughly unfolded, and was scarce to be apprehended when wrapt together in the piece*; he therefore desired that he might have time to learn the *Persian* language, which would enable him to disclose his own ideas without the help of another. This answer of *Themistocles* is a noble proof of his extensive genius, it was entirely in the oriental taste, the sentiment great, and the figure expressive; he delivered himself like a native *Persian* the very first day that he appeared in the court of *Persia*; the king readily granted him a year for the purpose he intended. At the end of that space he appeared frequently at court, *Themistocles* being in a short time so great a favourite, that it became afterwards a proverb, and the *Persian* kings were wont to promise any *Greek* whom they sought to bring over to their interest, *that he should live with them as* Themistocles *did with* Artaxerxes. He was also in high favour with the queen-mother, became a convert to the *Persian* religion, and was instructed therein by the magi. He had three cities bestowed upon him, which, alluding to their situation, the king of *Persia* said in pleasantry that they should serve to provide him *bread, wine*, and *meat*; these cities were *Magnesia*, *Myons*, and *Lampsacus*; the first brought him in a yearly revenue of fifty talents, and the last had in its neighbourhood the noblest vineyards in the east. *Themistocles* fixed his residence at *Magnesia*, where he lived with all the splendor of a *Persian* grandee, insomuch that he said one day at table to his children, *We had been undone, my little ones, if we had not been undone*. He was so far from expressing any hatred against his ungrateful country, that *Plutarch* assures us the tenderness he retained for it had like to have cost him his life; for seeing at *Sardis* a brazen statue of a virgin which he had set up in *Athens*, when he was surveyor of the aqueducts, he attempted to persuade the governor of *Lydia* to send it back to *Athens*; who, far from giving into his opinion, fell into a great passion, and threatened to inform the emperor, so that *Themistocles*, in order to extricate himself from danger, was forced to make large presents to his women. Authors differ exceedingly as to the manner in which this noble *Athenian* died. *Plutarch* says, that being pressed by the king of *Persia* to undertake an expedition against *Greece*, he made a solemn sacrifice, at which having kindly entertained his friends, he drank a porringer of bull's blood, and so put an end to his life. *Thucydides*, who was co-temporary with *Themistocles*, speaks very doubtfully of this business; *He died*, says he, *of a distemper, but some report that he poisoned himself, seeing it impossible to accomplish what he had promised the king*. He was sixty six years old at his death; he was honoured with a stately tomb at *Magnesia*, but his bones, by his own command, were privately carried back into *Attica* and buried there. Some say that the *Athenians* repenting afterwards of their ill-usage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the *Pyræum*. And *Plutarch* in support of this quotes the following verses from *Plato* the commedian:

Thy tomb is justly rais'd upon the strand,
Where from all parts admiring strangers land;
In that fair port by thy great genius made
The seat of empire, liberty, and trade:
So that thy ashes on this famous shore,
Both sea and land may honour and adore (79).

(77) *de Bello Pelop. lib.* i. (78) *Plut. in vit. Themist.* (79) *Plut. ubi supra. Thucyd. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themist.*

The popular party in *Athens* carried all things before them, after *Themistocles* was a banished; and such a number of false witnesses arose, that those who were most concerned in that affair were in danger of repenting of it. *Aristides* alone, when things came to extremity, shewed himself more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to *Themistocles*; he refused to join with *Alcmæon* and *Cimon* in prosecuting him capitally, and was so far from insulting him in his misfortunes, that he spoke of him with greater respect than ever. The war with *Persia* was not yet let fall, the *Greeks* found that great advantage accrued to them from carrying it on, especially the *Athenians*, who by means of their great force at sea, were continually enriching themselves at the expence of some or other of the *Persian* emperor's subjects. They therefore devised various reasons for sending fleets to sea, though the real intent was to aggrandize and b enrich themselves by the skill and valour of their troops, and their commanders. With this view, in the latter end of the seventy-seventh olympiad, they equipped a navy for the relief of such of the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, as were under subjection to the great king. This expedition was pleasing to the *Athenians*, and no less grateful to the *Greeks* in general, since it seemed to be for the advantage of others, though they had in truth no less regard to their own [g].

Cimon *establishes the* Athenian *greatness.*

*Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*, by the daughter of the king of *Thrace*, was unanimously chosen admiral and commander in chief on this occasion: He will make a great figure in the succeeding part of this history, and therefore it is necessary that we should give the reader his character here. *Cimon*'s abilities were fair and solid, yet less so than his virtues; his father had distinguished himself by the firmness of c his courage, *Themistocles* by the strength of his judgment, *Aristides* by his probity, *Cimon* was equal to them all; his distinguishing perfection was an openness of temper which made him above deceiving, the only stain on *Themistocles*'s character; and an inflexible honesty, which raised his reputation above his father's. It was this *Cimon* whom the merciful *Athenians* put in chains for his father's fine, and for whose release his sister gave up her charms to *Callias*, remarkable only for being at the same time *worthless*, and *worth money*. In his youth *Cimon* did not promise much, he was little inclined to learning, which in an *Athenian* was a strange thing; he was much addicted to magnificence, and the love of women, which were also thought blemishes in a young nobleman like him; but of a sudden he gave his citizens to d understand that the greatest virtues are not the soonest seen; for, when on the first news of the *Persian* invasion, *Themistocles* advised the *Athenians* to quit their city, and go on board their gallies, and was thereupon universally decried, *Cimon* went immediately to the temple of *Minerva*, and offered up a bridle, to signify that horsemen were no longer of use, but that they ought to trust to their ships; after which he went chearfully about taking down his goods, and carried them on board the fleet. *Aristides*, observing the integrity of this young man, took great care to train him up to business, that his candour might balance the craft of *Themistocles*, in which he succeeded very happily; for *Cimon* only, of all the *Athenian* generals was always beloved, and never suspected [h]. In this expedition he took the city of e *Eion* from the *Persians*, but with little advantage to the *Athenians*, because *Butes*, who commanded in that city for the *Persian* king, set fire to the place, and burnt himself, his garrison, and all the riches that were therein; however, *Cimon* settled colonies in that neighbourhood after revenging himself on the *Thracians*, who had assisted the *Persians* in *Ionia* with provisions. He afterwards reduced the island of *Scyros*, from whence he brought the bones of *Theseus*, which were honourably interred at *Athens* (B). After this he returned to *Athens*, and having increased his fleet to three hundred

[g] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [h] Plut. in vit. Cimonis. Corn. Nepos. in vit ejusd.

(B) This note hath the same subject with the last; we are to speak of the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the ashes of a great man, whom they treated ill while living, and sent to beg his bread; this was no less a person than *Theseus*, to whom in a great measure they owed their being a people. The oracle in the latter end of the seventy-fifth, or beginning of the seventy-sixth olympiad, commanded the *Athenians* to bring home the ashes of this prince. When therefore *Cimon* made himself master of the isle of *Scyros*, he sought with great diligence for the tomb of *Theseus*; but being able to find no such thing, he inquired of the people of the island, who either could not or would not give him any intelligence; at last observing an eagle upon a rising ground pecking it with her bill, and tearing up the earth with her talons, it came into his head to dig there. This being done, there was found a coffin of a man of more than ordinary size, the brazen head of a lance, and a sword lying by him, all which he took on board his galley, and brought them with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians* transported with joy,

a hundred sail, he steered for the coast of *Caria*, and having performed great things there, he sailed for *Cyprus*, where he was informed the *Persian* fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, their land army, which was very numerous, being encamped not far off. *Cimon*, though the fleet was much stronger than his, attacked it, and after a very obstinate engagement, gained a complete victory, taking one hundred ships, their crews abandoning them to seek refuge on shore. Unsatisfied with this, he debarqued his forces, and attacked their land-army; the *Persians* fought better than ever they had done, and yet after a very long and bloody battle the *Athenians* prevailed, and not only routed the *Persians*, but possessed themselves of their camp with all their riches contained therein; thus in one b day he gained two important victories, one at sea, the other at land, equal to those of *Salamis* and *Platea* [i]. *Plutarch* says, that he afterwards made himself master of eighty *Phœnician* vessels, which lay in a port of *Cyprus*, and were intended to strengthen that navy which *Cimon* had destroyed. However it was, he gained such an immense booty, that the *Athenians* were enabled thereby to build the south wall of the citadel, and to lay the foundation of those far extended walls which united the port to the city, and which being built in a moorish ground, they were first of all forced to sink great stones, that they might have whereon to erect a superstructure, besides various other things for the accommodation of the citizens, and besides what *Cimon* himself did out of his proportion of the spoils, which were very great; for he c adorned the *forum* with palm-trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks, and pleasant fountains. The wealth of *Cimon*, as it enabled him to do many things for the public, so it likewise put it in his power to live in his private capacity with that magnificence which he so much affected; he therefore demolished the inclosures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleased; he likewise kept an open table, where not only the rich found delicacies, but the poorest *Athenians* eat of them freely. When he went abroad he was constantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dressed, and whose pockets were well furnished with money. But if by chance he met any ancient citizen in a tattered suit, he made some of his domestics change d cloaths with him; or if the quality of the person rendered that kindness unsuitable, he took a sum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the distressed person privately. Thus, as one of the ancients said of him very justly, he gained riches that he might use them, and used them so as to get credit. Yet he was far from doing these things from a desire of becoming popular; on the contrary, he sided always with the nobility, and opposed openly such as sought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power. The riches which his victories poured into *Athens*, brought along with them their constant attendant, corruption; but though the tide was strong, yet *Aristides* in the midst of a voluntary poverty, and *Cimon* who lived with the greatest magnificence, escaped it, and were never e taxed with partiality, or being under the influence of money [k].

*Year after the deluge*, 2531. *Before Christ* 468.

The affairs of *Athens* were now in such prosperous condition, that they would not suffer any thing to be transacted to their prejudice without revenging it. The *Persians* having invaded the *Chersonesus*, and by the help of the *Thracians* made themselves intirely masters of it, *Cimon* was sent thither in a great hurry; he had with him but four ships, so that the *Barbarians* and their allies looked upon this as a very rash attempt; however, *Cimon* falling upon them suddenly, took thirteen of their gallies, and afterwards reduced all *Chersonesus* under the *Athenian* power, after which he went against the *Thasians*, who revolting from the *Athenians*, had made themselves masters of the gold mines, which lie between the rivers *Nyssus* and f *Strymon*, which tempted the *Athenians* to fall upon them. But before we enter into

*The* Thasians *revolt, and are reduced by* Cimon.

[i] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plutarch. ubi supra. [k] Plutarch. ubi supra.

joy, went out to meet and receive the reliques of this great man with all the pomp imaginable. They interred them in the middle of the city, and made his tomb an asylum or sanctuary for slaves and people of mean condition, who fled from the persecution of men in power, because in his life-time he had been a protector of the distressed, and above all things delighted in doing the injured justice. They likewise sacrificed solemnly to him on the 8th of *October*, because he was reported to have returned from his *Cretan* expedition on that day. Thus the *Athenians*, who injured *Theseus* living, revered him dead! (80)

(80) *Plut. in vit. Thes.*

the

the event of this war, it may not be amiss to observe, that *Cimon* put the *Athenians* into a method of becoming irresistible at sea, and of zuving their neighbours, not at their own expence, but at the expence of those they awed. It was thus: Many of the *Greek* states, who by the treaty concluded with *Aristides*, were bound to furnish men and gallies, as well as to pay the tax for their support, when they saw themselves out of danger from the *Barbarians*, were very unwilling to furnish their quota of men and ships; this most of the *Athenian* generals disliking, would have compelled them by high fines to remedy; but *Cimon* took a contrary course, he premitted such as were desirous of staying at home to remain there, and took a certain sum in lieu of a galley compleatly manned. By this means he inured the *Athenians*, whom he took on board his gallies, both to hardship and discipline, while the allies, who chose to excuse themselves in this manner, were enervated thro' idleness, and so from confederates dwindled by degrees into tributaries, and almost slaves. The people of *Thasus*, perceiving this, thought to have shaken off the *Athenian* yoke; but *Cimon* proved too many for them, though the *Thasians* behaved very bravely; for having first sustained a great loss at sea, they afterwards shut themselves up in their city, and made a very obstinate defence; while in the mean time they sent privately to the *Lacedæmonians*, and endeavoured to stir them up to make war with the *Athenians*; but their affairs not permitting them to comply with their request, the *Thasians* were at last obliged to submit; and so the gold mines about which this war was commenced, fell into the power of the *Athenians*, who sent a great colony to *Amphipolis*, a city of *Thrace*, which for a time made a great figure, but afterwards attempting to penetrate into the country of the *Edones*, a great part of them were destroyed. In the last year of the seventy-seventh olympiad, the *Lacedæmonians* finding themselves extremely vexed by their *Helotes*, who were revolted from them, and who were supported by the *Messenians*, and some other of their neighbours, sent to demand aid from *Athens*, which produced very great disputes there; *Ephialtes*, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party, opposed the motion for sending, as the *Spartans* desired, an army to their assistance. *Cimon*, who favoured the nobility, and who was a great friend to the *Lacedæmonians*, by whose interest he had been supported against *Themistocles*, earnestly pressed the *Athenians* to lay hold of this opportunity of shewing their virtue and magnanimity, by succouring their companion, who was the other eye of *Greece*. *Ephialtes* sought to bring the people into his opinion, by shewing that *Sparta* had always been, and from the nature of her constitution would always be an enemy to *Athens*, and therefore ought not to be succoured now the enemies her pride had excited were about to lay her low. The *Athenians* however listened rather to *Cimon* than to his adversary, and full of a generous concern for *Greece*, sent that fortunate general at the head of a great army to the assistance of *Lacedæmon*, which service he very willingly performed, and returned from thence with great honour; some time after, the *Lacedæmonians* being engaged in the siege of *Ithome*, sent again to the *Athenians* for succour, and were again relieved, *Cimon* marching with a numerous body of troops to their assistance; but the *Spartans*, finding that their other confederates had sent troops sufficient to enable them to make an end of the war successfully, dismissed the *Athenian* succours, as being either afraid of them, or caring least to be obliged by them. This grievously offended the people of *Athens*, who thenceforward not only hated the *Lacedæmonians*, but all of their own citizens who were reputed to be friends to that state[1].

*The* Athenians *make war on* Ægina, *and send a fleet into* Egypt.

The *Athenians* engaged themselves in two new wars, one against the inhabitants of *Egina*, who having been always free, bore very ill these acts of sovereignty which the *Athenians* exercised over them, as well as the rest of their allies; the second was against the great king in *Egypt*, which now revolted from him, and set up one *Inarus* for king. The fleet which the *Athenians* sent hither performed wonders; for they enabled the *Egyptians* to beat the *Persians* in the field, and to subdue two districts of the great city of *Memphis*; but the third, which was called the white, they could not reduce, the *Persians* who retreated thither, having carried with them a vast quantity of provisions and ammunition, which enabled them to hold out a siege of three years; but this affair being already exactly related in our account

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos vit. ejusd. Thucyd. lib. i.

of

a of the *Persian* monarchy, we need say no more of it here, than that it ended not much to the credit or advantage of the *Athenians* [m].

*State of the factions in Athens at this time.*

THEIR great business abroad did not so much take up the time of the people of *Athens*, but that they continued as much divided as ever at home; the popular party were continually making efforts against those small remains of power which were yet in the hand of the nobility; they had at their head two very great and famous men, *Pericles* and *Ephialtes*; the former of these was the son of *Xanthippus* the famous *Athenian* captain, who won the battle of *Mycale*, by *Agariste* the niece of the celebrated *Clysthenes*, who had so great a hand in expelling the *Pisistratidæ*. He studied under *Damon* and *Anaxagoras*; from the former he learned politics, though b he pretended to teach him music, and from the latter natural philosophy, and the art of speaking. He had prodigious talents, and above all an eloquence superior to that of any of his co-temporaries; but he was obliged to conceal these shining qualifications, because the *Athenians* had taken it in their heads that he resembled *Pisistratus* very much in his face, and still more in his eloquence, which was so nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the surname of *Olympus*. Notwithstanding therefore that he was of a great family, had a good estate, and many relations, who filled the first posts in the commonwealth, yet he not only declined standing for publick employments, but even speaking or appearing in public, that he might not draw upon himself the envy of the great, or become formidable c to the people. But when *Aristides* was dead, *Themistocles* in banishment, and *Cimon*, generally speaking, employed in foreign affairs, *Pericles* began to apply himself strictly to public business, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of *Athens* had acted; for instead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himself wholly to the lower sort of people, notwithstanding that it was contrary to his natural disposition, which by no means inclined him to a plausible insinuating behaviour. The reason was that there appeared no other method than this, by which he could possibly attain to that eminence and superiority which he affected. *Cimon*, by the greatness of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate, had placed himself at the head of the nobility, and was by d them considered as their chief, being revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generosity and condescension. The *multitude* therefore were the sole resource of *Pericles*, who, as he was a great and deep politician, foresaw exactly the dangers he must be exposed to in consequence of his making court to them. To avoid these, he practised a behaviour equally singular and extraordinary; he left off all company, he neither received or paid visits, and but once in all his administration was present at a feast, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the *prytaneum* or *assembly*; he preserved an unshaken gravity in his look, his gestures, and his speech, and always prayed before he delivered an oration, that nothing might slip from him displeasing to the people. With all e these abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unless he could be as liberal as *Cimon*, to whom, though his will was equal, yet his fortune fell short; but he overcame this difficulty by making bold with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done since, obliging the people at their own expence. He encreased the salaries given to such of the *Athenian* citizens as sat in courts of justice, the money given the poorer citizens for attending at assemblies, and to enable them to pay for seats in the theatres [n] (C).



[m] Universal History, Vol. II. p. 131. [n] PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

(C) The reader might be justly offended, if we had suffered *Aristides*'s subsequent fortunes to have slipped without notice. We have already marked his public character, his notions of government, and the share he had, like the rest of the great men of *Athens*, in the favour and in the hate of his countrymen. In this note therefore we will draw together such scattered passages in relation to this great man, as the course of the history did not permit us to take notice of in the text. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Aristo*, an historian of *Chios*, or as M. *Dacier* will have it, of *Ceos*, said that the contention between *Aristides* and *Themistocles* took rise from their being both enamoured of *Stesileus* of the island of *Ceos*, the most beautiful youth of his time, in which if there be any truth, it is an incontestable argument, that the morality of the *Greeks* was far from being pure or perfect, since *Aristides*, who valued himself so much on his probity, could persist in so base and unnatural a vice. What a high esteem all his co-temporaries had of the rigid virtue of *Aristides*, is better known to us from an accident, that from all the laboured panegyrics of the writers of history. It happened that *Aristides* was present the first time that *Æschylus*'s tragedy was played, which has this title, *The siege of* Thebes *by the seven captains*. A courier being therein introduced, relating to *Eteocles* the names and qualities of those that commanded, thus

Inasmuch as *Pericles* never pretended to any of the great offices of the com- a
monwealth, he could not of consequence be chosen a member of the court of *Areopagus*, whence it came to pass that he distasted their authority, because he knew they could not be well pleased with his endeavouring to transfer all things to the general assembly, where by dint of his eloquence he governed all. But fearing to draw upon himself the displeasure of the most venerable council among the *Athenians*, he encouraged *Ephialtes*, his intimate friend to stir up the people against the *Areopagites*, and to make them believe that this tribunal was the greatest curb upon them, and the only bar to that extensive liberty which their friends wished to put into the hands of the commons of *Athens*; thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatness in that of the people, but at the expence of b
the ancient constitution, and of the safety of the state, as the course of this history will shew [a].

When things were in this situation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the destruction of *Cimon*. In order to this, a prosecution was commenced against him for treason against the state; this treason was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the *Macedonians*, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the manifest opportunity he had to inlarge his conquests, after he had taken from the *Persians* the gold mines in *Thrace*. *Cimon* made a defence suitable to his character, he said that he had prosecuted to the utmost of his power the war against the *Thracians*, and other enemies to the state of *Athens*; c
but that it was true, he had not made any inroads into *Macedonia*, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind, and because he was struck with respect for a nation modest in their carriage, just in their dealings, and strictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the *Athenians*; that if his countrymen looked upon this as a crime, he must abide their judgment, but could never be brought to think that his conduct was amiss. *Elpinice* his sister engaged herself warmly in his behalf, soliciting all such as she thought might either influence

[a] Plutarch. ubi supra. & in vit. Cimonis. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

thus describes the genius and temper of *Amphiarius*.

He aims at real worth without the show,
Reaping those fruits which in his rich mind grow;
Whence sage advice and noble actions flow.

As soon as these words were out of the actor's mouth, the whole audience turned their eyes upon *Aristides*, to shew that in their opinion this was his character also. He was appointed treasurer of *Athens*, and executed that office with great integrity; but inasmuch as he had exposed some of *Themistocles*'s frauds, that artful politician accused him of misapplying public money, and though nothing was falser than this charge, got him condemned. But the court of *Areopagus* interposing, his fine was remitted, and he chosen treasurer for the next year, when he suffered all the collectors and under-officers to act as they thought fit, who thereupon extolled him to the skies, and when the end of the year came, would have persuaded the people to chuse him a third time, when *Aristides* rising up, addressed himself to the Assembly in these words: "When I discharged "my office with care, and managed your treasure "faithfully, and like an honest man, I was reviled, "and evil spoken of; but now, when I have taken "no care at all, but left it to the discretion of these "public robbers, I am, it seems, an admirable "treasurer, and a most excellent patriot; I there-"fore declare to you, that I am more ashamed of "the honour done to me this day, than of the "sentence passed upon me last year; and with in-"dignation and concern, I see it is more merito-"rious with you to oblige ill men, than to deserve "well of the commonwealth". The day before the battle of *Platæa*, a conspiracy being discovered among the *Athenians* to introduce a democracy, *Aristides*, who commanded, would not suffer it to be looked minutely into, for fear it should occasion some sedition in the camp; but contented himself with telling such as were suspected, that the battle would be the tribunal in which they might justify themselves, and shew how much they were friends to their country. It is certain, that in this battle *Aristides* proved himself to be as great a general as he was a statesman, and gave as noble testimonies of his valour as he had ever done of prudence and justice; he lived but four years after *Themistocles* was banished, and notwithstanding he had exercised the greatest offices in the commonwealth, yet he was so poor that he was unable to make a figure himself, or to leave any thing to his children, except the honour of being descended from such a father, which procured them a maintenance from the public; we will instance but one thing more in relation to *Aristides*, which respects at once his poverty and virtue, and so conclude. His cousin *Callias* the torch-bearer being under a prosecution, the orator who spoke against him observed, that though he was immensely rich, he suffered his cousin *Aristides* to labour under the deepest necessity. *Callias* perceiving that this made more impression on his judges than the crime for which he was accused, he summoned *Aristides*, who owned that *Callias* had often pressed him to accept money, and that he had as often answered, *It better becomes* Aristides *to make a shew of his poverty, than* Callias *of his wealth; for many people make a bad use of their riches, whereas there is scarce one to be found who bears poverty with an equal mind*. He died in the second year of the LXXVIIIth olympiad, 467 years before Christ (81.)

(81) *Plutarch. in vit. Aristid. Corn. Nepos in vit. ejusdem. Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* i. *Just. lib.* ii. *c.* 15. *Senec. de Benefic.*

the

a the people, or any other way either prejudice or benefit her brother; amongst the rest she addressed herself to *Pericles*, who was one of the persons appointed by the people to accuse *Cimon* at his trial. *Pericles* heard all she had to say patiently, and then answered with a smile, *You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in such affairs as these.* *Pericles* was noted for gallantry, and in all probability, he let fall this expression to take off all suspicion that *Elpinice* had made any impression upon him; for it was observed that when the trial came on, *Pericles* spoke but once, and then not only treated *Cimon* with great respect, but touched the business of which he was accused so lightly, that he seemed to have no opinion of his guilt; and when he had done speaking he withdrew; the consequence of this was, that *Cimon* escaped capital pu-
b nishment, though he was banished by the *ostracism*, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehensions from the people [p].

The disposition of the *Athenians* appearing now to be extremely favourable to those who inclined to the commons more than the nobility, *Ephialtes* took this opportunity to humble the court of *Areopagus*, which he did by a decree, whereby most of the causes which had been cognizable by them were transferred elsewhere; and this the wisest of the *Athenians* have looked upon as the first step to their ruin, for it gave the people such a dangerous notion of liberty, as rendered them ever afterwards ungovernable; however *Ephialtes* did not triumph long, for a little while afterwards he was assassinated in the streets by *Aristodicus* a *Tanagrian*, as *Aristotle* reports,
c induced thereto by the nobility, though *Idomenes* of *Lampsacus*, an author quoted by *Plutarch*, ascribes his murder to *Pericles*, who, when he had served his purposes, thought it best to have him out of the way [q].

A war breaking out between the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians* on the one side, and the *Athenians* on the other, the former were twice routed by the latter; after which the *Athenians* conceiving that the inhabitants of *Ægina* had some way or other been helpful to their enemies, sent *Leocrates* their admiral, at the head of a great fleet, to punish that island which had always been troublesome to the *Athenians*. The inhabitants of *Ægina*, vainly trusting to their skill in maritime affairs, ventured with a small fleet, made up for the most part of new-built ships, to hazard a battle with
d the *Athenians*, in which however they suffered dearly for their rashness, being totally defeated with the loss of seventy ships, so that they were constrained to submit themselves to the *Athenians*, and to purchase peace at the expence of honour and independence [r].

The states of *Peloponnesus*, looking all with jealous eyes on the growing greatness of the *Athenians*, watched every opportunity of making war upon her, when she was engaged in troublesome affairs, and seemed to be less able to resist them. On this account the *Corinthians* attacked the *Megarians*, whom they knew to be the allies of *Athens*, while the *Athenians* upon some fresh provocation were laying siege to *Ægina*; but this warlike people, far from being frighted at the number of their enemies, sent
e *Myronides* their general, at the head of a considerable army, to the assistance of their allies, without desisting in the mean time from any of their former enterprizes. *Myronides* behaved so well, that after several engagements the *Corinthians* were glad to return, so that this attempt to check the *Athenian* power, served, as many others had done, only to increase it [s].

*The* Athenians *beaten at* Tanagra. *Year after the flood* 2541. *Before Christ* 458.

The *Lacedæmonians* having sent a great army composed of their own troops, and those of their allies, to the assistance of the *Dorians* against the *Phoceans*, the *Athenians* resolved to attack them in their return, having long wished for an opportunity of revenging those insults which they had received, or which they apprehended they had received from the *Spartans*. The *Athenians* therefore drawing in the *Argives*
f and *Thessalians* to be confederates with them, manned out a fleet of fifty sail, and with them approached the isthmus, where they landed an army of fourteen thousand men, and took possession of the passages, so that it was impossible for the *Lacedæmonians* to return home without encountering them. The *Spartan* army commanded by *Nicomedes* consisted of eleven thousand five hundred men; he did not however hasten rashly to a battle, but turned aside to *Tanagra* a city of *Bœotia*, where such of the *Athenians* as inclined to an aristocracy entered into some correspondence with him. But before their designs ripened, the *Athenian* army marched with great

[p] Plut. in vit. Cim. & Peric. Corn. Nepos. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Periclis.
[r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 283. [s] Id. ib.

expedition

expedition to *Tanagra*, so that a battle became inevitable. When the *Athenians* a were disposing themselves in battalia, *Cimon* presented himself on a sudden completely armed, and went to take post among the troops of his own tribe. But those of the popular faction, forgetting all respect to their country, and minding nothing but their private resentments, raised a great clamour, alledging that he came with no other view than to put himself at the head of his own party in order to assist the *Lacedæmonians*; they therefore insisted that the general should not receive them, his time of banishment being not near expired; and *Cimon* being informed of this, rather than make his countrymen uneasy, voluntarily retired, but before he withdrew, he addressed himself to *Euthippus* and the rest of his friends, who were charged with being in a conspiracy with him, earnestly beseeching them to behave in such b a manner as might wipe off the aspersion, and convince the *Athenians* that they had not amongst them either braver or honester men than *Cimon* and his friends. *Euthippus* and his companions made him no other answer than desiring him to leave them his armour, since their generals would not permit him to serve at their head, which accordingly he did; the battle proved long and doubtful, for the *Thessalian* horse, deserting the *Athenians* at the beginning of the action, added great weight to their enemies; however the troops of *Athens* and their confederates fought obstinately, particularly the little body commanded by *Euthippus*, which drawing close together, and having *Cimon*'s armour in the midst of them, charged amongst the thickest of the enemy, and there bravely fighting were all slain. In the end, however, the *Athenians* were routed with a very great loss. This unfortunate business c was followed shortly after by another unlucky accident; a great convoy coming out of *Attica*, the *Thessalians* marched suddenly in the night to attack it. The *Athenian* escort, knowing nothing of what had happened at the battle of *Tanagra*, received the *Thessalians* as friends. But they suddenly falling upon them, the *Athenian* guard stood on their defence, and made a very gallant resistance, till at last their own army came into their aid, who quickly routed the *Thessalians* with great slaughter; yet these in the end being sustained by the *Lacedemonians*, the engagement became again doubtful, till at length both armies being sufficiently tired, and the night coming on, they made a drawn battle, and concluded a short truce, that after such rude en- d counters both sides might have time to recruit their forces [t].

The *Thebans*, who on account of their having joined *Xerxes* in his war against *Greece*, had lost the government of *Bœotia*, applied themselves now to the *Lacedæmonians*, entreating them to assist their recovery of it, and promising to be for ever their faithful allies against the *Athenians*. The *Spartans* conceiving this to be a very seasonable proposal, readily complied with it, and entered into a strict league with the *Thebans*. By their assistance *Thebes* was restored to her ancient lustre, rendered the head of *Bœotia*, and one of the first cities in *Greece*. The *Athenians* however were so much displeased at the conduct of the *Spartans* in this matter, that they resolved to send an army into *Bœotia* to overturn all they had been doing. *My-* e *ronides* the son of *Callias* was chosen general in this expedition, and he appointed a day certain when he would march against the enemy; when that day came, many whose names were in the muster-roll did not attend; *Myronides* however began his march, and when many persuaded him to wait a little, that such as had been negligent might have time to come in, he answered roundly, that it did not become a general to wait for such people, since it was to be doubted they would behave as ill towards the enemy, as they did towards their friends; whereas the troops he had with him in their early appearance in the field, had given such a testimony of their courage as seemed to promise victory. The *Thebans* and their allies, making up a numerous and well-disciplined army, marched without scruple to meet *Myronides* f and his handful of *Athenians*; but the event did not answer their expectation, for after a long and obstinate engagement, *Myronides* prevailed, gaining a glorious and complete victory. It is indeed surprising, as *Diodorus Siculus* long ago remarked, that ancient authors have passed over so slightly this victory of the *Athenians*, which in some sense was more glorious to them, than either that of *Marathon* or *Platæa*. In both these they fought against *Barbarians*, and were assisted by their allies; in this they were alone, and yet triumphed over a superior army, composed of the bravest of the *Greeks*. The first use which the *Athenian* general made of his victory

[t] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 283. Plutarch. in vit. Cimonis.

was

a was to march to *Tanagra*, where the *Athenians* had been so hardly dealt with a few months before; this city he took by storm, and that he might make even the defeats of his country terrible, razed it to the ground. He next plundered all *Bœotia*, beat an army which its inhabitants drew together, in order to force him to retreat, fell afterwards upon the *Locrians*, then penetrated into *Thessaly*, where having chastised the inhabitants for their treachery to the *Athenians*, he returned home laden with riches and glory [u].

The next year *Tolmides* the *Athenian* admiral, piqued at the great actions of *Myronides*, prompted the people to give him power to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted; that they might the more readily come into his project, *Tolmides* b asked but for a thousand men, which were readily granted him; but he well knowing that this was too small a number, found means to quadruple it without breaking the decree; for pretending that he would chuse the thousand men out of the strongest and bravest of the youths of *Athens*, he privately solicited all such to give in their names voluntarily, suggesting that it would be a stain on their honours to be compelled by his choice; and when he had thus drawn three-thousand to give in their names, he then chose another thousand by virtue of the decree, and with this body of four thousand men on board his fleet, which consisted of fifty sail of stout gallies, he went on the expedition he had propounded. Arriving at *Methon* in *Laconia*, he took it, but the *Spartans* sending a speedy succour, he was forced to quit it. However, c he had better fortune at *Gythium*, another sea-port belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*, which he took and burnt, with all the shipping and naval provisions that were therein; he likewise wasted all the country in its neighbourhood, after which he sailed for *Zacynthus*, which he reduced, together with all the cities in its neighbourhood. He then sailed over to *Naupactus*, which he took by composition, and having ejected the *Lacedæmonians*, settled there a colony of *Messenians*, whom the *Athenians* had taken under their protection; thus ended this expedition, no less to the honour of the *Athenians*, than those undertaken in former years against the *Spartans*, and their allies [z].

On the very back of this, *Pericles* was sent with his ships, and a thousand sol- d diers, to invade *Peloponnesus*, which he did with great good fortune, burning, spoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; though he had with him, as was before said, but a thousand men, for the very fame of the *Athenians* half discomfited their enemies, and the reputation of so great a general took away almost the power of resistance. On his return to *Athens*, he found the people not a little out of humour, because *Cimon* remained still in banishment; the death of his friends in the battle of *Tanagra*, fully purged this great man of that crime, under pretence of which he had been banished, and therefore we need not wonder that all *Athens* looked upon it as an act of justice due from their state to recal him. *Pericles*, conceiving well what would be the consequence of their compassion, immediately took the thing c upon himself, and drew up an act for his restoration, which *Cimon* took so kindly, that he never thwarted him after he came home. The writers of scandal among the ancients, for some such there always were, as is to be feared there always will be, have handed it down to posterity, that this reconciliation between *Pericles* and *Cimon* was brought about by *Elpinice*, who, they say, stipulated for her brother, that he should be content with commanding abroad, and allows *Pericles* to be at the head of the administration at home. However it was, he brought now, as he had ever done before, good fortune to his country, for he concluded a peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, and generously preserved the *Greeks* from falling upon each other [y].

*Cimon* rightly judging that it would be impossible for the *Athenians* to lie still, f equipped two-hundred gallies, with an intent to make a fresh attempt upon *Cyprus*, that by gaining new booties from the *Barbarians*, his countrymen might be drawn rather to make war continually on the *Persian* king, than to be harrassing the *Lacedæmonians*, or oppressing their allies. *Plutarch* suggests, that he had in view no less a conquest than that of the whole *Persian* empire; part of his fleet he detached to assist the *Athenians* in *Egypt*, with the rest he remained in the neighbourhood of *Cyprus*, or as *Diodorus Siculus* says, made himself master of *Citium* and *Malus*; after which he defeated the *Phœnecian* fleet, beat the *Persian* army commanded by *Megabizus*,

*The Athenians conclude a peace with Persia. Year after the flood 2550. Before Christ 449.*

[u] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 285. Thucyd. lib. i. [z] Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. [y] Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. p. 287. Plut. in vit. Cimonis.

which lay encamped in *Cilicia*, and after re-embarqued his forces, and returned to a *Cyprus*, where he besieged the capital city. But the *Persian* monarch, finding no ease from the *Athenians*, and no hopes of subduing them while commanded by this fortunate general, sent orders to *Artabasus* and *Megabizus*, his commanders, to enter into a treaty of peace, which accordingly they did, and the *Athenians* having named on their side *Callias*, the son of *Hipponicus*, their plenipotentiary, the treaty was quickly finished; the principal articles of which were, first, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be free, and governed by their own laws; secondly, that the *Persians* should send no army within three days journey of the sea; thirdly, that no *Persian* ship of war should sail between *Thaselis* and *Cyene*, the former a city of *Pamphylia*, the latter of *Lycia*. Articles most glorious for the *Greeks*, and not a little acceptable b to the *Persians*, since the *Athenians* on their side undertook not to invade any of the provinces of that empire. During this treaty, and as it were in the arms of victory, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, whether of sickness, or of a wound he had received at the siege, authors were not agreed in the time of *Plutarch*. His death was as honourable as his life, and his last act the most glorious of it all; for when he found himself about to expire, he sent for the principal commanders, advised them to embarque the men, to conceal his decease, and to sail home, being afraid that if his death were known at that juncture, it might be prejudicial to his country. Such was the end of the last great captain of *Athens*, the rest were soldiers, and heroes too, but not patriots like *Cimon*; for they flattering the humours of their countrymen, led them c at every turn to fight against their brethren, and most cruelly employed the wisdom, power, and wealth of *Greece*, against herself. Whereas *Cimon* curbed the vanity of his countrymen, he told them it was lawful to make war, and to spoil the *Persians* who had destroyed their city, and carried away all they had; but he dissuaded them at all times from acting tyrannically towards the *Greeks*, and vehemently inveighed against that propensity they had to sacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power. On such occasions he was wont to say, *The* Lacedæmonians *would not do this*; which at last provoked his countrymen to banish him to his immortal glory, and their shame. We could not avoid this elogium, because we knew that we should no where else have occasion to speak of a man equally admirable for his abilities and his virtues, d and for applying them constantly to the service of the public, and not to the aggrandizing himself, or his family [a] (D).

The

[a] Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Cimon.

(D) The most memorable occurrences in the life of *Cimon*, regarding the *Athenian* state, have been already taken notice of in our text: and as to his character, his disposition, and abilities, we have been obliged to touch on them also more than once; this note therefore will contain only such passages in relation to the life of *Cimon*, as did not fall properly within our notice, either in speaking of the public or of him. First then, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus* from him, report *Cimon* in his nonage to have been suspected of folly, and to have been nicknamed from thence *Coalemos*, as his grandfather had been before him; but *Valerius Maximus* says rightly, that this folly of his greatly benefited the *Athenian* state, and that his subsequent behaviour constrained those who thought him a fool to condemn themselves of folly. The truth seems to be, that he did not affect learning, which seemed so strange to the *Athenians*, that they took it for granted he would prove a blockhead; *Cornelius Nepos* however commends him for his eloquence, which some have thought incompatible with his want of learning, in which, perhaps, they are mistaken; for as there is an artificial or rhetorical eloquence, so there is also a natural ability of speaking, which custom improves into an easy persuasive oratory, more pleasing to a mixed audience than the most artful and regular speeches; and this we may suppose was that kind of eloquence in which *Cimon* excelled. He went, while a very youth, into the army, and learned under the most experienced commanders the art of war, and the ambition of distinguishing himself as a great commander. His person was handsome, his stature just, his aspect manly, his hair thick and curled, his behaviour affable, his temper sweet, and his mind honest. But as all men have their faults, so this great *Athenian* wanted not his, which were a strong passion for women, and an inclination to feasting and good company; besides his sister *Elpinice*, whom for a while he kept as his wife, he had several other mistresses; yet he was passionately fond of his wife, whose name was *Isodice*, the daughter of *Euriptolemus*, the son of *Megacles*; when the *Athenians* were in humour with him, they overlooked these faults; but when they took it into their heads to be angry with him, they suffered their poets to treat him with great rudeness: As for example, *Eupolis*, about the time of his banishment, wrote a piece in which were the following verses relating to *Cimon*:

In him ill-nature we cannot reproach,
But he is indolent, and will debauch;
He's gone to *Sparta*, and was so unkind,
To leave his poor *Elpinice* behind.

After reporting this, it is fit for us to observe, that *Plutarch* treats it as a downright calumny, and is of opinion, that *Cimon* never suffered his pleasures to interfere with the business of the state, of which it seems, his victories should be an incontestable proof. His attachment to the *Lacedæmonians* was the sole cause of his banishment; for as we observed in giving our readers his character, he was never suspected by the people of having any design to aggrandize himself at their expence; true it is that he

a THE affairs of *Athens* began to be suddenly and sorely disturbed after the death of *Cimon*, for being alike hated by the enemies and their allies, the least unlucky accident furnished a handle for new revolts or invasions. The *Megarians* were the first in this business, their little state, which lay in an angle of *Attica*, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion of *Athens*, and had brought them into several quarrels with their neighbours. But now it seems, those of *Megara*, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the *Athenians*, or else conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment they received, disclaimed all dependence on *Athens*, and entered into a strict league with her constant and avowed enemy *Lacedæmon*. The *Athenians*, as soon as they b were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and for a time blocked up the *Megarians*, in their city. The *Lacedæmonians* quickly resented this proceeding, and hearing that *Pericles* the *Athenian* general was employed another way, they made a great irruption into *Attica*, and did abundance of mischief; upon which *Pericles*, who was marched against *Eubœa*, was recalled in haste to assist his country. Upon his return, he did not, as many expected, immediately attack the *Lacedæmonian* army; but considering that it was led by a very young man, *Plistonax*, then king of *Sparta*, who had with him one *Chandrides* for a tutor, he sent the latter a considerable sum of money, and thereby procured the return of the *Lacedæmonian* army without blows. When *Pericles* came to make up his accounts, he thought fit to charge ten talents laid c out in a fit manner on a proper occasion; at another time the *Athenians* would not have bore with such an article in a public account, but *Pericles* had such an ascendency over them, and they were so thoroughly sensible how this money had been applied, that they passed his accounts without a word, and ordered him to prosecute the expedition against *Eubœa*, in which he had been before employed [a].

WHILE *Pericles* was at home in the winter, *Tolmides*, who had done such great things for the *Athenians*, resolved to make an expedition into *Bœotia* with a small body of troops, and in a very advanced season of the year; a great number of the bravest *Athenians*, readily engaged to serve under this famous general as volunteers. Yet *Pericles* was constantly against it, pressing *Tolmides* to wait a little, and to join in his d conduct prudence with valour. But he seeming to take this amiss, and not greatly to relish another's meddling in his affairs, *Pericles* told him calmly, *If you will not listen to my advice, yet certainly it won't be amiss if you wait time's leisure a little, who, let me tell you, Sir, is the wisest of all counsellors.* This saying being presently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to *Pericles*; for *Tolmides*, after doing great things in *Bœotia*, was attacked by the confederate army composed of the quotas sent from all the little states of that country, killed, and his army routed at *Cheronea*. This

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. p. 293. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

he had a most extraordinary respect for that nation, arising not only from the kindness that they had shewn him, but from the honesty of his temper, which suited better with the severe virtue of *Sparta*, than with the sprightly levity of the *Athenians*. One thing is exceeding odd in *Cimon*'s conduct, that he gave his children such names as did not seem to speak them *Athenians*; for he named his three sons, *Lacedæmonius*, *Eleus*, and *Thessalus*; most authors are of opinion that he had these by a woman of *Clitorium*, though *Diodorus* the geographer asserts, that they were the children of his wife *Isodice*. It is clear from all the writers who mention this great man, that even his banishment neither altered his conduct towards the *Lacedæmonians*, or towards his countrymen. He would have fought for the latter against the former at the battle of *Tanagra*; he had interest enough with the former to reconcile them to the latter after he was recalled, which shews how steady he was in his conduct, and what a high opinion all his cotemporaries conceived of his virtues at home and abroad. Two remarkable incidents relating to his last expedition are preserved in history; the first, that when he was about to embark for *Cyprus*, he dreamed that an angry bitch barked at him, and in the midst of her barking uttered the following lines:

Go on, yet shortly shalt thou be
A friend unto my whelps and me.

*Astyphylus* of *Posidonium* interpreted this dream thus; a dog, said he, is an enemy to him he barks at; a man can only be stiled a friend to his enemies when he is dead; that mixture of a human voice with barking which appeared hideous in the bitch, this interpreter affirmed, signified the *Medes*, whose armies were constantly made up of *Barbarians* and *Greeks*, yet in spite of this he set sail, and proceeded in his expedition. The second circumstance worthy of note, was, when he had arrived at *Cyprus*, having formed some great project in his head, he sent persons in whom he could confide to consult the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, as to his success; the oracle readily gave them this answer: *You may return, for* Cimon *is already with me.* The messengers on their return found that *Cimon* was at that time dead; he was somewhat younger than *Themistocles*, but what his age was at the time of his death, that we know not (82).

(82) *Thucyd. lib.* i. *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib.* xi. xii. *Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusd. Cicer. de Offic. lib.* ii.

defeat

defeat terribly humbled the *Athenians*, for in order to redeem their prisoners, they were constrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of *Bœotia*, and while this was doing, many other little states declared against the *Athenians* [b]. a

*Truce between* Athens *and* Sparta. *Year after the flood* 2553. *Before Christ* 446.

*Pericles*, notwithstanding all these checks, marched with an army into *Eubœa*, from whence a new revolt of the *Megarians* caused him to be recalled, but within a short time he re-entered that island, and made himself master of the city of *Hestiæa*; the inhabitants of which, to terrify the rest of the country, he ejected, and placed a colony of *Athenians* in their stead. A short time after the rest of *Eubœa* submitted, and the *Lacedæmonians* finding it no longer for their interest to carry on the war, a negociation was set on foot, whereby a peace was effected for thirty years, *Callias* and *Chares* being plenipotentiaries for the *Athenians* [c].

About this time *Psammetycus*, king of *Lybia*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, of *Egypt*, sent by way of present to the *Athenian* people forty-thousand bushels of wheat, which proved a great misfortune to the city; for *Pericles*, out of spite to *Cimon*'s family, who had children by an *Arcadian* woman, had preferred a law, whereby *Athenians* of the half blood were disfranchised; this law, on account of the division of the corn before-mentioned, was prosecuted with such severity and effect, that no less than five-thousand persons, who till then had been considered as freemen, were sold as slaves; a most exorbitant stroke of arbitrary power, punished afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all *Pericles*'s children of the whole blood, and obliging him to intreat the *Athenians* to cancel this law out of pity to him, its author, who without the least compassion, had suffered five-thousand men to be made slaves at once under colour thereof. One thing this severity of his produced, which has been extremely useful to the critics, *viz.* the settling exactly the number of the *Athenian* citizens at this time, when in the midst of so many enemies, *Athens* durst think of sending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even of erecting an universal monarchy. This number, as it is set down by *Plutarch*, was found on the poll to be no more than fourteen-thousand and forty persons [d]. b c

The year after this, that is, in the beginning of the eighty-fourth olympiad, the *Sybarites*, a people of *Italy*, being a second time driven from their city by the *Crotonians*, sent ambassadors into *Greece*, and humbly besought the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* to restore them, and to send a colony to share with them the new city they resolved to build. The *Lacedæmonians* rejected their request, but the *Athenians*, who delighted much in such applications, readily yielded to it; and not only dispatched ten ships, with a considerable body of men on board, under the command of *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*; but also caused a proclamation to be made throughout all *Peloponnesus*, that such as were willing to go and settle in *Italy*, might do so under the protection of their fleet, and abundance of people accepting the proposition, the *Sybarites*, by the assistance of these new-comers, re-established themselves in their country, and built a new city which they called *Thurium*, from whence themselves were afterwards stiled *Thurians* [e] (E). d

At

[b] Thucid. lib. i. Plut. ubi supra. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 293. [c] Thucid. Diod. Plut. ubi supra. [d] Plut. in vit. Periclis. [e] Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 295.

(E) In order to conceive rightly of this business, the reader must ascend a good deal higher in point of time, and trace the cause of the erection of *Thurium* back to the foundation of *Sybaris*, he will then see how the *Greeks* settled colonies, maintained and restored them. *Sybaris* was a colony of the *Achæans* and *Trœzenians*, it stood on the gulph of *Tarentum*, between the rivers *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, from which last it took its name (83). The felicity of its situation was such, that in a very short space of time it excelled all the cities in its neighbourhood in wealth, power, and people. By degrees it spread its dominion over four small nations inhabiting this part of *Italy*, and reckoned no less than twenty-five smaller cities than itself within its territory, so thoroughly peopled, that they could on an emergency bring three-hundred-thousand men into the field. In consequence of its prosperity *Sybaris* became formidable and even hateful to its neighbours. Their immense wealth making its inhabitants at once luxurious and insolent, so that they neither knew how to behave towards others, or with what to content themselves (84). *Telys* being king of *Sybaris*, as *Herodotus* says (85), or as *Diodorus* with greater probability affirms, *Demagogue*, i. e. a *ruler* in right of his *eloquence*, persuaded the people upon various accusations to banish five-hundred of their most considerable citizens, and to confiscate their estates. The exiles immediately fled for refuge to *Crotona*, and as suppliants fell down before the altars in the forum. In a very short space, *Telys* engaged the *Sybarites* to send deputies to *Crotona*, to demand, that those they had banished should be delivered up, threatening war in case of refusal. The *Crotonians* upon this were much at a loss what to do, at last they determined to protect at all events those who had fled to them, and to oppose force by force. The *Sybarites* took the field with 30,000 men, the *Crotonians*

(83) *Steph. de Urb.* (84) *Aristot. de Rep. lib.* v. *sect.* 3. *Strab. lib.* vi. *p.* 263. *Marcian, p.* 14. *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xii. (85) *lib.* v. *p.* 346.

a At the close of the eighty-fourth olympiad, according to the computation of *Diodorus Siculus*, and six years after the conclusion of the peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, as *Thucydides* relates, a war broke out between the *Samians* and *Milesians* about the city of *Priene*, seated under mount *Micale* in *Ionia*; how this war came to affect the *Athenians* is not very clear; *Diodorus* says, that the *Samians*, who were victors, conceiving that the *Athenians* favoured their enemies, revolted from them; *Thucydides* says, that the vanquished complained to the people of *Athens*, who were likewise desired by some *Samian* malecontents to send a sufficient force thither, in order to change the government, and settle a democracy. *Plutarch* intimates that the *Athenians* having directed both parties to lay down their arms, and submit to their b decision, the *Samians* refused so to do, whereupon the war was commenced. There is yet another reason assigned, which seems at least as well founded as any of the rest; and it is this, that *Pericles* engaged the *Athenians* in this war to gratify his mistress *Aspasia* a *Milesian*, one of the handsomest women in her time, and who had such an ascendancy over *Pericles*, that for her sake he sacrificed his family and his peace (F). However it was, war was decreed against the *Samians*, and *Pericles* was

*tonians* were able to raise no more than 100000; however valour prevailed over numbers, and the *Crotonians* having beaten the *Sybarites*, killed all without quarter, and in the end sacked and destroyed the city. This happened in the third year of the lxviith olympiad. In the fourth year of the lxxxist olympiad, the city of *Sybaris* was resettled by the *Thessalians*, but in the first year of the lxxxiiid olympiad, the *Crotonians* overthrew it again. After this last misfortune, the *Sybarites* made the application mentioned in the text to the *Spartans* and *Athenians*. *Lampo* and *Xenocrates* who commanded the *Athenian* squadron, found it no difficult task to collect volunteers in *Peloponnesus*, when the *Pythian* oracle had declared that *the city should be exceedingly prospered if they founded it where the water was scarce, and bread without measure*. When they arrived therefore in *Italy*, and began to search through the territory of *Sybaris* for such a place as suited the oracle, they found at last a small spring which was called *Thuria*, the water of which was conveyed through a brazen pipe that was called *Medymnum*. Concluding instantly that this was the situation pointed out by the oracle, they began to lay out the city which they came to build, and from the spring beforementioned called it *Thurium*. They who had the direction of the buildings contrived to have four streets in length called, *Heraclea*, *Aphrodisiade*, *Olympiad*, and *Dionysiad*, and three in breadth, viz. *Heroa*, *Thuria*, and *Thurina*. When the business was executed according to this scheme, and the city compleated, it appeared wonderfully neat and compact, every thing being so disposed as to be at once beautiful and commodious. Peace did not long inhabit these new raised dwellings, the *Sybarites* conceiving that in their own country they ought to rule all, shut out the new comers from all employments and honours, which so disgusted them who were by far the majority, that they suddenly took up arms, fell on the *Sybarites*, extirpated them, and sending for fresh supplies from *Greece*, formed themselves into a commonwealth, making *Charondas*, one of their fellow-citizens, their legislator. The subsequent history of *Thurium* will be found in its proper place. From what is said here, the circumstances attending establishing colonies will be sufficiently understood, as also the conveniencies flowing to their mother cities from these kind of settlements, which was the principal intent of this long note (86).

(F) *Aspasia*, who is to be the subject of this note, was one of the most famous women in all antiquity on account both of her virtue and her vices. She was lovely in her person, admirable from her natural endowments, and no less distinguished by the accomplishments she had acquired. Her birthplace was *Miletum* a city in *Ionia*, famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities. She was the tutress, mistress, and at last wife to *Pericles*, who by his eloquence ruled *Athens*, and as such claims a place here. The time of her birth can only be guessed at, she was in all probability about fifteen years younger than *Pericles*, and therefore might be born about the fourth year of the lxxviiith olympiad. Her father's name was *Axiochus*, but of his quality we are ignorant. How she came to *Athens* is also a point unsettled; but as to the remaining part of her history we are not so much in the dark. She rendered herself conspicuous by her perfection in the art of speaking, which she possessed in a superlative degree, being also admirably versed in all the branches of useful literature, particularly natural philosophy and politics. One *Thrageliа* an *Ionian* was her model, she had made herself conspicuous in *Greece* by her charms, addicted herself chiefly to the grandees, many of whom she brought over to the interest of the great king, and, as *Plutarch* says, sowed the first seeds of the *Median* faction in most of the cities of *Greece*. *Aspasia* resembled her, and even surpassed her. It is not to be imagined that this fair one excelled (like some of our age) in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses were on the contrary not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent *Athenians*, and amongst them by *Socrates* himself, that *Aspasia* composed the celebrated harangue hereafter mentioned, which *Pericles* pronounced with so much applause. What then must we conceive of her abilities, who had *Pericles* for a lover, and *Socrates* for a disciple? Whose fine qualities atoned even for want of reputation, and engaged the most considerable persons in *Athens*, not only to visit her, but to bring their wives to hear her lectures, though they detested her conduct? As eloquence was of all others the most necessary talent to an *Athenian* statesman, so *Pericles*, on hearing *Aspasia* determined to become her scholar, observing that with an exact method she mingled the most warm and pathetic strokes of persuasive oratory, uniting the symmetry arising from art, with the vehemence flowing from nature. From admiring her wisdom, this great *Athenian* fell soon into a deep affection for her person, a thing not wonderful in itself, and less so, if what most writers report of *Pericles* be true, that he was of a very amorous disposition. Certain it is, that *Aspasia* gained an absolute dominion over him, and had as great an ascendancy over his genius as he had over the *Athenians*. *Plutarch* reports, that as often as *Pericles* went to, or returned from the *forum*, he went

(86) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi. supra.*

sent against them with a fleet of forty sail; he presently brought them into subjection, and began to change all things according to his will, directing first that the government should be democratical for the future, and that fifty hostages of principal persons should be delivered to him with as many children. *Plutarch* says, that all immaginable methods were tried to soften *Pericles* upon this occasion; the hostages offered him a talent a-head by way of ransom; those who disliked the democracy profered him a large sum if he would leave the government as he found it, and *Pissuthnes* the governor of *Sardis* for the *Persian* king, thinking an aristocratic government in *Samos* more advantagious to his master, would have given ten thousand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the *Athenians*; but *Pericles* having no respect to money, he carried away the hostages to *Lemnos*, and established the democracy in *Samos* as he had been directed to do. But as governments founded in force seldom last long, the *Samians* fell into mighty dissentions as soon as *Pericles* was gone home. Some of them who had retired to *Pissuthnes* having procured from him an aid of seven-hundred men, returned into their own country, and their faction opening the gates to them, those of the opposite party were ejected, and the *Athenian* garison expelled; they procured also their hostages to be privately sent away from *Lemnos*, and having drawn the *Byzantines* to their party, they declared themselves open enemies to *Athens*. That city, unused to bear insults, immediately equipped sixty gallies, and sent them under *Pericles* to subdue the *Samians* a second time.

When *Pericles* was at sea with this fleet, he found it necessary to detach sixteen ships, as well to gain intelligence of the *Phænician* fleet, as to hasten the auxiliary squadrons he expected from *Chios* and *Lesbos*; with the forty-four remaining vessels he engaged the *Samians* and their allies, though their fleet consisted of seventy sail, and beat them. Being afterwards strengthened by a reinforcement of forty ships from *Athens*, and twenty-five from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, he besieged *Samos* by land and sea. Receiving intelligence that the *Phænician* fleet was coming to its relief, he sailed with sixty ships to meet it. During his absence the besieged fell upon the

went to the apartment of *Aspasia* and saluted her. The tenderness this nobleman expressed for *Aspasia*, made his wife, who was a woman of family, very uneasy, which *Pericles* perceiving, readily consented that she should betake herself to a husband more agreeable to her (though she had borne him two sons, *Xanthippus* and *Paralus*) and then took *Aspasia* to wife, whom he had so long and ardently loved before. *Heraclides* of *Pontus* says, that *Pericles having divorced his wife, abandoned himself to his pleasures, and living with* Aspasia, *spent on her the greatest part of his fortune*; but this ought to be regarded as meer calumny, it being morally certain that *Pericles* in the first place was never profuse, and in the second that *Aspasia* piqued herself exceedingly on her skill in œconomy. As to the affair spoken of in the text, viz. the *Samian* war, we are undoubtedly warranted by the authority of *Plutarch* in what we have advanced. For though it be true that *Thucydides* makes no mention of *Aspasia* in his detail of this war, yet that might be owing to the gravity of the author, or to his generous disdain of blackening *Pericles*, by recording things incapable from their nature of direct proof. As to collateral circumstances tending to support this suggestion, there are many. *Aspasia* was a *Milesian* by birth, *Pericles* was wont to consult her; she is reported to have accompanied him in this expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory; and lastly, she composed, as we remarked before, the funeral oration pronounced by *Pericles*, in honour of those who were slain in this war. The comic poets, as they lashed *Pericles* for affecting sovereignty, so they failed not treating *Aspasia* with the same severity, and as they called him *Jupiter*, they stiled her *Juno*; they likewise characterised her under the names of *Omphale* and *Deianira*, the one the wife, and the other the mistress of *Hercules*, and many other ways. *Cratinus* used her the worst; for he, without palliating the matter, painted her as an abandoned strumpet. It is evident enough that the spleen of *Pericles*'s enemies prompted them to say any thing of him, or of those in his favour, men or women. The former they called the pimps and courtiers of the new *Pisistratus*, the latter not only his whores, but his bawds. Besides various remarkable events relating to *Aspasia*, which we shall be constrained to take notice of in the text, it may not be amiss to observe here, that it is generally conceived the son to whom *Pericles* bequeathed his name and his estate, was by her; certain it is, that son was but of the half blood, as any son of *Aspasia*'s must have been, and that his father, to secure the inheritance to him, prevailed on the people to abrogate the law which himself had procured to exclude such from successions. Besides these circumstances there is another favouring this opinion, *viz.* that *Eupolis* the comic poet introducing *Pericles* asking news of his bastard son, makes the person he speaks to, answer, *He is alive and well, and had been married long ago if the fear of meeting with a wife as dishonest as his mother did not deter him.* Which is so correspondent with what *Eupolis* elsewhere says of *Aspasia*, that one can hardly conceive this son to have sprung from any but her. That she survived *Pericles* is certain, but for her adventures afterwards we are pretty much in the dark. *Plutarch* indeed informs us that she attached herself to one *Lysicles*, a man of mean birth, and as mean parts, whom by her interest however she raised to great employments in the state. What those employments were is not recorded, nor any thing farther of *Aspasia* which deserves notice (87).

(87) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Athæn. lib.* xiii. *p.* 560. *Cicero in Bruto. Menoxen. Platonis. in tom.* ii. *A. D.* 1578. *p.* 235, 249.

remainder

a remainder of the *Athenian* ships under the command of *Tesagoras*, defeated them, and for fourteen days remained masters of the sea, during which space of time they furnished themselves with whatever they wanted. *Plutarch* censures *Pericles*'s conduct on this occasion, and attributes the loss which the *Athenians* sustained to his leaving the siege; but there seems to be no foundation for this, because fighting the *Phœnician* fleet at sea, rather than in the neighbourhood of *Samos*, was certainly his interest. On his return to the siege, having received a farther reinforcement of fourscore ships, according to *Thucydides*; of ninety, as *Diodorus* tells us, he straitened the *Samians* more than ever, and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept seven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refresh them-
b selves. At length after nine months siege the *Samians* surrendered, upon which *Pericles* demolished their walls, seized their ships, and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hostages for the remainder[f].

When *Pericles* returned from this war, he procured himself to be appointed to pronounce the public oration in commemoration of such as fell in this war, which he did with such eloquence, that when he came down from the pulpit or place where such public declamations were delivered, the ladies gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands. Amongst the rest *Elpinice* drew near him, but not with the same intention with the rest, for she addressed him in these words:
c "These are brave things, *Pericles*, that you have done, and such certainly as deserve "these wreaths of glory, who have deprived us of so many worthy citizens, not "in a war against *Phœnicians* or *Medes*, the natural enemies of our country, for "such my brother *Cimon* waged; but in the overthrow of a city that was in alli-"ance with us, whose people spoke the same language, and were of our kindred". *Pericles* gave a strong instance of his great composure and readiness of mind on this occasion, for he repeated carelessly the following verses from the poet *Archilocus*:

A dame like you in deep decline,
Should not attempt by art to shine;
d You should not powder thus your hair,
Nor should your unguents taint the air;
Follies which suit the young and fair.

In recording these passages we had the reader's profit as well as pleasure in view, for they shew that as absolute as *Pericles* was become in *Athens*, by dint of his eloquence and good fortune, yet even a woman could and durst distinguish between the services done the state by a patriot general, one who sought nothing but to exalt the interest and glory of his country, and him who had the preservation of his own power chiefly in view. They shew too the particular grandeur of mind inherent in *Pericles*, who was not to be ruffled even by the shrewdest speeches, but maintained al-
e ways such an equality of temper as enabled him to make such an answer as was most proper on every occasion[g]. It is on all hands confessed that *Pericles* valued himself very much on the reduction of *Samos*, and *Thucydides* gives us great reason to believe that the *Athenians* conceived highly of him for that exploit; the *Samians* at the time he destroyed them being one of the most flourishing nations in that part of the world, and who bid fair for wresting from the *Athenians* the dominion of the sea[h].

The war between the *Corcyrians* and *Corinthians* commenced a little after this, and drew by degrees the *Athenians* into those engagements, which at last proved the ruin of their state. There is a necessity therefore that we should give here a succinct
f account of the causes of this war, and of the methods by which the *Athenians* were drawn to take part in it. An intestine war breaking out in the little territory of *Epidamnum*, a city in *Macedonia*, founded by the *Corcyrians*, one party called in the *Illyrians* to their assistance, and the other finding themselves straitened, applied themselves for aid to the people of *Corcyra*. They neglecting the business the people of *Epidamnum* sent to *Corinth* for succours, owning her for their foundress, because the *Corcyrians* were a colony from *Corinth*. The *Corinthians*, partly out of pity to the *Epidamnians*, and partly out of spleen to the *Corcyrians*, sent a very great fleet to the assistance of the former, which thoroughly established that party which had

f Thucydid. lib. i. de Bello Peloponn. Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 302.
g Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. h de Bello Pelop. lib. i.

applied

applied to *Corinth*; this being resented by the *Corcyrians*, they sent a fleet to *Epidamnum* to support the exiles, who on its arrival at that port did not act offensively, the chief commanders having instructions to propose an amicable composure of all differences, into which the *Corinthians* would by no means come. The next year the *Corcyrians* beat the *Corinthians* and their allies at sea, and took *Epidamnum* by storm, after which they wasted the dominion of the confederates of the *Corinthians*, which greatly exasperated the latter. At *Corinth* therefore they began to make new preparations for carrying on the war, and pressed their confederates to do the same, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honour they had lost, and humble this ungrateful colony, which had taken upon her to insult her mother city. When the *Corcyrians* received advice of these proceedings, they instantly dispatched embassadors to carry their complaints to *Athens*, and the *Corinthians* on the receipt of this news, dispatched theirs likewise; both on the same errand, and with equal hopes[1].

a b

There could be nothing more glorious for the *Athenians* than such an application as this, which seemed to acknowledge the legality of that dominion which this state had always affected. *Thucydides* therefore, who begins his history with the story of this war, hath given us at large the harangues, as well of the *Corinthian* as of the *Corcyrian* ambassadors, to which we must refer our readers. At first the *Athenian* people approved the cause of the *Corinthians*, but they soon changed their minds, and took part with the *Corcyrians*, yet they did not make a league offensive and defensive with that state, because by such a step *Athens* would immediately have broken with *Corinth*, and all her allies; they contented themselves with making a defensive alliance only with the *Corcyrians*, whereby both parties reciprocally promised to assist each other in case either should be attacked. It does not appear that the *Athenians* entered much into the merits of this cause; they were become too great politicians for that; the reasons assigned by *Thucydides*, who was perfectly well acquainted with them, are these; first, *Corcyra* was a very great maritime power; secondly this island lay very convenient for assisting *Athens* in her designs on *Italy* and *Sicily*; when the *Corinthian* fleet therefore was ready to sail, the *Athenians*, according to their treaty, sent ten gallies to *Corcyra* under the command of *Lacedæmonius* the son of *Cimon*, with whom were joined *Diotenes* and *Proteus*, as collegues. *Plutarch* says that *Pericles*, by sending this small squadron under *Lacedæmonius*, intended to affront him, or at least to put it out of his power to do any great matter, whereby to revive the ancient splendor of his family, against which that great politician had always a pique. But there seems to be very little colour for this. *Thucydides* says, that the *Athenians*, who were indeed under the direction of *Pericles*'s counsels, did not intend the *Corcyrians* any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on while the *Corinthians* and *Corcyrians* weakened and wasted each other. The *Corinthians*, as soon as the Season of the year permitted, made for the coast of *Corcyra* with a fleet consisting of one hundred and fifty sail under the command of *Xenoclides*, assisted by four other *Corinthian* admirals, each squadron of their allies being commanded by a chief of their own. The *Corcyrians* prepared as well as they could for the reception of this great armada; they put to sea a fleet of one hundred and ten gallies, which by the *Athenian* ships was augmented to one hundred and twenty; as soon as the navies were in sight, they prepared for an engagement. The *Corcyrians* gave the right wing to their allies, the *Athenians* ranging their own fleet in three squadrons, each commanded by an admiral of reputation. The *Corinthians* gave their right wing to the *Megarians*, and other of their allies, disposed the rest of them in the centre, and placed their own gallies in the left, that they might engage the *Athenians*. The action was very brisk for a time, the *Corcyrian* right wing broke the left of the *Corinthian* fleet, and forcing some of the ships on shore, landed, pillaged their camp, and made a great number of prisoners; on the other hand the *Corinthian* ships in their left wing beat the right wing of the *Corcyrians*, whom the *Athenians*, according to their instructions, aided but faintly; at last the *Corinthians* charging them briskly, the *Athenians* were obliged to defend themselves, which they did so well, that the *Corinthians* were glad to retire, which accordingly they did after taking up part of the broken ships, and most of their own dead. The next day the *Corinthians* resolved to attack the *Corcyrians* again, who

c d e f

[1] Thucid. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii.

prepared

a prepared on their side to receive them; but when the action was ready to begin, the *Corinthians* of a sudden retired, which the *Corcyrians* knew not what to make of, till the arrival of a fleet of twenty sail from *Athens* put it out of doubt, that the *Corinthians* seeing them, and fearing there might be more behind them, had wisely chosen to withdraw. The next day the *Athenian* and *Corcyrian* fleets went and braved the *Corinthians* in their harbour, who would not be provoked to hazard an engagement, because all the ships from *Athens* were clean, and the *Athenians*, for ought they knew, might have another fleet waiting for them in their return to *Peloponnesus*. Both sides claimed the victory, and both erected trophies at *Sybotis*. The *Corinthians* because they remained masters of the field of battle, had carried away a part of the b broken vessels, made a thousand prisoners, and sunk seventy of the *Corcyrian* ships; the *Corcyrians*, because by the assistance of the *Athenians* they had sunk thirty of the *Corinthian* vessels, taken some spoils, and forced them to retire home. This was the greatest sea-fight, which to this time had happened among the *Greeks*, there being no less than two-hundred and seventy vessels engaged. The *Corinthians* complained loudly against the *Athenians*, as if they had broken the peace; the *Athenians*, on the other hand, alledged, they had only assisted their allies; and thus these states began to hate each other. As for the prisoners made by the *Corinthians*, they sold eight-hundred of them for slaves, the rest they used kindly, in hopes of making use of them for facilitating a peace [c].

c The *Corcyrian* war was followed by the revolt of *Potidea*, a town in *Macedonia*, founded by the *Corynthians*, but joined in alliance to *Athens*. As soon as the *Corcyrian* war broke out, the *Athenians* sent orders to the citizens of *Potidea*, immediately to demolish a part of the wall of their city, to send back the magistrates whom they had received from *Corinth*, and to give hostages for their own behaviour. *Perdiccas*, king of *Macedon*, hating the *Athenians*, took this opportunity to persuade the *Potideans* to revolt, which accordingly they did, though they sent ambassadors to *Athens*, to entreat the revocation of the orders sent them; but in the mean time they sent deputies to *Sparta*, to join with the *Corinthians* and *Megarians*, in their complaints of the *Athenians*. The *Athenians*, in the mean time, sent a considerable d fleet against *Macedonia*, and some time after, another with a considerable body of land troops on board under the command of *Callias*, a man of great quality and courage. The *Corinthians* on their side dispatched *Aristeus* with a considerable force to the assistance of the *Potideans*. Not to detain the reader too long with a detail of all the little circumstances of this war, which may be found in the accurate history of *Thucidides*, we shall content ourselves with observing, that an engagement happened before *Potidea*, in which the *Athenians* were victors, but with the loss of their general *Calias*. *Phormio*, who succeeded him in his command, invested the city in form, and shut up its port with his fleet; but the *Potideans*, dreading to fall into the hands of the *Athenians*, made a most obstinate defence, while in the mean time they warmly e solicited the *Corinthians* to perform their promises, and to engage the rest of the states of *Peloponnesus* in their quarrel [d].

*The revolt of* Potidea.

While affairs abroad were in this condition, the *Athenians* were very far from being quiet at home; *Pericles* had attained such a superiority as had never been seen in *Athens* since the days of *Pisistratus*; the last competitor with him for the favour of the people was *Thucydides*, a man noble by birth, and of qualifications suiting therewith; he endeavoured to the utmost to hinder those alterations in government which the popular party sought to bring about, and more especially opposed *Pericles*, who perceiving that one of them must give way, put the matter to the test by procuring an ostracism, wherein, upon counting the votes, it was found, that *Thu-* f *cydides* was exiled by the people. From this time forward *Pericles* altered the whole tenor of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man; for he procured all things to be at his disposal, and took the whole management of the *Athenian* affairs at home and abroad upon himself. When the state of things began to have an ominous appearance, and the *Athenians* apprehended a war in which they should be obliged to contend, not for spoil, for glory, or authority, but for their lands and houses, and whatsoever was dear to them, they grew out of humour with *Pericles*, and received readily for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted

*Dissensions at* Athens.

[c] Thucid. ubi supra. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Periclis. [d] Thucyd. lib. i. Diod. lib. xii.

them to say of him. For example, when *Menon*, one of *Phidias*'s workmen preferred a petition to the people, wherein he charged that excellent statuary with purloining a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the statue of *Minerva*; many reasons induced such as disliked *Pericles* to abet this prosecution, among the rest these two; *first*, they conceived that they should try the minds of the people by this step, and discover whether they were at present disposed to bear with the prosecution of *Pericles* or not; *secondly*, they thought to revenge themselves on the statuary, for having inserted a picture of *Pericles* fighting with an *Amazon* in the shield of the goddess. But in the end this business had an issue little expected, for *Phidias* having declared that by *Pericles*'s direction the gold was so laid on, that the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be just. However, *Phidias* either died in prison or was banished; *Plutarch* says that he was poisoned by the procurement of *Pericles*'s enemies, who afterwards sought to charge it upon him [m]. *Hermippus* next accused *Aspasia* of impiety or irreligion, as also for being a bawd to *Pericles*, and as such seducing the wives and daughters of *Athenian* citizens; *Diopithes* preferred a *psephium* or decree to the people, that it might be rendered criminal not to inform the proper court, *i. e.* the *Areopagus*, against such persons as disputed the religion of their country, or taught such things under colour of natural philosophy in relation to celestial bodies, as were inconsistent therewith. This was known to strike at *Anaxagoras*, the preceptor of *Pericles*, and even at *Pericles* himself. The people assented thereto, and in consequence thereof, *Anaxagoras* was judicially accused (G). To wind up *Pericles*'s troubles, *Dracontides* moved, that *Pericles* might bring in his accounts, and that the final decision of his cause should be committed to judges, who should write their suffrages upon billets taken from the altars [n]. Our great orator found means to disengage himself from all these snares, he appeared in person, for *Aspasia* pleaded her cause as an advocate; but in the midst of his pleadings let fall a shower of tears like a child, which was the more remarkable, because

m Diod. lib. xii. c. 7. Plut. in vit. Periclis. n Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Diogen. Laert. in vit. Anax.

(G) It is not clearly expressed by *Plutarch*, on what account either *Aspasia* or *Anaxagoras* was accused of impiety; however, it is not hard to conjecture, that persons, eminent as they were, for the brilliancy of their parts, and for their great knowledge in natural philosophy, should be suspected on account of their notions of religion, in a country, where even in *Hesiod*'s time they had no less than thirty thousand gods, for whose honour their votaries were wonderfully zealous. As to *Anaxagoras*, we shall have elsewhere occasion to mention him, and his opinions; at present we will stick to the point before us, and say nothing but what relates to this prosecution, its causes and consequences. *Laertius* reports from one *Sation*, who wrote a book of the succession of philosophy, that *Anaxagoras* was accused by *Cleon* of impiety, for asserting the sun to be a burning plate; but that being defended by *Pericles*, his scholar, he was fined five talents, and banished, whereas *Satyrus* reported that he was accused by *Thucydides*, not only of propagating of impious opinions, but of holding intelligence with the *Persians*, and in his absence sentenced to die. *Hieronymus* wrote, that *Pericles* brought him into court in poor garments, and much broken with sickness, which moved his judges to compassion. *Suidas* is positive, that he was cast into prison for introducing a new opinion, concerning the divine nature, and banished, notwithstanding *Pericles* undertook to plead his cause. *Josephus* tells us, that the *Athenians* believing the sun to be a god, and he affirming it to be without sense and knowledge, they adjudged him to suffer death as a blasphemer. None of these opinions quadrate with *Plutarch*'s account, and, which is still worse, *Plutarch* does not agree with himself; for, though speaking of his retirement from *Athens*, he ascribes it to *Pericles*'s precaution, yet he elsewhere admits, that *Anaxagoras* was accused. The truth seems to be, that the whole tenor of *Anaxagoras*'s philosophy was according to the religious notions of the *Athenians*, impious. For he taught that matter was composed of infinite similar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were disposed in the frame we see them, by an infinite self-moving mind; whence he acquired from the novelty of his doctrine the surname of *Nous*, *i. e. the mind*. He lived after his banishment at *Lampsacus*, and was so little affected therewith, that when a person told him one day, *You are deprived of the* Athenians: He answered, *You are mistaken, friend, they are deprived of me*. As to his notion of the sun, he retained it to his death; what that notion was, we learn from various authors, who agree that he thought it to have been a burning mass, many times bigger than *Peloponnesus*, and that its revolution was occasioned by the repulse of the northern air; he held the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the sun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her surface. He asserted likewise that the stars were earthy; which opinions we mention here, because they were all contrary to the *Athenians* religion. His scholars were the greatest men of *Greece*, but all suspected of irreligion. To mention only a few, *Archelaus* the philosopher, *Euripides* the tragic poet, *Socrates* the famous moralist, who heard both him and *Aspasia*; some say, that *Democritus* was also his hearer; but *Laertius* affirms that *Anaxagoras* could not endure him, which *Phavorinus* likewise asserts (88).

(88) *Diogen. in vit. Anaxag. Plut. in vit. Periclis. Id. de superstit.*

he

a he had never been known to weep before; and thus either the force of his eloquence, or the sight of his grief, engaged the judges to acquit her. As for *Anaxagoras*, he was afraid to trust his eloquence with the defence of him whose wisdom was his only crime, and therefore wisely sent him out of *Attica*, with this mark of respect however, that he attended him in person. As for what was objected to his own conduct, he was in the least pain about it; for being a very exact œconomist, he was able to shew two things from it, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune; and secondly, that he had no more than his father left him. This, as *Thucydides* observes, was the very basis of his greatness, that he was universally known to be strictly just to the public, above corruption, and through the innocence of his b actions, in respect to pecuniary affairs, superior to all the calumnies that could be raised against him[b].

*The Spartans prepare for war.*

THE *Spartans* having heard all that the little states of *Greece* had to say against the *Athenians*, and last of all the *Corinthians*; embassadors were sent to *Athens*, to demand reparation for the injuries, or to denounce war in case of refusal. *Thucydides*, of all ancient authors the most to be relied on, tells us, that they demanded in the first place, the expulsion of those *Athenians* who were stiled execrable on account of the old business of *Cilon*, and his associates, because by his mother's side, *Pericles* was allied to the family of *Megacles*; they next insisted that the siege of *Potidea* should be raised; *thirdly*, that the inhabitants of *Egina* should be left free; and lastly, that the decree c made against the *Megarians*, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of *Athens* on pain of death, should be rescinded, and the *Grecian* states set at liberty, who were under the dominion of *Athens*. It is certain, that *Pericles* persuaded the *Athenians* to reject these terms, but authors are not well agreed upon what motives he acted; some say, that he thought the din of war would dissipate that cloud of impeachments which his enemies were framing against him; others, that personal injuries done to him and to *Aspasia*, provoked him to fall into these measures; the most probable seems to be, that he advised the *Athenians* according to his apprehension of the affair, and directed such measures as he thought suited best with the dignity of the *Athenian* state. The harangue attributed to him by *Thucydides*, and which we d have no reason to doubt is to the same effect with that which he delivered, offers the following argument to the consideration of the *Athenians*. That whatever the *Lacedæmonians* might pretend, as to the complaints of the allies, and injustice of them, the true ground of this resentment was the prosperity of the *Athenian* republic, which they always hated, and now sought an opportunity of humbling. That it must be the fault of the *Athenians* themselves, if they succeeded in this scheme, because for many reasons accurately and judiciously stated by him, they were better able to engage in a long and expensive war, than the *Peloponnesians*; that therefore it should be proposed as the most feasible, and at the same time the most equitable satisfaction that could be given, that they would reverse their decree against *Megara*, if the *Lacedæ-* e *monians* would allow free egress and regress in their city, to the *Athenians* and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with *Sparta*, provided the *Spartans* would also leave all states free who were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitetd to arbitartion. In case these offers should not prevail, he advised them to hazard a war, telling them that they ought not to think they ran such a hazard for a trifle, or retain a scruple in their minds, as if a small matter moved them to it, because on this small matter depended their safety, and the reputation of their constancy and resolution; whereas if they yielded in this, the next demand of the *Lacedæmonians* would be of a higher nature; for having once discovered that the *Athenians* might be taught to fear, they would thence conclude that they durst deny them nothing, whereas a stiff denial in this instance would teach them to treat *Athens* for the future on terms of equality. He enforced these reasons, by shewing that their ancestors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all cases preferred their glory to their ease, and their liberty to their possessions. *Diodorus* informs us, that he laid before the people an exact account of their circumstances, putting them in mind that the treasure brought from *Delos*, amounted to ten thousand talents, and that though four thousand had been expended on the stately gate to their citadel, yet that six thousand were still in hand, that they were also entitled to the subsidies paid by the confederate states,

[b] THUCID. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

that

that the ſtatues of the gods, the *Perſian* ſpoil, and other marks of their magnificence were worth immenſe ſums, that private men were arrived at vaſt fortunes, and that conſidering their trade by ſea, they had a certain annual increaſe of wealth; that they had an army on foot of twelve thouſand men, and in their colonies and gariſons ſeventeen thouſand; that their fleet conſiſted of three hundred ſail, which might eaſily be increaſed, whereas the *Peloponneſians* had none of theſe advantages, which alſo *Thucydides* mentions, but places this oration lower. Theſe were the cauſes, and this the beginning of the famous *Peloponneſian* war, which though, while it laſted, it brought innumerable evils upon *Greece*, yet there reſults from it this circumſtance of glory, that perhaps of all the wars which ever happened, the events of this are beſt recorded, ſo that the minuteſt circumſtance thereof are known even in theſe far diſtant times; which ſhews how far learning is preferable to power, ſince now that all the ſtates of *Greece* have been for many ages ſubverted and deſtroyed, the reſpect due to the writings of *Thucydides* hath preſerved them, as the merit of *Xenophon*'s hath alſo done his continuation of *Thucydides*'s ſtory, and thereby kept alive the remembrance of actions which however great and glorious in themſelves, had otherwiſe been buried in oblivion (H).

Platæa *ſurpriſed by the* Thebans.

Things being in this ſituation, the *Thebans* conceiving with themſelves that *Plataea*, which had been always remarkable for her fidelity to the *Athenians*, would be a perpetual thorn in their ſides, reſolved to ſurprize it; with this view they ſent *Eurymachus* at the head of three hundred men, to aſſiſt ſuch of the *Plataeans* as they had drawn over to their party, in making themſelves maſters of the place. In this deſign they ſucceeded very happily, the *Plataeans*, who had promiſed to open the gates, kept their word exactly, and the *Thebans* in an inſtant took poſſeſſion of the place. The *Plataeans*, that is, the townſmen in general, perceiving at laſt how ſmall a number the *Thebans* were, unanimouſly roſe and fell upon them, killing great numbers, and in the end forcing the reſt, with *Eurymachus* their chief, to render themſelves priſoners of war. It happened that another party from *Thebes* came to aſſiſt their companions, but came too late, the *Plataeans* foreſeeing that they would waſte their country, they offered to releaſe their priſoners, if they would forbear to ſpoil their lands; but threatened at the ſame time, that if they committed any waſte, they would put their friends to death. The *Thebans* upon this withdrew, but the *Plataeans* however put their priſoners to death, alledging that they never promiſed to releaſe them but in caſe of peace; their number was one hundred and eighty, and *Eurymachus*, as he led them, died with them. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as they had notice of this attempt of the *Thebans*, cauſed all the *Baeotians* in their territory to be arreſted, and when they underſtood how the *Plataeans* had delivered themſelves, they ſent a great convoy of proviſions to that city, and a numerous body of troops to eſcort their wives and children to *Athens*. The league being now broken on both ſides, each party prepared for the war, both ſent ambaſſadors to the *Perſians*, both ſought to rouſe their allies, moſt of the ſtates of *Greece* were inclined to the *Lacedaemonians*, becauſe they profeſſed themſelves on this occaſion the deliverers of *Greece*; they likewiſe hated the *Athenians*, either becauſe they already oppreſſed

p Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. iii. c. 7. Demoſt. adv. Neaer.

(H) Beſides what is mentioned in the text of *Pericles* adviſing the *Peloponneſian* war, to get over an impeachment, there is a famous ſtory related both by *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos*, that he was induced thereto by a ſprightly ſaying of young *Alcibiades*; who ſeeing him melancholy one day, asked him what was the matter, and upon his anſwering that he knew not how to account for the public money that had gone through his hands, *Alcibiades* ſharply replied, *Then ſtudy to give no account at all.* Others pretend, that he was the author of the decree againſt *Megara* to revenge *Aſpaſia*, two of whoſe harlots ſome young men of that city had ſtolen away. It is true, that the decree happened on this account, but *Pericles* does not ſeem to have been any ways guilty; for a herald being diſpatched to *Megara*, to complain of the injury, he was ſlain upon the road; and this violation of a ſacred character gave birth to the war. The enemies of *Pericles* indeed ſay, that he cauſed the herald to be ſlain, that he might pick a quarrel with the *Megarians*; but that the fact was notoriouſly otherwiſe, may be gathered from this, that when the emperor *Adrian* granted many privileges and favours to the cities of *Greece*, he expreſsly excepted the *Megarians*, on account of this very murder. If *Thucydides* had conceived, that any of theſe charges on *Pericles* had been juſtly founded, he would certainly have reported them. As to the ſneeres of *Ariſtophanes*, and other comic poets, they ought not in juſtice to paſs for evidence, ſince they were enemies alike to all who were eminent (89).

(89) *Plut. in vit. Periclis.*

them,

a them, or because they apprehended that in time they would. With the *Spartans* joined all the *Peloponnesians*, except the *Argives* and part of the *Achaeans*; without *Peloponnesus* the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambracotes*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*, declared themselves on their side. On the other hand, the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Plataeans*, *Messenians*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyrians*, *Zacynthians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Thracians*, the islands for the most part, and all the *Cyclades*, excepting *Melus* and *Thera*, with *Eubœa* and *Samos*. The *Lacedæmonians* assembled their army at the isthmus, but *Archidamus* the *Spartan* king, and commander in chief, dispatched a herald to *Athens*, before he would enter *Attica*; this herald was sent back without an answer, which put an end to all motions for peace, the *Lacedæmonians* b resolving to act immediately offensively, and the *Athenians* preparing to defend themselves as well as they could [q].

*The* Peloponnesian *war. Year after the flood* 2567. *Before Christ* 432.

*Pericles*, as he had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, so his wisdom seems to have been the only resource they had in it. He was aware that *Archidamus* being his friend, might forbid the plundering of his estates, of which he immediately gave advice to the people, and to cut of all ground of suspicion, declared that in such a case he made a present of his lands to the public. He then advised that without thinking how to defend their country seats, they should turn all their care to the city, busy themselves especially in equipping their ships, and settle a thorough resolution, not to be intimidated with the first evils of war. The *Athe-* c *nians* came readily into all that he proposed, and appointed him with nine more generals of all their forces. To say the truth, the *Lacedæmonians* themselves assisted his rise, for their ambassadors continually attacking of him, the *Athenians* apprehended from thence that he of all others must have the greatest regard for their interest. When however the *Peloponnesian* army advanced as far as *Acharne*, one of the largest boroughs in *Attica*, and at a very small distance from *Athens*, the *Athenians* began to grow very discontented, and to clamour exceedingly against *Pericles*, for not so much as attempting to drive them away. In which however he shewed his judgment, for that army consisting of no less than sixty-thousand men, the *Athenians* were unable to set on foot any force capable of looking it in the face; where- d fore when some hot men pressed for an engagement, *Pericles* very prudently said, Trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a short time; but men once lost, cannot easily be recovered. By degrees the madness of the people grew still more violent, so that he was persecuted with libels of all sorts, and even his own friends pressed him earnestly to alter his conduct, and to attempt something for his own and his country's honour; but he remained firm and calm in the midst of this storm, pursued the plan which he had laid down in spight of the clamour raised against him, and gave a happy turn to all things by the dint of his own magnanimity [r].

He sent however a fleet of a hundred gallies with fourteen hundred land-forces on e board, which fleet being joined by fifty vessels from *Corcyra*, coasting the *Peloponnesian* shore, did infinite mischief, so that its inhabitants had no reason to boast of their expedition into *Attica*, since they left their own country to feel those miseries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another *Athenian* fleet infested the *Locrians*, and because *Egina* had been a principal occasion of the present war, when the fleet returned from *Peloponnesus* it ejected all the inhabitants of that island, which was repeopled from *Athens*. They likewise reduced *Cephalenia*, and several towns in *Acarnania* and *Leucas*, while in the mean time *Pericles* refreshed those who were shut up in the city with distributions of public money, a law for the division of lands, and whatever else he could think of to amuse and divert them. In the autumn, when the *Peloponnesians* were retired, *Pericles*, at the head of a great army, f entered the *Megarian* territory, and did all the mischief therein which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reason of this was, because on their account the *Lacedæmonians* pretended to have made war; thus in the end of this first year the *Athenians* made up accounts as it were with the *Peloponnesians*, and repaid them those mischiefs, insults, and ravages, which they had committed in *Attica* at the beginning of it [s].

In the winter of this year the *Athenians* solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first died in the war after this manner; first their bones were

[q] Thucyd. lib. ii. prop. Init. Diodor. lib. xii. [r] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. [s] Thucyd. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra.

laid in a tent to be seen of all, and thither their friends were permitted to come a in order to pay their last offices to their relations. Then they were carried out, each tribe providing a cypress coffin or coffins, and chariots for their dead, and one empty coffin was carried for such whose bodies had not been recovered, and consequently could not have those honours paid them, the women all the way making loud lamentations for them. They were then interred in a public sepulchre in the *Ceramicus*, and after burial, a person appointed by the senate of *Areopagus*, made a funeral oration to their honour; the person appointed on this occasion was *Pericles*. How he discharged this glorious employment, the reader may be informed from *Thucydides*, who, if he has not preserved the words of *Pericles*, has undoubtedly kept b strictly to his sense, since he wrote and published his history within so short a time after this happened, that it would have undoubtedly have been decryed, if in all its circumstances it had not been exactly conformable to truth. Thus ended the first year of the *Peloponnesian* war[t].

The spring of the next year was doubly fatal to *Athens*; nature afflicted her at home, and the *Peloponnesians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, wasted all things abroad; but the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two, as the reader will easily perceive from the description of *Thucydides*, who was sick thereof (I). *Pericles* in

t Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra.

(I) This plague in *Athens* makes so remarkable a figure in history, and the description of it by *Thucydides* has been so much commended, that we should deal unjustly with our readers, if we either omitted the description of this plague, or gave it in other words than those of that accurate historian. When the plague first began among the *Athenians*, the *Peloponnesians* had not been long in *Attica*; but so great a plague, and so fatal as this was, is not remembered to have happened in any place before. For at the first neither were the physicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but died fastest themselves, as being the men that most approached the sick, nor any other art of man availed whatsoever. All supplications of the gods, and enquiries of oracles, and whatsoever means they used of that kind, proved all unprofitable; insomuch as, subdued with the greatness of the evil, they gave them all over. It begin, by report, first in that part of *Ethiopia* that lieth upon *Egypt*, and thence fell down into *Egypt* and *Africk*, and into the greatest part of the territories of the king. It invaded *Athens* on a sudden, and touched first upon those that dwelt in *Pyræus*, insomuch as they reported, that the *Peloponnesians* had cast poison into their wells; for springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came up into the high city, and then they died a great deal faster. Now let every man physician, or other speak, concerning the ground of this sickness, whence it sprung, and what causes he thinks able, to produce so great an alteration, speak according to his own knowledge; for my own part, I will deliver but the manner of it, and lay open only such things as one may take his mark by to discover the same, if it come again, having been both sick of it myself, and seen others sick of the same. This year by confession of all men, was of all other for other diseases most free and healthful. If any man was sick before, his disease turned to this; if not, yet suddenly without any apparent cause preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken first with an extreme ach in their heads, redness and inflammation in their eyes; and then inwardly their throats and tongues grew presently bloody, and their breath noisom and unsavory. Upon this followed a sneezing and hoarseness, and nor long after, the pain, together with a mighty cough, came down into the breast; and when once it was settled in the stomach, it caused vomit, and with great torment came up all manner of bilious purgation that physicians ever named. Most of them had also the hiccoughs, which brought with it a strong convulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long before it gave over. Their bodies outwardly to the touch, were neither very hot nor pale, but reddish, livid, and beflowered with little pimples and whales; but so burned inwardly, as not to endure any the lightest cloaths or linnen garments to be upon them, nor any thing but mere nakedness, but rather most willingly to have cast themselves into the cold water; and many of them that were not looked to, possessed with insatiate thirst, ran into the wells; and to drink much or little was indifferent, being still from ease, and power to sleep as far as ever. As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies wasted not, but resisted the torment beyond all expectation, insomuch as the most of them either died of their inward burning in nine or seven days, whilst they had yet strength; or if they escaped that, then the disease falling down into their bellies, and causing there great ulcerations and immoderate looseness, they died many of them afterwards, through weakness. For the disease which took first the head, began above, and ran down, and passed through the whole body; and he that overcame the worst of it, was yet marked with the loss of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their privy members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the loss of these escaped. There were also some that lost their eyes, and many that presently upon their recovery were taken with such an oblivion of all things whatsoever, as they neither knew themselves nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of sickness which far surmounted all expression of words, and both exceeded human nature in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one, and appeared otherwise, to be none of those diseases that are bred amongst us, and that especially by this: For all, both birds and beasts, that use to feed on human flesh, though many men lay abroad unburied, either came not at them, or tasting, perished. An argument whereof, as touching the birds was the manifest defect of such fowl, which were not then seen, neither about their carcasses, or any where else; but by the dogs, because they are familiar with men, this effect was seen much clearer. So that this disease, to pass over many strange particulars of the accidents that some had differently from others, was in general such as I have shewn; and for other usual sicknesses at that time, no man was troubled with any. Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some again with all the care

a in the midst of these distresses retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuse it into his countrymen, though he held them to the observance of the same rule which he had prescribed before, and would not suffer them to stir without the city, either to escape the plague, or infest the enemy. He caused however a great fleet to be equipped, and drew together fifty vessels of the allies of *Athens*, on board of which, and of a hundred *Athenian* gallies, he embarqued three hundred horse, and four thousand foot, with which he sailed to *Epidaurus*. The *Peloponnesians* hearing how great a force he commanded, did as he conceived they would do, that is withdrew their troops out of *Attica*, after they had wasted it for forty days. *Pericles* however did no great matter, the plague raging amongst his soldiers and seamen. On his return b home, the fleet under the command of *Agnon* and *Cleopompus* were sent against *Chalcis* and *Potidea*, but carrying the plague with them thither, they were able to do little or nothing, so that after a short stay they returned from thence, also bringing back to *Athens* about fifteen hundred men out of four thousand, the rest being lost through pestilence and war. These evils drove the *Athenians* to madness and despair. In vain *Pericles* made use of all his eloquence to appease them; they sent embassadors to *Lacedæmon* to desire a peace, which the *Spartans* were much too proud to bestow; after this fruitless negociation, *Pericles* harangued the assembly afresh, and with the utmost force of reason, sought to combat their apprehensions and fears; when he had done speaking, they confessed he was in the right in advising them to begin the war; yet, distracted with the evils it had brought, they dismissed and c fined him; yet with an inconstancy natural to a people, they in a short time recalled him, and vested him with almost absolute authority. But the storms in his family did not blow over so easily; his son *Xanthippus* quitted his house, because his father would not allow him more money than his estate would bear; but to conceal the true cause, the profligate youth gave out his father conversed criminally with his wife. While this quarrel was open, *Xanthippus* died of the plague; shortly after him *Pe-*

care and physic that could be used. Nor was there any to say certain medicine that applied must have helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harm to another; nor any difference of body, for strength or weakness, that was able to resist it; but it carried all away, what physic soever was administered. But the greatest misery of all was the dejection of mind in such as found themselves beginning to be sick, for they grew presently desperate, and gave themselves over without making any resistance; as also their dying thus like sheep, infected by mutual visitation: For if men forbore to visit them for fear, then they died forlorn, whereby many families became empty for want of such as should take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themselves, and principally the honestest men: For out of shame they would not spare themselves, but went in unto their friends, especially after it was come to pass, that even their domestics weaned with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatness of their calamity, were no longer moved therewith. But those that were recovered, had much compassion both on them that died, and on them that lay sick, as having both known the misery themselves, and now no more subject to the like danger: For this disease never took a man the second time, so as to be mortal. And those men were both by others counted happy, and they also themselves through excess of present joy, conceived a kind of light hope never to die of any sickness hereafter. Besides the present affliction, the reception of the country people, and of their substance into the city, oppressed both them, and much more the people themselves that so came in. For having no houses, but dwelling at that time of the year in stifling booths, the mortality was now without all form, and dying men lay tumbling one upon another in the streets, and men half dead about every conduit through desire of water. The temples also where they dwelt in tents were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppressed with the violence of the calamity, and not knowing what to do, men grew careless both of holy and profane things alike. And the laws which they formerly used touching funerals were all now broken, every one burying where he could find room. And many for want of things necessary, after so many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in the funerals of their friends. For when one had made a funeral pile, another getting before him would throw on his dead, and give it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and having cast thereon him whom he carried, go his way again. And the great licentiousness which also in other kinds was used in the city, began at first from this disease. For that which a man before would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuousness, he durst now do freely, seeing before his eyes such quick revolution of the rich dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their estates; insomuch as they justified a speedy fruition of their goods even for their pleasure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, because they thought it uncertain whether they should die or not before they atchieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and to be profitable to pleasure, that was made both profitable and honourable. Neither the fear of the gods, nor laws of men, awed any man. Not the former, because they conclude it was alike, to worship, or not worship; from seeing that alike they all perished: Nor the latter, because no man expected that his life would last till he received punishment of his crimes by judgment. But they thought there was now over their heads some far greater judgment decreed against them; before which fell they thought to enjoy some little part of their lives (90).

(90) *Thucyd. lib.* ii. *prop. init.*

*ricles's*

*ricles*'s sister died, after her almost all his relations and friends, last of all his second a
son *Paralus*. At his funeral, *Pericles* lost his heroism quite; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corps, he burst out into a loud fit of crying, after which being conveyed home, he kept his house closely, and abandoned himself to melancholy. It was then that the *Athenians* invited him to accept of those honours of which they had stripped him. At the persuasion of *Alcibiades*, and others of his friends, he came abroad and shewed himself to the people, who received him with acclamations, and at his request cancelled that very unjust law which they had made at his motion for bastardizing all children of the half blood; and hereupon he enrolled a son of his by *Aspasia*, a freeman of *Athens*, by the name of *Pericles*. In the summer of this year, a *Peloponnesian* navy, of a hundred gallies, wasted the b
island of *Zacynthus*, whereby they did much hurt to the inhabitants, and little good to themselves. Towards the end of the summer they sent embassadors to the king of *Persia*, to intreat his assistance against his ancient enemies, the *Athenians*; these embassadors had it also in commission to make application to *Sytacles*, king of *Thrace*; but his son *Sadocus* being a citizen of *Athens*, seized them, and delivered them to the *Athenians*, who put them to death, to teach the *Lacedæmonians* more mercy than they had shewn of late in killing such as they found in their territories, who were natives of places allied to *Athens*. In the winter the *Athenians* sent *Melesander* with a fleet of twenty ships, to *Caria* and *Lycia*, where he was slain. About this time *Potidea*, which had held out from the very beginning of the war, and wherein the people had been driven to the eating of human flesh, yielded to the *Athenians*, c
who permitted the men to depart with one garment, and the women with two. This city was repeopled afterwards by a colony from *Athens*. Such were the events which fell out in the second year of the war[a].

In the spring of the third year, *Archidamus*, king of *Sparta*, came with a great army and besieged *Platæa*. The *Plataeans* insisted that *Pausanias*, after the famous battle in the neighbourhood of their city, had declared them free, wherefore they hoped he would not overturn what his predecessors had solemnly established; but *Archidamus* insisted that they should forsake the side of the *Athenians*, give up their city and all that they had during the time of the war, on a promise of having all things d
restored to them when it should be over. The *Plateans* were so far from accepting these terms, that they resolved to abide all things rather than desert *Athens*. *Archidamus* then wasted their country, but not with impunity; for those of *Platæa* made continual sallies, and cut off great part of his forces; he then caused the city to be set on fire, whereby a great part of it was reduced to ashes, yet this had no effect. In the end therefore, he was constrained to turn his siege into a blockade, and having thrown up an intrenchment, fortified with a deep ditch, he left a sufficient number of men to guard his lines, and then returned back to *Peloponnesus*. In *Thrace* and *Acarnania* the *Athenians* fought with variety of fortune, and under the command of *Phormio* gained two small victories at sea. But the great e
event of this year was the death of *Pericles*, which happened in the end of the summer. He fell by the plague, but in a manner different from any body else; for whereas it hurried off others suddenly, it destroyed him by degrees, praying at once on the constitution of his body, and the noble faculties of his mind. As an instance of this last observation, *Plutarch* says, that when he drew near his end, he shewed some of his friends an amulet or charm, which the women had hung round his neck, intimating, that he must be very sick indeed, when he suffered such a remedy to be applied. In his very last moments, some of his friends sitting by his bed-side, and conceiving him to have quite lost his senses, amused themselves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life: Of a sudden he raised himself on his bed, and turning f
to them, said, *I wonder you should commend those things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as any thing else, and which have happened to others also, and omit that which has been peculiar to me, and more to my reputation than all the rest; that never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account.* Thus *Pericles* died as he lived, as much superior to the greatest men of *Athens*, as they to the vulgar; and after his death it appeared, that the same grandeur which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preservation; only it must be allowed that he gave way to the corruption of the people, that he might govern them, and that while he

[a] Thucyd. Diodor. &c.

exalted

a exalted the *Athenian* state, and adorned its capital, he despoiled the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious spirit of dominion, instead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by *Aristides* and *Cimon*[7] (K).

In the summer following, the *Peloponnesians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, invaded *Attica*, the third time, destroying the ripe corn, and wasting with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the *Athenians*, though without profit to themselves. In the mean time the whole isle of *Lesbos*, the city and district of *Methymna* only excepted, revolted from the *Athenians*, who thereupon sent a fleet of forty gallies under the command of *Clippides*, and two other generals; their orders were to come before the city of *Mitylene*, to demand that the citizens should pull down their b walls, and deliver up their ships, which if they did not do, they were then to act offensively. The *Mitylenians* endeavoured to amuse the *Athenians*, and to that end procured a truce till they sent ambassadors to *Athens*; but in the mean time they dispatched other ambassadors to intreat aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, who directed them to make their solemn application at the olympic games to the several states of *Greece*, which accordingly they did, and were thereupon admitted into the alliance formed against *Athens*. The *Spartans* meditated another inroad into *Attica*, and actually advanced as far as the *Isthmus*; but their allies not sending their quotas as they had promised, they thought fit to retire, having received advice that an *Athenian* fleet had appeared on the coast of *Peloponnesus*. Yet the *Peloponnesians*, in pursuance of their promise to the *Mitylenians*, sent a fleet to their assistance of forty gallies; but c they were able to effect little, because the *Athenians* had sent a hundred gallies on that coast. Hitherto they pursued the maxims of *Pericles*, and cultivated a naval force; but as this cost immense sums of money, they were constrained to make new demands upon their allies, and to raise that tax which *Aristides* had imposed with the consent of the *Greeks*, by which they were enabled to keep up a fleet of 250 gallies. The *Mitylenians* and the rest of the *Lesbians*, greatly incensed at those of

7 Thucyd. lib. i, ii. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

(K) This note, though it relates to one of the greatest men of *Greece*, will not be very long, because we have had occasion to say so much of him in his history, that very little remains unsaid. He was very learned, especially in useful science; and there is a story related of him, though the time in which it happened is not very well fixed; but it must have been within a year or two of his death at fartheſt, which shews what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was from most of his countrymen; just as he was going on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipse of the sun happened, which struck all the seamen with astonishment, and terrified his own pilot so much, that he knew not what to do. *Pericles* perceiving this, instantly pulled off his cloak, and muffling up the man's face in it, asked him if that was terrible, and whether he drew any ill omen from it? He answered, No. Why then, said *Pericles*, what difference can you make between one darkness and the other, except that, what shades the sun is bigger than my cloak. Which brought the pilot and his crew to their senses again. How much he owed to *Anaxagoras* appears from this, and indeed from almost every great circumstance of his life; how grateful he was, the reader will determine, when he hears that he suffered that wise man to be in such distress, that throwing himself on the ground, and muffling his face in his cloak, he took a resolution of starving to death. When *Pericles* was told of this, he ran to him in all haste; yet instead of lamenting his distress, he fell to bewailing his own loss, in case he should be deprived of so wise a counsellor; to which *Anaxagoras* opening his cloak, answered with a low voice: *Those, Pericles, who have need of a lamp, supply it with oil.* Whereupon the statesman took him home, and used him better for the future. It was at his motion that the *Athenians* seized the treasure of all *Greece*, *Delos*, and applied a great part of it to the adorning of their own city; which when complained of as a breach of trust, *Pericles* thus defended it; It was given, said he, to defend *Greece* from the *Barbarians*, which the *Athenians* having done, have a just title to the money; for money, said he, is not theirs who give, but theirs who receive, provided they fulfil the conditions; and as the *Athenians* were always ready to carry on war, it was but just that something should be done for their peace, and to give life and spirit to tradesmen, which was effected by these public buildings. This reasoning of his drew over to his party merchants, seamen, labourers, and artists of all kinds; as for such as were not obliged this way, he provided largesses for them, and pensions from the public stock; whence many writers of his own time complain, that whereas other *Athenians* had made themselves eminent, *Pericles* had made himself a prince. In times of peace, when he apprehended that the murmurs of the people might be most dangerous, he caused them to be draughted off in colonies, and thereby rendered those dependent abroad, who would have been factious at home: In a word, he made *Athens* the richest and most powerful of the *Greek* states; he exalted the power of the people, which all the other chiefs had sought to depress; and in the midst of all the *Athenian* greatness, when her commons were most vain, and most unruly, he directed all things at his will, was but once, and then but for a small time in disgrace, recalled afterwards with honour by the people, and remained in possession of his authority to his death. But in the midst of this great fortune his hands were clean, he did all things for *Athens*, and nothing for himself, leaving his paternal estate rather diminished than improved, an example admirable rather than imitable (91).

(91) *Plut. in vit. Periclis. Thucyd. lib.* i. & ii. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xi, xii. *Justin.* iii. c. 7. & *mult. al.*

*Methymna* for remaining stedfast in their duty to the *Athenians*, made excursions a
into their country, whereupon the *Athenians* invested the city of *Mitylene*, and thereby obliged them to think of defending themselves instead of offending their neighbours. *Platæa* was all this time blocked up, its little garrison consisting of four hundred natives, and fourscore *Athenians*, having thus long withstood the whole power of *Peloponnesus*, but finding it a vain thing to hope assistance from *Athens*, and being very much streightened for provisions, they took a desperate way of forcing a passage through the enemies lines, which when they came to execute, many declined; three hundred however persisted in their intention, and fell with such fury on their enemies, that two hundred and twelve forced a passage, and marched to *Athens*, the rest were compelled to retire back into the city; thus ended the fourth b
year of the *Peloponnesian* war [a].

In the very beginning of the next year the *Peloponnesians* sent forty ships to the relief of *Mitylene*, and at the same time entered with a great army into *Attica*, for the fifth time, under the command of *Cleomenes*. The *Athenians* were exceedingly distressed by these cruel ravagers; but in the mean time their troops were victorious in *Lesbos*. *Paches* who commanded before *Mitylene*, obliged it to surrender before the *Peloponnesian* fleet, sent to succour it, could arrive; he likewise chased that fleet, and returning to *Lesbos*, sent the *Lacedæmonian* minister, whom he found in *Mitylene*, together with a deputation, from the inhabitants of that place to *Athens*, where the *Lacedæmonian* was immediately put to death; and in a general assembly c
of the people, it was resolved at the motion of *Cleon*, that orders should be sent to *Paches*, to put all the *Mitylenians*, who were at man's estate, to death, and to sell the women and children for slaves. The next day, however, they reconsidered this decree, which *Cleon* still supported with all his eloquence; but *Diodorus*, an orator of a milder disposition, having shewn how injurious it would be to the *Athenian* glory, to deal so severely with persons who had rendered at discretion, it was carried by a very small majority to reverse the decree. A clean ship was immediately dispatched to *Lesbos*, to countermand the orders that had been sent to *Paches* the day before, and instructions were given to the commander, to make all the sail he could, that he might arrive there before the other ship, which, though he strongly endeavoured, he d
could not perform. He arrived however time enough, to save the *Mitylenians* from utter destruction, for *Paches* being a man of great humanity, took a day to consider the orders he had received, and in that space the galley arrived, which brought him a countermand. The *Athenians*, however, did not wholly pardon the *Mitylenians*; on the contrary, they put a thousand of the briskest of the rebels to the sword, demolished the walls of the city, took away all their ships, divided their lands among themselves, and let them again to the *Mitylenians* at very high rents. The same summer they made themselves masters of the island of *Minoas*, lying over-against the territory of *Megara*; they seized likewise the port of *Nisæa*, and fortified it, which acquisitions were of mighty importance to them. The *Platæans*, e
driven to the last extremity, surrendered, and by the judgment of the *Lacedæmonians* were, to the number of two hundred, including twenty-five *Athenians*, put to death, and their women sold for slaves. Such was the end of one of the bravest and most generous people of *Greece*. Their city was some time afterwards razed by their implacable enemies the *Thebans*, who left only an inn to shew where it stood. The fame however of its ancient inhabitants moved *Alexander the Great*, to rebuild it. In this year happened the famous sedition in *Corcyra*, from whence future seditions, when their effects rendered them terrible, were stiled *Corcyrian*. *Thucydides* hath inserted a very copious description thereof, its causes and consequences, in his admirable work; as far as it relates to the affairs of the *Athenians*, we are bound to f
insert a succinct relation of it here. We have already observed, that the war waged by this state against the *Corinthians*, induced the *Peloponnesian* war; and in speaking thereof, we have shewn that a great number of *Corcyrians* were carried away prisoners into *Peloponnesus*, where the chief of them were very well treated, though the rest were sold for slaves; the reason of this conduct of the *Corinthians* was a design they had formed, of engaging these *Corcyrians* to influence their countrymen to side with them and their allies; full of this intent, they treated them with all the lenity and tenderness imaginable, instilling into them by degrees an hatred of democratic go-

[a] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi supra.

vernment,

a vernment, and a desire of vesting the rule of their island in their own hands. When it was found that the *Corcyrian* Prisoners had thoroughly imbibed these principles, they were told, that on condition they would use their interest at home in favour of the allies, and to the prejudice of *Athens*, they might obtain their freedom. The *Corcyrians* promised largely, returned home, and which may seem extraordinary, endeavoured to perform all they promised. From these endeavours sprung the sedition beforementioned; at first, such as were for an aristocracy, prevailed, and in right of their power cut the throats of those as inclined to a democratic government; they were assisted by the *Peloponnesians*, but the *Athenians* sending a fleet, and afterwards another fleet to the assistance of the distressed party, the *Peloponnesians*
b were forced to withdraw; and then the democratic party taking heart again in *Corcyra*, revenged themselves for the injuries they had received from the now depressed faction; nor would they suffer any notions of religion to restrain their hands, but dragged away suppliants from the altars to execution, on the standing maxims of all faction, that it was for the public good. The worst of all was, that this example once set, almost all the states in *Greece* felt in their turns the like commotions which were always incited and blown up by agents from *Sparta* and *Athens*, the former pretending to settle aristocracies every where, and the latter exerting her utmost power to prevent their remaining any where. In the midst of these momentous affairs, and while they had so many important businesses on the carpet, the
c *Athenians* were ingaged in a new one, which proved in the end more fatal to them than all the rest. It happened thus; the inhabitants of *Sicily* were split into two factions, the one stiled the *Doric*, which had the state of *Syracuse* at its head, the other the *Ionic*, which owned the *Leontines* for their chiefs; the latter conceiving themselves too weak without foreign aid, applied themselves to *Athens*, and sent a citizen of theirs, one *Gorgias*, and a great orator, to intreat it; never was any minister suited better to his negociation than this man to treat with the *Athenians*; he was bold, vain, and eloquent, and so tickled the ears of the people by his fine speeches, that they ran headlong into a war, with which they had no business, and which they were unable to maintain, while they were engaged with the *Peloponnesians*. *Pericles*
d had warned them of this at the very beginning of the war, he told them it would be as much as they could manage, but that they might manage it, if they medled with nothing else, and that their succeeding therein would fix their empire over *Greece*, and secure *Athens* in as high a state as she could expect, or ought to desire. But the people, giddy with success, and hoping at once to grasp the empire of *Greece*, and the dominion of *Sicily*, resolved to assist the *Leontines*, and to that end dispatched a fleet under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*; and, as if this new business had taken up all their thoughts, that fleet was hardly sailed before they began to equip another. The plague, however, made prodigious havock in the midst of all these great designs, cutting off this year four thousand citizens, three hun-
e dred knights, and an infinite number of meaner people. *Diodorus* says, ten thousand; he likewise acquaints us with what he supposes to have been the cause of this distemper, he ascribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter, and a very hot summer following thereupon, during which the *Etesian* gales or evening breezes were wanting. The *Athenians*, however, ascribed it to the pollution of the isle of *Delos*, by the burying therein dead bodies, which they therefore caused to be removed, and sought to appease *Apollo* by various sacrifices; such were the events in the fifth year of the *Peloponnesian* war[a].

At the opening of the next summer, the *Peloponnesians*, under the command of *Agis*, the son of *Archidamus*, king of *Sparta*, invaded *Attica*, or rather assembled in
f order to invade it; for the many earthquakes which happened at this time throughout *Greece*, alarmed them so much, that they returned home without doing any great matter. The war was carried on in *Sicily* with various success; *Carcades*, one of their generals being slain, the sole command devolved upon *Paches*, who discharged his trust with great reputation. At *Athens* the people ordered new ships to be daily fitted out, and created new admirals to command them; among these *Demosthenes* gained great reputation, and made himself very agreeable to their allies. The *Athenians*, however, received some check from the *Ætolians*, but in the winter they thrice overthrew the *Ambraciots*, and constrained them to conclude a peace

[a] Thucyd. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicud. lib. xii.

with

with the *Acarnanians*, the allies of *Athens*; *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, who commanded a in *Sicily*, gained, as the winter drew on, some advantages over the *Syracusians*, and in this year it is remarked that mount *Etna* made a greater irruption than it had done for fifty years; this was the sixth year [b].

In the succeeding spring, *Agis*, the son of *Archidamus*, invaded *Attica* with a great army; the *Athenians*, however, fitted out a great fleet, sending forty ships to *Sicily*, and to their commanders gave instructions, to keep a strict eye on *Corcyra*, the inhabitants of which were under great apprehensions, lest their exiles should make any attempt, or the *Peloponnesians* make a descent with their fleet of sixty gallies which was in their neighbourhood. *Demosthenes* was sent with another fleet to infest the coasts of *Peloponnesus*, he was one of the greatest generals of his time, b of which he gave evident proof in this expedition; for as the fleet sailed by *Laconia*, he took notice of the promontory of *Pylus*, which was united to the land by a narrow isthmus, having before it a barren island, about two miles in circumference, in which however there was a very good safe port, all winds being kept off either by the headland, or by the isle; these advantages gave him to apprehend that a garrison left here would give so much trouble to the *Peloponnesians*, that they would find it more adviseable to protect their own country, than to invade their neighbours. He proposed therefore to his collegues, that they should immediately seize it, and fortify it with the utmost expedition; but they desirnig rather to fulfil their instructions, than to do extraordinary service, for which they might not be thanked, c refused to follow his advice, and insisted upon sailing to *Corcyra*, according as their orders bore. A storm arising obliged the fleet to put into the haven in the island, where *Demosthenes* revived his persuasions to seize and fortify so convenient a post, but in vain; his collegues were all of another opinion, so that he was forced to give way; but the matter taking air, the soldiers declared unanimously that they would not quit the place, which they immediately fell to fortifying, and in six days finished a strong wall; and then the rest of the admirals sailing for *Corcyra*, *Demosthenes* was left with five ships to guard his new-raised fortifications. As soon as the news of this event was carried to the *Peloponnesian* army, it was immediately re- d solved to return back and besiege *Pylus*. When they arrived before the place, they took possession of the harbour, and caused a chosen body of *Spartans* to take possession at the same time of the island *Sphacteria*, and these precautions taken, they attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments with great vigour; *Demosthenes* and his garrison made a prodigious defence, and a fleet of forty *Athenian* ships arriving in the nick of time, offered battle to the *Peloponnesian* fleet; but this being refused, because the *Lacedæmonians* were at present set on taking *Pylus*, the *Athenians* boldly sailed into the harbour, broke and sunk most of the vessels therein, and took the rest, after which they besieged the *Spartans* in the isle, which threw the affairs of the *Peloponnesians* into the greatest disorder. The *Lacedæmonians* sent for their magistrates into e camp, which was their custom in all great dangers, and they perceiving that no safety could be wrought for the *Spartans* in *Sphacteria*, but by a treaty with the enemy, concluded a truce with the *Athenian* army, while a negociation was carried on at *Athens*; the articles of this truce were, that the *Peloponnesians* should deliver up all their ships, on condition to have them punctually restored to them in case the treaty did not take effect; that neither the *Athenians* nor they should undertake any thing till this negociation ended some way or other; that a certain quantity of victuals should be carried daily to the island, but that no ship should attempt to pass thither by stealth; that the truce should end at the return of the embassadors, and that, if in the mean time it were broke in any of its articles, it should be held utterly void in all. The *Lacedæmonian* embassadors spoke to the *Athenians* f with great gravity and wisdom, they shewed them how much for their honour it would be to make a peace at their request; and in proof of this they urged an argument worthy of the *Spartans*. You have now, said they, an advantage, which whether it be owing to your wisdom, or fortune, may be disputed hereafter; but if you lay hold of this occasion, to make a just and honourable peace, you will shew that your nation do not acquire advantages by chance, but by prudence; whereas, if you do not make peace, you will risque that reputation, and even those advantages, from the pride of which you reject the accommodation we offer. The *Athenians* in ge-

[b] Thucyd. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

neral

a neral were inclined to put an end to this troublesome war, but *Cleon*, one of their demagogues, a warm and obstinate man, so wrought upon them, that they insisted on very unreasonable conditions, and treated the embassadors in such a manner, that finding nothing could be done with honour, they withdrew, and by their return to the camp put an end to the truce. The *Peloponnesians* then demanded their ships, but the *Athenians* pretending that the truce had been infringed, refused to deliver them, and thereby kept the possession of sixty good vessels, to which they had but a very indifferent title. Hostilities being recommenced on both sides, the *Lacedæmonians* attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments at *Pylus*, while the *Athenians* renewed their assaults on the *Lacedæmonians* at *Sphacteria*; the latter, though under all the dis-
b couragements imaginable, behaved with great bravery, insomuch that the business went on very slowly, which gave the people of *Athens* much uneasiness. They began then to wish they had embraced the peace, and to rail vehemently at *Cleon*, who to excuse himself said, that it would be easy for the general of the forces they were now sending to attack the *Spartans* in the isle, and put an end to this dispute at once. *Nicias*, who had been appointed to this command, said immediately, that if *Cleon* believed he could do such great things, he would do well to go thither in person; the latter conceiving this to be meant only to try him, said he was ready to go with all his heart, whereby *Nicias* catched him, and declared that he had relinquished his charge. *Cleon* thereupon said, modestly enough, that he was no general;
c but *Nicias* answered, he might then become one; and the people pleased with this controversy, held the orator to his word; *Cleon* then advancing, said, I am so little afraid of the enemy, that I will desire but a very small body of troops; and yet in conjunction with those at *Pylus*, I will undertake in twenty days either to bring you the *Spartans* you are in such pain about, or perish in the attempt; at which the people, little expecting such things from an orator, fell a laughing. They decreed him however the troops he desired, and he set sail on this expedition, in which he conducted himself with great prudence and fortitude; for he first sent a herald to the enemies camp, signifying, that if the *Lacedæmonians* in the isle surrendered at discretion, a new negociation might be commenced; but this demand
d being looked upon as dishonourable to the *Lacedæmonian* state, was rejected. He afterwards in conjunction with *Demosthenes* made a descent upon the island, and partly by their conduct, and partly by their valour, reduced the *Spartans* to the last extremity. *Cleon* perceiving it to be in their power to cut these brave men to pieces, restrained his *Athenians*, and sent a herald to inform them, that they might yet yield at discretion; whereupon the *Lacedæmonian* commander, who had been the third officer in the army, his two superiors being killed, demanded a conference with the *Athenian* generals, in which he desired leave to send for orders to the *Peloponnesian* camp, but that was refused; at length the terms offered were accepted, and the prisoners were put on board the ships in order to be conveyed to *Athens*. They had sustained a siege of seventy-two days, and a terrible engagement, wherein they lost one hun-
e dred and twenty-eight persons out of four hundred and twenty, so that two hundred and ninety-two yielded. *Cleon*, who had been laughed at when he made it, performed exactly his promise, producing the prisoners within the time prefixed, which wonderfully elated the people, who in their next assembly decreed, that these prisoners should be safely kept till a peace should be made, unless the *Peloponnesians* should in the mean time invade *Attica*, in which case they resolved that they should be put to death. They sent a colony of *Messenians*, who had been cruelly expelled out of their own country by the *Spartans*, to repossess *Pylus*, and their neighbourhood was so troublesome to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they quickly resolved to send embas-
f sadors afresh to *Athens*, in order if it was possible to put an end to the war. The people of *Athens* were too much exalted with their success, to treat the *Lacedæmonians* either with justice or candour, and the embassadors of that steady nation, disdaining to be amused with frivolous pretences, returned without doing any thing. This summer the *Athenians* fought the *Corinthians* near the isthmus; they sent likewise a fleet to *Sicily*, which fleet had instructions to put in at *Corcyra*, and to assist the government there against the faction which was in the interest of the *Lacedæmonians*; this they effectually performed, for they gave the *Corcyrians* such assistance, that the exiles fell into their power; they imprisoned them, and afterwards drew them out by twenty at a time, and put them to death with all the circumstances of rage and cruelty that civil fury could invent; when there were only sixty re-

 maining,

maining, they besought the *Athenians* to put them to death, and not deliver them a
up to their countrymen. The *Corcyrians* thereupon surrounding the place where they were confined, endeavoured to bury them under their darts, which throwing these unhappy men into despair, they strangled and otherwise destroyed themselves with their own hands. Such was the dreadful end of that miserable sedition, which for so many years rent this little island, and made the *Corcyrians* endure greater evil from themselves, than they had ever felt from any enemy. The *Athenians* were this year successful in some other expeditions, which, to avoid prolixity, we shall omit, and refer our readers to an account of them in *Thucydides*. In the winter, a *Persian* embassador whose name was *Artaphernes*, being sent to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in *Thrace*, and brought prisoner to *Athens*. His letters and instructions were read, b
but when it was discovered, that they no way concerned the *Athenians*, he was dismissed, and other embassadors from *Athens* were sent with him to *Ephesus*, where, when they came, they were informed that *Artaxerxes* the *Persian* monarch was dead, by which their commission being determined, they returned home. Towards the end of the year the *Athenians* apprehended that the inhabitants of *Chios* had an intention to desert them, they therefore sent a fleet thither with orders that they should demolish their new walls, a method they commonly practised on such occasions. These were the principal events of the seventh year of the war.

In the beginning of the eighth year of the war there happened an eclipse of the sun, as *Thucydides* tell us, which was followed by an earthquake. The first matter c
of consequence the *Athenians* resolved on, was the taking of the isle of *Cythera*, seated on the coast of *Laconia*, which lay extremely convenient for them. *Nicias* was chosen to command this expedition. This nobleman, even in the time of *Pericles*, had been eminent in the state, and enjoyed a great measure of favour with the people. His qualifications were not extraordinary, for though he had much knowledge in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to perform his duty as a general, yet he was exceeding cautious, fearful of trespassing in the least on his instructions, and timorous to the last degree of offending the people. *Pericles*, especially in his latter days, governed all things with a high hand; he so much exceeded all others in eloquence, that to speak and to persuade were the same things d
with him, and the people being confident that he was a friend to their power and authority, came readily into whatever he desired. *Nicias* was of another disposition, and therefore he sought to acquire their good will, or rather to purchase it, another way; he had an immense estate, and he laid out a great part of it in bestowing largesses, exhibiting plays, shews, and whatever else might please the people, who likewise pitied the timidness of his temper, and always encouraged him when he had any thing to offer or to propose to them. We have already mentioned his dispute with *Cleon* as to the business of *Pylus*; the same man was his constant opponent in every thing, which is the less wonderful, since it is evident there was a direct contrariety both in their tempers and interests. *Cleon* was continually the author of warm e
and violent counsels, a lover of blood, and a vehement enemy of the *Lacedæmonians*; whereas *Nicias* was gentle in his manners, advised moderate measures, was for treating enemies with clemency; and though in all other respects he was fearful, yet he never dissembled that he wished well to the *Lacedæmonians*, that is, wished his countrymen would rather conclude a peace with them, than break the power of that state and their own, by obstinately continuing the war. The people having a great opinion of his probity and conduct, appointed him general in this expedition into *Cythera*, and furnished him with a strong fleet and a good army. *Nicias* executed his commission punctually and successfully, whereby he gained them a very com- f
modious post, and brought the *Lacedæmonians* very ill neighbours; afterwards the *Athenians* took *Thyrea* on the confines of *Laconia*, this place the *Lacedæmonians* had given to the inhabitants of the isle of *Egina*, when they were expelled by the *Athenians*, these with the *Cytheræans* were sent to *Athens* to abide the judgment of the people; the former they condemned to death, as being the ancient and inveterate enemies of their state and nation, the latter they dispersed for the most part through the islands under their obedience, and on such as they left in their own country, they imposed a very heavy tribute. In *Sicily*, one *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse*, persuaded all the inhabitants of that island to adjust their differences among themselves, whereby the *Athenian* generals were constrained to re-embark their forces, and to return home. There were three of them, *Pythodemus*, *Sophocles*, and *Eurymidon*,

they

a they gave the people a distinct account of the reasons which induced them to quit the island, and insisted particularly on this, that the *Sicilians* being reconciled to each other, they were in no condition to force them upon other measures; but the *Athenians*, who seldom considered any thing where success was wanting, banished two of their generals, and subjected the third to a very heavy fine. The inhabitants of *Megara*, finding themselves exceedingly distressed from the continual incursions of the *Athenians*, and the mischief done by their own exiles, began to have some thoughts of recalling those they had banished, of which when the *Athenians* had notice, they found means to engage the magistrates to assist them in quelling the townsmen. *Hip-*
b *pocrates* and *Demosthenes*, two famous generals, were employed in this expedition, wherein the *Megarians* concerned exactly kept their agreement; the gates were opened, and the *Athenians* had taken possession of the town, if on a sudden some of the conspirators had not altered their minds, and gone over to those who sought to defend it, whereupon the *Athenians* and their friends seized the long walls, and threw up a cross work against the city, bending all their force to make themselves masters of *Nisæa*, or the port, doubting not that if they had this, *Megara* would soon fall. The garrison having no magazines of provision, were constrained to surrender at discretion, after which the *Athenians* invested the city, and closely besieged it. *Brasidas* the *Lacedæmonian* came quickly from *Corinth* to relieve the *Megarians*,
c but the citizens being still divided in their opinions, some siding with the *Athenians*, some with the *Lacedæmonians*, would not open their gates to any body. In the mean time the *Bœotians* came with a considerable army and joined *Brasidas*, who thereupon engaged the *Athenians*; but it ended in a drawn battle; at last, however the *Lacedæmonian* party prevailing in *Megara*, those who sided with the *Athenians* were many of them obliged to withdraw; after this the exiles returned, and were admitted into the city, on their taking an oath to forget all that was past, and their attempting nothing which might disturb their country. But as soon as they were settled, they forgot their oath, and with it all tenderness for their country, caused a hundred of those whom they most suspected to be apprehended, forced the people to con-
d demn them, and in consequence of that judgment, put them all to death. They then changed the whole frame of the government, introduced an oligarchy, and possessed themselves of the supreme power. The exiles of *Mitylene*, some other *Lesbians*, and crew of mercenary troops, seized *Rhetium* in *Asia*, and possessed themselves afterwards of *Antandrus*; that they might not incumber themselves with too many things, they sold the former city to its ancient inhabitants, and were quickly after dispossessed of the latter by the *Athenian* generals, *Demodorus* and *Aristides*; their collegue, whose name was *Lamachus*, sailed to *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, where he pretended to levy tribute; but the *Heraclians* insisted, that as they were subjects to the *Persian* king, the *Athenians* had no right to any subsidies from them. While these points were litigating, a land-flood drove most of the *Athe-*
e *nian* ships on shore, and broke them in pieces, so that *Lamachus* found himself unable to act either by land or sea. The *Heraclians*, instead of taking any advantage of this accident, assisted the *Athenians* to the utmost of their power, so that with much ado *Lamachus* put his army into a condition to march through *Thracia* to *Chalcedon*. The *Bœotians* growing weary of that form of government, which since their league with the *Lacedæmonians* had been introduced among them, began to cabal with the *Athenians*, and to invite them to assist in settling democracies throughout *Bœotia*; but this business was not very prosperous, for the *Thebans* and other *Bœotians* of their party, drew together a great army under the command of *Pantoedus*. The *Athenians* were commanded by *Demosthenes* and *Hippocrates*; at *Delium* the armies met,
f and a very bloody engagement ensued, wherein the *Athenians* were at last beaten, and all hopes of their prevailing in *Bœotia* taken away, most of the *Bœotians*, who leaned to their party, being obliged to forsake their country, and to take shelter in the *Athenian* territories. *Thucydides* the historian, commanded at this time the *Athenian* forces on the coast of *Macedonia*, whither the *Lacedæmonians* had sent *Brasidas* one of their best generals with a considerable army. He, partly by force, partly by persuasion, reduced *Amphipolis* and several other places; but *Thucydides*, by a quick march, saved *Ione*; and the *Athenians*, being extremely alarmed at the news of *Brasidas*'s conquest, sent new supplies of men, money, and ships, in the winter to the *Macedonian* coast; but all their care could not prevent a mighty defection from their

their interest in those parts, where the valour and conduct of the *Lacedæmonian* chief a carried all before him. These were the events of the eighth year of the war [c].

In the beginning of the spring the *Spartans* made new propositions of peace at *Athens*, supposing that the misfortunes which their enemies had met with in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, would render them more tractable than they had been before, in which they were not much mistaken; for the *Athenians*, finding that fortune was no more constant to them than to their enemies, and finding their affairs much unsettled by the loss of *Amphipolis*, agreed to a truce for a year, that they might have time to re-establish them. This truce was founded upon the following articles, that both parties should remain in quiet possession of what they held at present, that embassadors, heralds, and all other persons with public characters, should have free b leave to enter any of the states in order to the negotiation of a general peace, that neither party should receive or protect deserters, that all controversies should be amicably decided, and not by force; proceedings at sea were likewise settled, and confederates on both sides were comprised in this truce. Immediately on the conclusion thereof, negotiations were set on foot for a general peace; but these were interrupted, and the *Athenians* thrown into new disorders by an accident in *Thrace*, where the city of *Scione*, and the city of *Menda* revolted to *Brasidas*, who knowing nothing of the truce, sought to draw over *Potidæa* also; the *Athenians* pretending that *Scione* revolted two days after the truce was concluded, clamoured loudly thereat, asserting that it was a breach thereof, and that both it and *Menda* should c be restored them, which negotiations not having the power to effect, an army was sent to reduce them; by this army *Menda* was recovered, but *Scione* made an obstinate resistance, whereupon the *Athenians* encompassed it with a wall, and turned their siege into a blockade. The spring drawing on, the *Lacedæmonian* army, under the command of *Brasidas*, made an attempt upon *Potidæa*; but it miscarried, and the *Athenians* began to recover some courage in this part of the world.

The truce expiring on the day of the *Pythian* games, *Cleon* persuaded the *Athenians* to send a great army into *Thrace* under his own command; it consisted of twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horse, all *Athenian* citizens, embarked on a fleet of thirty gallies. *Cleon*, soon after his arrival took the city of *Torone*; but he mis- d carried in his attempt on *Stagirus*, which however did not discourage him from falling upon *Galopsus*, a colony of the *Thasians*, which he took; after which he retired to *Ione*, waiting there for succours. *Brasidas*, who had an army much inferior to his, observing that *Cleon* was become careless, and that his troops did not observe discipline, attacked the *Athenians* by surprize, and routed them with very great slaughter; *Cleon* himself flying at last, but not far, a *Lacedæmonian* soldier overtaking and killing him on the spot; *Brasidas* was mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, wherein the *Athenians* lost six hundred men, and the *Lacedæmonians* no more than seven. This decisive engagement had mighty effects on both parties, the *Athenians* were greatly humbled by the loss of their army, and the *Spar-* e *tans* little less concerned at the loss of their general; besides, the *Athenians*, in losing *Cleon*, lost the most popular speaker amongst them, and the great promoter of the war; they therefore grew much more quiet and tractable than formerly, and were very ready to hear what the wise and prudent statesmen amongst them thought fit to offer in their public assemblies. Amongst the *Lacedæmonians* there was likewise a considerable party, at the head of whom was *Plistonax* their king, who declared for peace, and who laboured as hard to effect it, as *Nicias* and his party did at *Athens*. These proceedings induced various negotiations, which in the end brought on a peace for fifty years between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, on the following conditions: That a restitution of places and prisoners should be made on both sides, f excepting that *Nicæa* should remain to the *Athenians*, who had taken it from the *Megarians*, and that *Platæa* should remain in the hands of the *Thebans*, because they absolutely would not give it up. The *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, refused to be included in this peace, but the rest of the allies yielded to it, and it was accordingly sworn to at *Athens* in the archonship of *Alcæon* ten years after the commencement of the war; and as *Nicias* of all the *Athenians* most vigorously promoted it, so from him it was called the *Nician* peace [d].

[c] Thucid. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Niciæ. [d] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Niciæ.

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a THE quiet of *Greece* was far from being restored on the cessation of the war, such of the states in *Peloponnesus* as were not satisfied with the terms of peace, began to intrigue and negotiate amongst themselves, and to endeavour to set on foot a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the state of *Argos*. The pretence was, that the liberty of *Greece* was in danger from the alliance between *Sparta* and *Athens*, and as a proof of this they alledged an article in that alliance, whereby it was provided, that by mutual consent new conditions might be added thereto, or any of the old ones altered at their pleasure. In the mean time the *Spartans* found it not in their power to perform exactly the terms of their treaty with *Athens*; for whereas it was stipulated, that all places taken should be restored, *Amphipolis* absolutely refused b to return under the *Athenian* government, so that all the *Lacedæmonians* could do was to withdraw their garison, and under the colour of this, the *Athenians* on their side refused to evacuate *Pylus*. The *Lacedæmonians* pressing earnestly to have this fortress put into their hands, or that at least the *Helotes* and *Messenians* might be removed from thence, the *Athenians* were at last prevailed on to grant the latter, and to send those who were thus removed from *Pylus* to the island of *Cephalenia*. In the winter new negotiations were entered into on all sides, the *Lacedæmonians* sought to induce the *Bœotians* to give up *Panactus* and the *Athenian* prisoners, in hopes thereby to recover *Pylus*; with much ado they brought the *Bœotians* into this, but not till they had thoroughly destroyed the fortifications of the city in question; after which it was delivered up. The *Athenians* on their side had done every thing that could c be expected from them, excepting only the rendering of *Pylus* which they kept as a pledge for the *Spartans* complying with what they had undertaken in that alliance. The demolition of *Panactus* therefore gave them very great uneasiness, and induced them to apprehend the *Lacedæmonians* had circumvented them, and would in the end reconcile themselves to their old confederates at their expence. These discontents were heightened by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who began now to rival *Nicias*, and who will make so considerable a figure in the subsequent part of this history, that there is a necessity of our informing the reader who and what he was. In point of birth he yielded to none, he was the son of *Clinias*, the nephew of *Pericles*, and descended d lineally from *Ajax*; in his person he was so beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when he grew up to be a man, he was revered for his extraordinary comelinesS; his fortune was large, and beyond most of the nobility in *Athens*; as to his parts, *Cornelius Nepos* seems to have drawn his just character in saying, that nature in him had exerted her utmost force, since whether we consider his virtues or his vices, he was distinguished from all his fellow-citizens. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable, liberal, magnificent, affable, and knew exactly how to comply with the times, that is he knew how to put on all these virtues when he thought fit; for when he gave a loose to his passions, he was indolent, luxurious, dissolute, extremely addicted to women, intemperate and inclined to prophaneness. It was e a great advantage to him, that *Socrates* had a great friendship for him, or, as the *Greeks* stiled it, a love; for this not only corrected his manners, and brought him to the knowledge of many things of which otherwise he would have been ignorant; but also gave the *Athenians* hopes of him, and kept them from resenting those wanton acts of pride and vanity which he committed whilst a lad; by his mother's side he was descended from the *Alcmeonidæ*, and his ancestors by the father's side had been always upon good terms with the *Lacedæmonians*. *Clinias* had indeed disclaimed his friendship with that people, but *Alcibiades* renewed his title to it, and affected to shew a mighty respect to *Lacedæmonian* strangers. But when he observed the embassadors of that state applied themselves wholly to *Nicias* and f his dependants; he resented it so much, that he began instantly to work upon the people's mind to their prejudice, giving out that the *Lacedæmonians* were not hearty in their last treaty, and that *Nicias* was more a friend to them than was consistent with his duty to his country. In proof of the first, he alledged, that the *Spartans* were now taking measures for humbling *Argos* and her allies, that they might afterwards bring down *Athens*. As to the latter, he put his countrymen in mind of the coldness *Nicias* had shewn when they would have sent him with a fleet to make a descent on *Sphacteria*; the issue of all this was, that the people began to entertain a distrust both of their old general, and of their new allies. Shortly after this came embassadors from *Lacedæmon* to court the *Athenians*, and to rectify their opinions as to the sincerity of that state; these ministers at first applied themselves to

*Nicias*, who introduced them to the senate, where they declared they were vested a
with full power to adjust all differences, and to add such new clauses to the treaty already subsisting as might give ample satisfaction to the *Athenians*. When they retired from thence, *Alcibiades*, as the old friend of their nation, invited them to his house, where he expostulated with them on their attaching themselves to *Nicias*, assured them of his friendship, and as a proof thereof, advised them to deny in the general assembly of the people that they were vested with full powers, under pretence that the acknowledging thereof would induce the *Athenians* to extort unreasonable compliances. When therefore the embassadors came into the forum, *Alcibiades* first stood up, and asked them whether they had full powers, to which, according to agreement, b
they answered, No. *Alcibiades* turning to the people, said, *You see, my countrymen, what credit ought to be given to these* Lacedæmonians, *who deny to you to day what they solemnly affirmed yesterday to the senate!* The people upon this absolutely refused to hear the *Lacedæmonians* speak. *Alcibiades* immediately afterwards recommended the cause of the *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, who at that time sought the friendship of *Athens*; but before they could come to a conclusion, an earthquake happened, which of course dissolved the assembly. At the next meeting, *Nicias* proposed that he might be sent embassador to *Sparta* before any harsh resolutions were taken, which the assembly complied with; but when *Nicias* came to *Lacedæmon*, he found there a party as unreasonable as that which he had left at *Athens*; for they would c
not give him any sort of satisfaction with respect to his demands, and only swore anew to the old alliance, merely that they might seem to do something for the sake of their old friend. Upon his return, the *Athenians* concluded a league with the *Argives* and the other states beforementioned for a hundred years, which *Alcibiades* who promoted it looked upon as a master-piece in politics, because thereby he had provided a means to keep that war at a distance in case the feuds between *Sparta* and *Athens* were revived, a thing which was much easier foreseen than remedied. Such were the events of the eleventh and twelfth years after the commencement of this *Peloponnesian* war [e] (L).

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[e] Thucid. lib. v. Diodor. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Niciæ & Alcibiad.

(L) We thought it necessary to insert here the league itself as it stands in *Thucydides*, for many reasons; first, because it enlightens the history; secondly, for that it shews the policy of those times, and that the treaties of the ancient *Greeks* were no less perfect and explicit than ours; thirdly, that it might serve as an authority to demonstrate the truth and solidity of this history; thus it runs:

"The *Athenians* and *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, "and *Eleans*, for themselves and for the confederates "commanded by every of them, have made an "accord for a hundred years, without fraud or "damage, both by sea and land. It shall not be "lawful for the *Argives*, nor *Eleans*, nor *Mantineans*, nor their confederates, to bear arms against "the *Athenians*, or the confederates under the "command of the *Athenians* or their confederates, "by any fraud or machination whatsoever, and the "*Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, have made "league with each other for a hundred years on "these terms. If any enemy shall invade the territory of the *Athenians*, then the *Argives*, *Eleans*, "and *Mantineans* shall go unto *Athens* to assist them, "according as the *Athenians* shall send them word "to do in the best manner they possibly can. But "if the enemy, after he have spoiled the territory "shall be gone back, then their city shall be held "as an enemy to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Mantineans*, "and *Athenians*, and war shall be made against it "by all those cities, and it shall not be lawful for "any of those cities to give over the war without "the consent of all the rest. And if any enemy "shall invade the territory either of the *Argives* or "of the *Eleans*, or of the *Mantineans*, then the "*Athenians* shall come into *Argos*, *Elis*, and *Mantinea*, to assist them in such sort as those cities "shall send them word to do in the best manner "they possibly can. But if the enemy, after he "hath wasted their territory, shall be gone back, "then their city shall be held as an enemy both to "the *Athenians*, and also to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, "and *Mantineans*, and war shall be made against it "by all those cities, and it shall not be lawful for "any of them to give over the war against "that city without the consent of all the rest. "There shall no armed men be suffered to pass "through the dominions either of themselves, or "of any the confederates under their several commands, to make war in any place whatsoever, "unless by the suffrage of all the cities, *Athens*, *Argos*, "*Elis*, and *Mantinea*, their passage be allowed. To "such as come to assist any of the other cities, "that city which sendeth them shall give maintenance for thirty days after they shall arrive in "the city that sent for them, and the like at their "going away. But if they will use the army for "a longer time, then the city that sent for them "shall find them maintenance at the rate of three "oboles of *Ægina* a-day for a man of arms, and "of a drachmæ of *Ægina* for a horseman. The "city which sendeth for the aids shall have the "leading and command of them whilst the war "is in their own territory: But if it shall seem "good unto these cities to make a war in common, then all the cities shall equally participate "of the command. The *Athenians* shall swear "unto the articles both for themselves and for their "confederates; and the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Mantineans*, and the confederates of these, shall every one "swear unto them, city by city, and their oath "shall be the greatest that by custom of the several "cities is used, and with most perfect hosts, *i. e.* "beasts offered in sacrifice, and in these words:

"I will

a THE next summer *Alcibiades*, at the head of a considerable army, passed over into the territory of *Argos*, and from thence to *Patræ*; he laboured at both places to persuade them to build walls to the sea, that so they might the more easily receive assistance from the *Athenians*. The *Prataeans* thinking to shew their wisdom and foresight, expostulated with *Alcibiades*, telling him, that if they took his advice, the *Athenians* might in time swallow them up. I do not know, answered he, but they may yet, they must begin at the feet, and eat you by degrees, whereas if the *Lacedæmonians* are your enemies, they will begin at the head, and devour you all at once. The *Argives* thought this year to have made themselves masters of *Epidaurus*, but were hindered by the *Lacedæmonians* putting a garrison into it of three b hundred men, whereupon the *Athenians* brought back the *Helotes* and *Messenians*, and resettled them in *Pilus*; thus all the preparatives for war were made this year, which was the thirteenth after the beginning of that stiled the *Peloponnesian*, yet no action was undertaken therein [f].

THE next summer the *Spartans* drew together a very great army, which under the command of *Agis* their king, entered the territory of *Argos*, where the confederate army lay; but as the engagement was about to begin, a truce was suddenly clapped up by two of the *Argive* generals, and the king of *Lacedæmon*, for which none of them received thanks, but, on the contrary, were extremely ill treated by their respective citizens. Some short time after, an *Athenian* army consisting of a thousand c foot, and three hundred horse, arrived at *Argos*, whereupon the *Argives* renounced the truce with *Lacedæmon*, and began the war again. The *Athenian* troops were commanded by *Laches*, and *Nicostratus*, but *Alcibiades* was in it as a volunteer without command; he it was who persuaded the *Argives* to besiege *Orchomanus*, and soon after *Tegea*; but the career of their victories was soon stopped, for *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a great army, came to give them battle; it was fought in the neighbourhood of *Mantinea*, and is very accurately described by *Thucydides*; in it the *Argives* and their confederates were at first victorious in one wing, but the *Lacedæmonians* prevailing in the center, and in the other wing afterwards, hemmed in the *Argives*, and defeated them also, gaining thereby a glorious victory, in right of d which they erected a trophy. The *Eleans* and *Athenians* however, after this battle invested *Epidaurus*, and threw up intrenchments around it; in the winter a strong party in *Argos* joining with the *Lacedæmonians*, that city broke off her league with *Athens*, and renewed it with *Sparta* for fifty years; in consequence of which the *Argives* abolished democracy, which hitherto had subsisted in their city, and to compliment their new allies, not only set up an aristocracy among themselves, but assisted the *Lacedemonians* with a considerable body of troops, to force the *Sicyonians* upon the same measure; thus ended the fourteenth year after the *Peloponnesian* war, which was now opened again with circumstances more dangerous than before.

IN the very next summer *Argos* changed her party again, for falling into an e early dislike of aristocracy, which to those who were free before seemed little better than a tyranny, they fell upon the *Lacedæmonians* in their city, and upon such of their

[f] THUCID. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

" I will stand to this league according to the " articles thereof, justly, innocently, and sincerely, " and not transgress the same by any art or machi- " nation whatsoever.

" This oath shall be taken at *Athens* by the senate " and the officers of the commons, and administred " by the *Prytanies*. At *Argos* it shall be taken by " the senate, and the council of eighty, and by the " *Artynæ*, and administred by the council of eighty. " At *Mantinea* it shall be taken by the procurators " of the people, and by the senate, and by the rest " of the magistrates, and administred by the *Theori*, " and by the tribunes of the soldiers. At *Elis* it " shall be taken by the procurators of the people, " and by the officers of the treasury, and by the " council of six hundred, and administred by the " procurators of the people, and by the keepers of " the laws. This oath shall be renewed by the *Athe-* " *nians*, who shall go to *Elis*, and to *Mantinea*, and " to *Argos*, thirty days before the olympian games, " and by the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*, who " shall come to *Athens* ten days before the *Panathæan* " holy days. The articles of this league and peace, " and the oath shall be inscribed in a pillar of stone " by the *Athenians* in the citadel; by the *Argives* " in their market-place within the precinct of the " temple of *Apollo*; and by the *Mantineans*, in " their market-place within the precinct of the " temple of *Jupiter*; and at the olympian games " now at hand, there shall be erected jointly by " them all a brazen pillar in olympis (with the " same inscription). If it shall seem good to these " cities to add any thing to these articles, whatsoever " shall be determined by them all in common coun- " cil, the same shall stand good (92)".

(92) *Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib. v.*

own citizens as they thought were of their party, and having killed some, and banished a others, they renounced their new made league with *Sparta*, and renewed their old one with *Athens*. They likewise began to follow the advice which *Alcibiades* had given them, and with indefatigable industry wrought on the long walls which were necessary to join their city with the sea. The *Athenians* in the mean time being convinced that *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia* had betrayed them, and been the chief occasion that their expeditions against the *Chalcideans* and the city of *Amphipolis* had miscarried, they renounced their league with him, and declared war against him. These were the events of the fifteenth year [a].

*Alcibiades* at the beginning of the next year came with a fleet of twenty ships into the territories of *Argos*, to assist his friends, and to put an end to the disputes which b reigned in that city; in order thereto, he caused three hundred of the inhabitants, who were suspected of favouring the *Lacedemonians*, to be seized and carried away; after which they sailed to the island of *Melos*, which though but small, and of inconsiderable force, had always acted with inflexible obstinacy against the *Athenians*; the general centented himself with besieging the capital, and when he found that the reduction thereof would be a work of time, he turned his siege into a blockade, and leaving a considerable body of forces in his lines here, turned to *Athens*. *Philocrates* the son of *Endemus*, being afterwards sent with supplies to the camp before *Melos*, he reduced the place to such distress, that the inhabitants yielded at discretion; whereupon the *Athenians* put every man who was able to bear arms to the c sword, and carried the women and children captives to *Athens*. *Thucydides* and *Plutarch* both mention this extraordinary act of severity, but they differ pretty much with respect to the circumstances attending it; *Thucydides* speaks of this as the act of the general and his army, provoked by the obstinate defence of the inhabitants of *Melos*; *Plutarch* says, it was done by virtue of a decree of the people of *Athens*, which, if it was not proposed, was at least promoted by *Alcibiades*; *Diodorus Siculus* relates this fact also, but generally, and without any circumstances at all. The *Athenians* from *Pylus* made various incursions into *Laconia*, which the *Lacedemonians* did not resent as a breach of the peace, but gave leave only to their subjects to make reprisals on the *Athenians*. As to affairs in *Macedonia* they received no very mate- d rial alteration, except that the *Athenians* made some incursions into the territories of king *Perdiccas*; these were the events of the sixteenth year of the war [b].

The *Athenians* determined in the beginning of this year to send a fleet and a great army into *Sicily*, the occasion this; the *Egestines* conceiving themselves exceedingly ill-treated by their countrymen, sent to desire aid from the *Athenians*; their embassadors arrived the year before, but as no resolution was taken, or at least put in execution, till now, we thought it proper to give the whole story at once. *Alcibiades* and his faction were of opinion that this was a very happy conjuncture, and that the *Athenians* ought readily to embrace an opportunity of conquering *Sicily*; for with them, to invade and to conquer were synonymous terms, that from thence they e might pass over to *Afric* and reduce *Carthage* and *Lybia* under their dominion; after which they intended to conquer *Italy*. People of sense saw the madness of these schemes, but durst not oppose them; *Nicias* alone, though he was held the most timorous man in *Athens*, had the courage to oppose both the nobility and the people, and to set all things forth in their true light. He said that *Athens* had already as much work upon her hands as she could do, that a breach with *Sparta* was inevitable, that the war must of consequence be carried on in all parts of *Greece*, and that fleets and armies sufficient for this purpose would try the utmost strength of *Athens*. That *Sicily* was not so easy a conquest as many apprehended, since it was a very populous island, and its inhabitants remarkable both for pru- f dence and valour. That the *Carthaginians*, who were by far more powerful than the *Athenians*, had in vain attempted to reduce this island, and that in case the *Athenians* could prevail, it would be found no easy task to preserve their conquest, against the united power of the *Sicilians* and all their other enemies in *Greece*. His discourse however had no manner of weight, the *Athenians*, deluded by their own embassadors, who reported strange things of the wealth of the *Egestines*, decreed that a fleet should be sent to their assistance with a land army on board, naming *Nicias* for the general, and giving him *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus* for his collegues.

[a] Thucid. Diodor. & Plut. ubi supra. [b] Thucyd. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra.

Nothing

a Nothing could give greater uneasiness to any man, than this nomination did to *Nicias*, he represented the expence of the war, in hopes that it might deter his countrymen from engaging in it, but in vain; they cut off all objections of that sort, by giving the generals absolute authority to do whatever seemed to them most proper for the service of the state. While these preparations were making, an accident happened, which put the whole city in confusion; the *Hermæ*, i. e. the statues of *Mercury*, of which there were a multitude in and about the city, were all of them defaced in one night; nor could the authors of this fact be discovered, notwithstanding a proclamation, offering impunity and reward to the informer; yet in consequence of a clause therein, inviting any person, of what condition soever, to discover former b sacrileges, some servants and slaves deposed, that a long time before certain young men, heated with wine, had ridiculed some religious mysteries, and that *Alcibiades* was amongst them; his enemies, catching at this, commenced a prosecution against him, to which *Alcibiades* readily offered to answer, asserting his innocence, and protesting against accusations brought in his absence; but his enemies being determined to destroy him, procured others to move that for the present he should have licence to depart on his command, and that after his return a day of trial should be assigned him; to which proposition he very unwillingly was forced to accede. The fleet equipped upon this occasion consisted of a hundred gallies, but they were better and better provided than any the *Athenians* had ever sent to sea before, and c when joined by their allies at *Corcyra*, made up a hundred and thirty-four gallies; of heavy-armed troops there were five thousand one hundred, of which fifteen hundred were *Athenian* volunteers. This great fleet staid some time at *Corcyra* in order to send some light frigates to the coast of *Sicily*, and to take proper measures for the debarkment of the forces with their allies. At *Corcyra* the generals differed, *Nicias*, who never had any opinion of the war, finding that their confederates were far less powerful than they had been represented, inclined to send only a squadron of sixty ships to their relief. *Alcibiades* alledged that it would be highly dishonourable for the *Athenians*, after fitting out a fleet at such an immense expence, d to content themselves with sending only a part of it to perform what the whole was designed for; *Lamachus* differed in opinion from them both, he said that their allies being no longer to be depended on, they ought now to consider what could be done against their enemies; and as an army was always most terrible at first, before the minds of the soldiers were discouraged by hardships and fatigues, he gave his vote for sailing directly for *Syracuse*, landing their troops as near it as possible, and giving the enemy battle under their own walls; at last however he came over to the opinion of *Alcibiades*, after which the fleet sailed for *Sicily*, where the army was landed, and with much ado took possession of *Catana*; from thence they made some excursions, but with little success. But long they had not been in this island before e orders from *Athens* arrived, directing *Alcibiades* to return, and abide his trial, the city being all in an uproar on the old affair of defacing the *Mercuries*. It was a state trick plaid off by the enemies of *Alcibiades* to ruin the mighty interest he had in *Athens*; to the same end they gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the *Lacedæmonians*, and that he had persuaded the *Argives* to undertake something to their prejudice. It was therefore determined to put him to death upon his return, but it being apprehended that the causing him to be arrested in sight of his army, might produce great commotions therein, those who were sent to bring him home were ordered to treat him with great decency, and not to discover by any means the severe resolution taken against him. They executed their com- f mission very exactly, so that *Alcibiades* and those of his army, who were accused as well as he, had not any suspicion; but in the course of their voyage, gathering from the seamen somewhat of what was intended, and being informed that a person out of fear of death had acknowledged himself guilty, and impeached them, they wisely determined not to trust an enraged and superstitious multitude, but to provide for their own safety, by withdrawing as soon as they had an opportunity; which offering itself quickly after, they gave their convoy the slip, and retired to such parts of *Greece*, as out of hatred to the *Athenians*, were most like to give them shelter; as for *Alcibiades*, he afterwards went to *Sparta*, and was well received there. The army in *Sicily* took this proceeding very heavily, however the command devolving on *Nicias*, he managed it the best he could, as well for the sake of his own honour, as from the apprehensions he was under of being accused, in case any

accident happened; for having a just idea of the temper of his countrymen, he a dreaded above all things a prosecution before the people, who heard accusations willingly, and believed the most just defences but slowly. By a stratagem he and his collegue *Lamachus* brought their army near *Syracuse*, and afterwards engaged the inhabitants of that city to make a sally, wherein they suffered some loss, and grew in great fear of an enemy, whom hitherto they had in a manner despised; the *Athenians* however retired, and took their winter quarters at *Catana*. In the interim the *Syracusians* by the advice of *Hermocrates*, sent deputations to *Sparta* and *Corinth* to desire aid against the *Athenians*, while in the mean time themselves wrought hard in repairing the fortifications of their city, and in laying waste the country in the neighbourhood of the *Athenian* camp. The moderation of *Nicias*, and the b complacency of *Lamachus*, a well-disposed man, and an excellent officer, but little esteemed by the *Athenian* people, because he was poor, drew many of the cities of *Sicily* to side with them, so that at last the island was divided into two factions, the one friends, the other enemies to the state of *Athens*; as for the *Syracusians*, who were at the head of the latter, they depended chiefly on the succours they had demanded from *Greece*; the *Corinthians* readily promised and sent them assistance, and also sent embassadors to *Sparta* to co-operate with those whom the *Syracusians* had sent thither; but the *Spartans*, not caring to offend the *Athenians* further, hesitated much at their propositions, till *Alcibiades* informed them of the *Athenian* designs; then they dispatched *Gylippus* with a small body of troops to assist the *Syracusians*, and at the c same time determined to renew the war with *Athens*, and to invade *Attica* itself; this was the first step to the ruin of *Athens*, for by the persuasion of the same person they determined to fortify *Decelea* a castle in *Attica*, which hindered the inhabitants of *Athens* from returning to their farms when the enemy was withdrawn, cut off their supplies from their silver mines at *Laurium*, and served as a receptacle for all the malecontents, and indeed for all the banditti in the neighbourhood. It is strange that this was never thought of before, and that it should be resolved on now at the recommendation of *Alcibiades*, who in a short time had gained as great or greater credit at *Sparta* than he had ever at *Athens*. He procured this confidence by addicting himself to their customs, by conforming to them in his dress, and manner of d living, and in short by throwing off every thing which seemed to speak him an *Athenian*, and going more heartily than any of the *Lacedæmonians* themselves did into such measures as had a direct tendency to their destruction. Towards the end of the year, the army in *Sicily* being much weakened, the generals sent to demand a supply of money and horsemen, which the *Athenians* readily decreed; this was the seventeenth year after the commencement of the *Peloponnesian* war [i].

*Nicias*, having received the succours he demanded, sailed to *Syracuse*, where he had several rencounters with the townsmen, but had the better of them in all; the *Athenian* fleet sailing into the haven of *Syracuse*, a very brisk action happened, in which *Lamachus* was killed; after which *Nicias* causing new works to be thrown up e before the place, streightened the *Syracusians* so much, that they thought of capitulating, but in the interim *Gylippus* with his *Spartan* succours arrived. In *Greece*, the *Athenians* in support of their allies the *Argives*, invaded the territory of *Epidaurus*, and thereby openly broke the truce which had hitherto, though in a doubtful manner, subsisted between them and the *Lacedæmonians*. *Gylippus* by dint of conduct, defeated the designs of *Nicias* against *Syracuse*, who notwithstanding began to form new projects, and to exert his utmost skill, though in a very bad state of health, for furthering the *Athenian* affairs in that island. New supplies were in the mean time decreed to him at *Athens*, *Demosthenes*, and *Eurymedon*, being joined in commission with him, the latter sailed in the midst of winter with ten gallies, and a great f sum of money, into *Sicily*; *Demosthenes* remained behind, being employed in providing all things necessary for a great fleet, which was to be sent thither in the spring. A small one in the mean time, consisting of twenty gallies, was sent to cruize on the coast of *Peloponnesus*, and these were all the remarkable things which happened in the eighteenth year of the war [k].

Early in the spring, *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a very numerous army of *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and other nations of *Peloponnesus*, invaded *Attica*, and according to the advice which *Alcibiades* had given, seized and fortified

[i] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor lib. xiii. Plut. vit. Alcibiad. & Niciæ. [k] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi supra.

*Decelea*,

a *Decelea*, which stood at an equal distance from *Athens* and the frontiers of *Bœotia*. In the mean time, the *Athenians* seemed less concerned for their own safety, than for their conquests in *Sicily*; for they ordered a fleet of thirty ships to be equipped for spoiling the coasts of *Peloponnesus*, at the same time that they sent *Demosthenes* with sixty of their own gallies, and five belonging to the island of *Chios*, to support *Nicias*, and to carry on effectually the war against the *Syracusians*, who about this time received a powerful succour from the *Peloponnesians*. When *Demosthenes* arrived, he found things in a very declining way, *Nicias* having sometime before sustained some loss at sea, wherewith himself and his army were much dispirited, though it had been occasioned chiefly by the warmth of other commanders, who paid too little b regard to the general's orders. *Demosthenes*, who commanded the supply, affected to censure *Nicias*'s conduct, as if he had wanted activity, and was not at all desirous of carrying on the war; to shew therefore of how different a disposition himself was, he would cause *Epipolæ* to be attacked, and that too in the night, which was accordingly done, but with very bad success; for all speaking the same language, they were unable to distinguish foe from friend, so that a mighty slaughter happened which exceedingly weakened the *Athenian* fleet. *Demosthenes* was then for sailing away as fast as possible, conceiving that since himself could do nothing, there was nothing to be done in *Sicily*; *Nicias* on the contrary insisted positively on continuing of the siege, *Eurymedon* joined with *Demosthenes*, but *Nicias* could not be prevailed on to depart c from his sentiment; which was, that the *Athenians* having once sat down before a town, ought not to rise without taking it. The true motive however to his obstinate behaviour, was his old apprehensions of the people of *Athens*; he remembered how they banished two generals for coming from *Sicily* before, though they had all the reason in the world for what they did; he chose therefore to trust fortune, sickness, and the enemy, rather than the people of *Athens*. Yet when they received certain intelligence that *Gylippus*, with a body of *Spartans*, and other *Peloponnesian* troops, was arrived, *Nicias* agreed that it was fit to depart, and immediately thereupon orders were issued to the army; but just as they were ready to retire, an eclipse of the moon happened, which terrified *Nicias*, who was a very superstitious man, d so much, that he would needs keep the army there seven and twenty days longer. The *Syracusians*, as soon as they were informed of this, attacked the *Athenian* camp, and provoked them to fight both by land and sea. At last a naval engagement happened, in which *Eurymedon* was slain; and though *Gylippus* and his squadron were beaten, in consequence of which the *Athenians* erected a trophy, yet they had apparently the worst of it, since the *Syracusians* and their allies immediately bent all their endeavours to shut them up in the port. *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, seeing the miserable condition in which they were, concluded at last to draw their forces into a smaller camp nearer their ships, that they might be at hand to assist each other; and when this was done, they resolved to venture another e engagement at sea, in hopes of breaking through; but in case they were so unfortunate as to fail therein, they determined with themselves to burn their vessels, and to march over land to *Catana*; according to this resolution they attacked the *Syracusians* in the mouth of the haven with wonderful bravery and resolution, the land armies being spectators on both sides. This was the most bloody battle, and by far the most obstinate which the *Athenians* had ever fought; in it they sunk and burnt many of the enemies fleet, but were themselves so much weakened, that tho' the generals resolved to hazard another engagement, yet the men absolutely refused to go on board, alledging, that it was impossible for them to undergo two services at once. It was thereupon determined to retire the next night by land, which f if they had done, it is very probable they might have escaped; but being deceived by the industry of *Hermocrates*, they put it off till the third day after. *Nicias* with his troops led the van, *Demosthenes* brought up the rear, but the *Syracusians* pressed so hard upon them, that *Demosthenes* was forced to halt, whereupon he drew up his forces in order of battle; but the *Syracusians* surrounding him, and many of his men beginning to desert, he thought fit to capitulate, and having stipulated that none of his men should be put to death on any pretence whatsoever, he and his troops to the number of six thousand yielded up their arms, and became prisoners. The next day the *Syracusians* overtook *Nicias*, who thereupon encamped on an eminence, and disposed all things for making the best defence he could; *Gylippus* immediately sent to inform him that *Demosthenes* had surrendered, and advised him

him to do the like, which he refused; but he offered to give hostages for the re- a
payment of the expence of the war to the *Syracusians*, if they would suffer him and his army to retire; but this was refused him, whereupon he continued his march fighting as he went, till he arrived at the river *Asinarus*, where the soldiers, throwing themselves in without any order, miserably destroyed each other, and were at the same time killed without mercy by the enemy, so that they perished by hundreds, without making any effort for their lives. *Nicias* himself surrendered to *Gylippus*; when the *Syracusians* returned to the city, the *Sicilians* pressed violently to have the generals put to death, which the *Lacedæmonians*, and especially *Gylippus*, opposed as much as they were able, out of generosity with regard to *Demosthenes*, who was the most bitter enemy of the *Spartans*, and who, as we have b
before shewn, projected the seizing of *Pylus*; out of gratitude with respect to *Nicias*, who had ever been a friend to *Lacedæmon*, and who had been the chief author of the peace. At last, if we may believe *Thucydides*, the *Syracusians* prevailed, and *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* were put to death. *Plutarch* says they killed themselves in prison (M). Of the soldiers who were made prisoners, numbers were put to death, many sent to work in the quarries, and a very few returned by stealth to the sea-ports, and from thence made their escapes to *Athens*. This was the end of the *Sicilian* war, wherein the *Athenians* lost not the conquest they aimed at, or that reputation which they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals. When advices of these losses came to *Athens*, they were for a long c
time not believed; but when the thing could be no longer doubted of, they grew very angry with those who had advised the war, and with such as had pretended to publish prophecies and oracles in favour of it; they resolved however to take all necessary measures for supporting the dignity of the state, to leave the administration of affairs to grave and wise persons, to live with greater frugality at home, and to treat their confederates better abroad; the expediency of these resolutions appeared suddenly, for as soon as the news of the defeat in *Sicily* was spread throughout *Greece*, all such as had been confederates with *Athens* began to shew their dislike of her,

(M) The character and services of *Nicias* are sufficiently settled in the text: here therefore we shall speak only of his misfortunes, which were derived from the fear of the people, and his superstition; he carried with him into *Sicily* one *Stilbides* a philosopher, who had weaned him from many of his follies, and had possibly saved him at last, if he had lived; but happening to die sometime before the last defeat at *Syracuse*, *Nicias* had no body about him who could account for an eclipse of the moon; for as to eclipses of the sun, *Pericles* had put their being ominous out of every body's head by an action mentioned in note K. In their last retreat, *Nicias* in the midst of his misfortunes behaved with the greatest dignity and composure; after he was taken prisoner, perceiving that the *Syracusians* continued still to massacre his soldiers, though they were absolutely in their power, he threw himself at the feet of *Gylippus*, whom he addressed in these words: *In the midst of victory*, O Gylippus, *suffer yourself to be touched with pity, not of me, whom an excess of misery has made famous, but of those unhappy* Athenians. *Consider that fortune is never so changeable as in war, and do not forget how the* Athenians, *whenever they got the better of the* Lacedæmonians, *always used their victories with moderation and generosity.* The *Lacedæmonian*, moved at this, raised up *Nicias*, and gave orders that the slaughter should cease; but those orders were very indifferently obeyed, many hundreds being killed afterwards. Authors differ exceedingly about the melancholy catastrophe of this great man. *Thucydides* says, that the *Syracusians*, against *Gylippus*'s will, put *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* to death, or, as the word literally signifies, cut their throats. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Timæus* wrote that *Hermocrates* sent the generals word that the *Syracusians* would put them to death, and that thereupon they slew themselves. *Diodorus Siculus* is still wider from *Thucydides* than any of the rest, for he makes *Gylippus* the author of their death against the will of the wisest of the *Syracusians*, and has inserted an oration of his to that purpose. *Justin* from *Trogus Pompeius* says, that *Demosthenes* slew himself, but that *Nicias* submitted, and was made prisoner; undoubtedly *Thucydides* deserves most credit; with his account of the matter therefore we will close this note: "*Nicias* and *Demosthenes* "they killed against *Gylippus*'s will. For *Gylippus* "thought the victory would be very honourable, "if over and above all his other success, he could "carry home both the generals of the enemy to "*Lacedæmon*. And it fell out, that one of them, "*Demosthenes*, was their greatest enemy, for the "things he had done in the island and at *Pylus*; "and the other upon the same occasion their greatest "friend. For *Nicias* had greatly laboured to have "those prisoners which were taken in the island to "be set at liberty, by persuading the *Athenians* to "the peace: For which cause the *Lacedæmonians* "were inclined to love him. And it was principally in confidence of that, that he rendered "himself to *Gylippus*. But certain *Syracusians* (as "it is reported) some of them for fear (because "they had been tampering with him) lest being "put to the torture he might bring them into "trouble, whereas they were now well enough; "and others (especially the *Corinthians*) fearing he "might get away by corruption of one or other "(being wealthy) and work them some mischief "afresh, having persuaded their confederates to the "same, killed him. For these, or for causes near "unto these, was he put to death, being the man, "that of all the *Grecians* of my time had least deserved to be brought to so great a degree of "misery (93)".

(93) *Thucyd. lib.* vii. *prop fin. Diodor. lib.* xiii. *Plut. in vit. Nic. Justin. lib.* iv. *c.* 5.

while

a while the *Lacedemonians* were preparing by all means whatsoever to carry on the war with greater vigour than before. The *Athenians* caused the promontory of *Sunium* to be fortified with all diligence, cut down vast quantities of timber, and wrought hard to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the nineteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war. In the beginning of the next year, the *Chians* sought to revolt from *Athens*, and to put themselves under the protection of the *Lacedemonians*, with a view to which they sent privately embassadors to the latter, who, in concert with their allies, promised to send such a fleet as might protect them; but this promise was easier made than kept, and besides the *Athenians* got notice of it in the mean time, and sent b a fleet to *Chios*. The general of this fleet reproached the inhabitants of that island with their perfidy, which they stiffly denied, and indeed the greater part of the people of *Chios* knew nothing of what had been transacted with the *Lacedemonians*. But the *Athenian* general, to put the business out of dispute, insisted that they should send their quota to join the fleet of *Athens*, whereupon they were constrained to fit out immediately seven gallies, and to send them as he directed. After this the *Athenians* had several small successes at sea, which not a little discouraged the *Peloponnesians*, who would shortly have lost all their resolution, if *Alcibiades* had not exerted his eloquence to persuade them to carry on the war. He advised them to send him with a small fleet to *Ionia*, where he promised to engage the cities to revolt from the *Athenians*, and to negotiate a league between *Sparta* and the great king, from c whence he assured them, that such advantages would be derived as must effectually sink their rival. The *Lacedemonians* coming at last into his measures, he passed over, as he had proposed, into *Ionia*, and there actually effected a great part of what he had promised, which struck the *Athenians* with such a panic, that they instantly ordered a thousand talents, which had hitherto been reserved untouched, to be laid out in the service of the war, for which also they made other great preparations. As soon as they were able they sent several squadrons of ships to sea with directions to reduce, first of all, such places as had revolted, and then to act generally against the *Peloponnesians*; most of these squadrons were successful, so that *Lesbos*, *Clasomene*, and other places, which upon the prospect of the downfal of *Athens*, had revolted from d her, were constrained to fall under her dominion again. *Alcibiades* in the mean time acquitted himself well to the *Lacedemonians*, by drawing *Tissaphernes* the king of *Persia*'s lieutenant into a league with them. The *Spartans* however were displeased with the terms thereof, and sought to have them altered, which gave the *Persians* much distaste. The hatred which *Agis* had conceived against *Alcibiades* for debauching his wife, began now to produce terrible effects; for he persuaded the *Lacedemonians* to send orders to their general in *Ionia* to put the *Athenian* to death, notwithstanding all the service he had done their state. *Alcibiades*, gaining some intelligence of this, retired to *Tissaphernes*, and laying aside the *Lacedemonian*, as he had formerly done the *Athenian*, he became now a perfect *Persian*; and by the e politeness of his address, gained so much on *Tissaphernes*, who was a professed enemy to the *Greeks*, that he stiled his gardens of pleasure, after he had been at vast expence in adorning them, *Alcibiades*, by which name they went ever afterwards. When the *Athenian* perceived that *Tissaphernes* placed a mighty confidence in him, he gave him a just light into the affairs of *Greece*; he told him, it was not for the interest of the *Persian* king that *Athens* should be destroyed, but on the contrary, that she and *Sparta* might be maintained as rivals to each other, that the *Greeks* might never have an opportunity of turning their arms upon his master; but if it should at any time be found convenient to rely upon one of them, he advised them to trust *Athens*, because she would be content with the dominion of the sea; whereas the pride of f the *Spartans* would always instigate them to new conquests, and especially excite a desire of setting all the *Greek* cities at liberty. For the present he put them upon detaining a part of the pay which had been promised to the *Peloponnesian* seamen, that they might thereby be kept in dependence, as also to countermand the order given to the *Phenician* fleet, to join that of *Peloponnesus*. When *Tissaphernes* had given into these councils, *Alcibiades* privately wrote to some of the officers of the *Athenian* army which lay at *Samos*, intimating that he was now treating with the *Persian* on their behalf, adding that he cared not to return to his country till the democracy was abolished. The reason offered by him to engage the *Athenians* to this proceeding, was, that the *Persian* king liked not a democracy, but should immediately trust and assist *Athens*, if the government was put into the hands of a

a few. *Phrynicus* the *Athenian* general, having a great antipathy to *Alcibiades*, a and dreading his return, resolved to let nothing slip which might prevent it; he therefore not only gave his opinion against the proposition which *Alcibiades* had made, but also discovered it to *Astyochus*, who commanded the *Lacedemonian* troops; this man, being brought over to the interest of *Tissaphernes*, revealed *Phrynicus*'s treachery; *Alcibiades* upon this wrote again to his correspondents at *Samos*, charging their general with treachery, and betraying his country. *Phrynicus*, when he had information of this, wrote a second time to *Astyochus*, reproaching him with betraying him, and discovering what he had formerly acquainted him with in confidence, and offered him notwithstanding to betray the Army he commanded at *Samos*, which lay in an open town, to the *Lacedemonians*; which piece of intelligence *Astyochus* b instantly revealed to *Alcibiades*. *Phrynicus* being aware of this, told his soldiers that the *Lacedemonians* were about to attack them by land and sea, and that therefore they should throw up with all diligence a strong intrenchment round the town to defend themselves, which immediately they did, so that, when *Alcibiades* wrote again concerning *Phrynicus*'s second treachery, his letters were disbelieved, because the general had taken such care for their safety. Such were the chieftains of *Greece* in these times, how unlike those who broke the power of *Persia*, and abandoned their country, rather than live in it in a state of dependence? The *Athenians*, always prone to novelty, on the arrival of *Pisander*, and the other deputies from the army, who brought with them the propositions of *Alcibiades*, dissolved the democracy in defence c of which they had so often and bravely fought, or rather resolved to dissolve it, for it stood yet a small time. The issue of their present debates was, that *Pisander* with ten deputies should return and treat with *Alcibiades* and *Tissaphernes*, that it might be known on what terms the king of *Persia*'s friendship might be depended on; and in case they were reasonable, to declare, that the *Athenians* would vest the sovereignty in the hands of a few. But before their arrival, *Alcibiades* discovered that *Tissaphernes* did not incline to help the *Athenians* at present on any terms, because they had been lately successful, and *Alcibiades* himself had taught him to help always the weaker party; when *Alcibiades* perceived this, he set up such high demands in the name of the *Persians*, that the *Athenians* themselves broke off the treaty, whereby d he preserved both their friendship and that of *Tissaphernes*. When *Pisander* and his collegues came to the army at *Samos*, they engaged them to favour the scheme for the alteration of government, and procured a commission to themselves to overturn all the democratic governments that were under the dominion of *Athens*. When they came back to the city, they found their confederates had almost done their work without them, partly by cajoling the people, and partly by privately taking off, or in plain terms assassinating such as were staunch friends to the people. It was at first proposed, that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in five thousand of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people; but when *Pisander* and his associates found the strength e of their party, they determined to carry matters further, and to erect an oligarchy. In the mean time *Oropus*, a strong city on the borders of *Bœotia*, revolted from the *Athenians*, whereby all *Eubœa* was in danger, the inhabitants thereof being desirous to revolt, and the disturbances at *Athens* giving them hopes to do it with impunity. In the mean time the twentieth year ended of the *Peloponnesian* war a.

When *Pisander* and his associates first came from the army, they accused *Phrynicus* to the *Athenians*, and procured him to be recalled; he was a man of consummate parts and prudence, and, according to *Thucidides*, as honest as the iniquities of the times would permit. On his return, finding the temper of the people, he became an enemy to democracy, in hopes that, if he had a hand in settling an oli- f garchy, *Alcibiades* would be afraid to trust it; there was likewise at *Athens* one *Antiphon*, a man of such mighty parts and eloquence, that the people were afraid of him to such a degree, that he was constrained to avoid speaking in public, and to manage his concerns by other hands; this man devised a new frame of government, and having communicated it to *Pisander*, they contrived together a method whereby to establish it. With this view the latter, who was become very popular, proposed that ten men should be elected with full power to frame, model, and alter laws; this being done, these ten appointed an assembly of the people at *Colonus*, a place

a Thucyd. lib. vii, viii. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. vit. Nic. & Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos, vit. Alcibiad.

without

a without the city. When they came together there, instead of proposing to them a body of laws, they offered them only this one, *That every* Athenian *might speak his mind freely*, i. e. without danger from any of the laws; which being assented to, *Pisander* produced his scheme, which was, that the old form of government should be dissolved, and that five *prytanes* might be elected; that these five should chuse a hundred; that each of the hundred should chuse three; that the four hundred thus elected should become a senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only, when and on such matters as they thought fit. Here was an end of the old government of *Athens*, which was grown into dislike with the people, who were notwithstanding not over-fond of the new; but those who were for it being b such as were men of great parts, found means to establish it by force; for when the people were gone out of the city to their ordinary employments, the four hundred, having each a dagger concealed under his vest, attended by a guard of a hundred and twenty men, entered suddenly into the senate house, dissolved the old senate, paid them their salary, and turned them out, which once effected, the commons were constrained to submit, not knowing what to do, or to whom to apply. The new senate chose *prytanes*, or presidents out of their own body, and began to establish themselves after the mode of most new governments, by blood, bonds, and banishment; yet these severities, though they were illegal, were not excessive, and as soon as their enemies were removed, the four hundred ruled gently enough. They c sent embassadors to *Agis*, who lay with the *Lacedemonian* army at *Decelea*, to acquaint him that they were ready to treat of a peace, and that the *Spartans* might better rely on them than on the democracy; but *Agis* was of another opinion, he could not imagine that the *Athenians*, who had stickled so much for democracy, would submit patiently to an oligarchy, established rather through the Arts of a few, than according to the general inclination of the citizens; he therefore gave no answer to the embassadors sent by the four hundred, but having signified his thoughts of the matter to the *Lacedemonians*, procured a great recruit to be sent him into *Attica*. On the arrival of these succours, he marched boldly to *Athens*, not at all questioning but that the enemies of the oligarchy would raise a sedition on his approach, and d either subvert the government, or so weaken and distract the city, that the *Lacedemonians* might easily take it; but he was quickly convinced of his mistake, for the people of *Athens*, when he approached their walls, and sent some advance-parties to skirmish with them, attacked and routed those parties, and appeared afterwards before their city with such order and intrepidity, that *Agis*, after receiving some loss, was constrained to retire again to his old post, from whence he sent back the last forces he received to *Lacedemon*. After this the four hundred sent embassadors to him again, concerning whose negotiations we can say nothing, except that they were treated with greater civility than before. The four hundred, knowing well that the army at *Samos* were generally inclined to a democracy, sent ten deputies thither e to appease them, by persuading them that the government now subsisting at *Athens*, was only the best sort of democracy, the dernier resort not being in the four hundred but in the five thousand, a larger number than had ever assembled while the power was in the people; but these deputies were hardly gone from *Athens* before deputies of the army arrived there, signifying that they had restored the democracy at *Samos*, and that they were resolved to adhere to that form of government, for which the four hundred sent some of these deputies to prison; but one *Carias* who came from the army made his escape, and got thither again, making a frightful report of the state of things at *Athens*; upon which a sedition ensued, that might have been very fatal to the state; but moderate men interposing, the generals f *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus* contented themselves with taking an oath of all the soldiers to do their utmost to restore the power to the people, to fight against the *Peloponnesians* and other enemies of *Athens*, and never to yield obedience to, or have any correspondence with the four hundred. They greatly encouraged their forces to be steady in the measures they had taken, by representing to them that they had not deserted their city, but their city them; that their strength was superior to any that could be sent against them by the four hundred, and that questionless on the public faith *Alcibiades* would come to them, and procure them aid from *Tissaphernes*, and the king. These discourses had their effect, the soldiers came unanimously into all that was required of them, chose new officers that might be depended on, and when their generals required it, went and offered battle to the *Peloponnesians*. At the request of

of *Thrasybulus* they recalled *Alcibiades*, who, on his arrival, made a most eloquent a
speech to the army, shewing them the true source of his misfortunes, the injustice of their countrymen, and the great danger of the state. Above all things he magnified the power and good will of *Tissaphernes*, though he knew he had little authority for it, yet he could not be said to deceive his countrymen, because by this very method he compelled *Tissaphernes* to become their friend, instilling such a spirit of jealousy into the *Peloponnesians*, as made them no longer able to treat that lord either with confidence or civility. The soldiers, bewitched by his fine words, created him general with full power; and conceiving that with him they carried victory along with them, talked of nothing but sailing directly to *Athens*, and restoring the ancient form of government there. *Alcibiades* opposed this extravagant measure, he told the soldiers, b
that since they had chosen him their general, he must return to *Tissaphernes* in order to dispose things for the making a speedy end of the war. The army came readily into this, as they did into every thing he desired of them, and he departed accordingly; when he came to *Tissaphernes*, he gave him to understand that matters were now quite changed, and that it was in the power of the *Athenians* to be either great friends, or very troublesome enemies to the subjects of the king, and that, whether they should be either one or the other, depended entirely on his management. Thus he made himself formidable to the *Persians* by boasting of the *Athenian* power, and necessary to the *Athenians* by the display of his interest with the *Persians*. As to the *Peloponnesians*, their affairs went wrong every where, and all through the pro- c
curement of *Alcibiades*; their army mutinied and forced their general to fly to a sanctuary; *Tissaphernes* with-held their pay, and deluded them with promises of a fleet; they on the other hand distrusted *Tissaphernes*, and neither knew what measures to take, nor whom to trust. When *Alcibiades* came back to the *Athenian* army, he disposed them to hear reason, and not only to hear it, but to act according to it. The deputies from *Athens* had stayed all this while at *Delos*, being afraid of going to the army, as indeed they well might, the soldiers having passed a vote to put them to death. On the motion of *Alcibiades* however, they were allowed to come and deliver their message; but no sooner had they done this, than the army cried out as vehemently as ever, that they would have no intercourse with the tyrants, but sail to d
*Athens*, and restore the government; but *Alcibiades* still interposed, he shewed that if such a course was taken, all *Ionia* and the *Hellespont* would be immediately lost, so that if they pretended to be true patriots, they must remain where they were, and defend the dominions of the state. To the deputies he gave this answer, that they should immediately return to *Athens*, and to acquaint the four hundred, that they were commanded to resign their power, and to restore the senate they had ejected; that as to the five thousand, they might retain their authority, provided they used it with moderation, and that they should remember to look well to the concerns of their country at home, since, if they betrayed *Attica*, or the army deserted *Athens*, a reconciliation would not restore the mischiefs such wrong steps might create. On e
the return of these deputies to *Athens*, all things were in confusion, few regarding the public, almost all anxious for their particular interest. *Phrynicus* knowing upon what terms he stood with *Alcibiades*, laboured to maintain the government in being; while others endeavoured all they could to gratify the army. The former were the stronger party, and that they might make a proper use of their strength, they dispatched away embassadors to *Sparta*, desiring peace upon any terms; they likewise ordered the *Pyræum* to be fortified towards the sea, upon which *Theramenes*, who was at the head of the other party, cried out, that they were about to betray the city to the enemy, which was rendered the more probable, by the coming of a fleet of forty *Peloponnesian* ships upon the coast; nor was he much in the wrong, for the four hun- f
dred sought first to maintain themselves in the sovereignty they had acquired; but if that could not be done, to preserve at least the city under their dominion; and in case that likewise failed, to make a composition for themselves by giving it up to the *Peloponnesians*; for at all events they were resolved to prevent a popular government from being restored, not doubting, that if once that was done, they should fall victims. *Phrynicus*, who was sent at the head of the embassy to *Sparta*, being able to effect nothing, returned, and on his return was stabbed in the forum; after which *Theramenes* and his party growing bolder, seized the chiefs of the four hundred, upon which a tumult ensued, which had like to have proved fatal to the city, had not *Thucydides* the *Pharsalian* interposed, and engaged the people to be quiet.

a quiet. The soldiers, however, insisted on demolishing the new works in the port, which for the sake of safety was permitted. The next day the four hundred, tho' in great fear, assembled in the senate house, and sent some of the members to appease the people, promising to set all things right, and to make every thing easy; in order to which, they proposed that they should be allowed to chuse five thousand men, who should elect four hundred by turns to govern the state, beseeching their country-men not to destroy themselves by giving up the city to the enemy. With much ado an agreement was made, that at a day certain a general assembly should be convoked for settling the state, but when that day came, and the assembly was convened, news was brought that the *Lacedemonian* fleet steered directly for *Salamis*,
b which put all things in confusion again; for instead of deliberating upon the matter they came about, they ran in crouds down to the port, where they perceived that the fleet bore away for *Eubœa*, whither immediately a fleet from *Athens* was sent, under the command of *Thymochares*; but this fleet had little success, for being attacked by the *Peloponnesians* without, and betrayed by the *Eretrians* on shore, they were miserably defeated, twenty-two ships out of thirty-six being taken, most of the others killed, and all *Eubœa*, except *Oreus*, revolting. When this news came to *Athens*, the wise and the unwise gave up all things for lost, the defeat at *Sicily* seeming a small thing to this, because they had now neither fleet nor army, and had lost *Eubœa*, from whence the city received greater supplies than from *Attica*
c itself; certain it is, that if the *Spartans* had known their own strength, they would have sailed directly to *Athens*, and put an end to the war; but being always slow, and especially so in naval affairs, they gave the *Athenians* time, which of all things they wanted most: when they had gained this, they wrought so hard at their gallies, that in a short space they equipped a fleet of twenty sail; the power of the four hundred they abolished by law, conferred the sovereignty on the five thousand, and acted in all other respects, especially in recalling *Alcibiades*, with such prudence, moderation, and firmness, that *Thucidides* thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed so happy a temperature as at this time. *Pisander* and the rest of the vehement sticklers for *Oligarchy*, withdrew unheeded to the enemy. But it is
d now time to return to the army and fleet at *Samos*, and to the view of those things which were performed in *Ionia*. *Tissaphernes* going to *Aspendus*, where the *Phœnecian* fleet lay, gave out, that he would comply exactly with all the promises he had made to the *Peloponnesians*. *Alcibiades*, however, persuaded the *Athenians*, that he meant nothing less, and either with a view to make this probable to them, or that he might indeed bring it to pass, sailed with thirteen gallies to *Aspendus*, where he held frequent conferences with the *Persian* Lieutenant, embroiling him thereby so effectually with the *Peloponnesians*, and they with him, that he destroyed all their affairs. In his absence an engagement happened between the *Peloponnesian* fleet, under the command of *Mindarus*, which consisted of seventy-three sail, and
e that of *Athens*, under the command of *Thrasybulus*, consisting only of fifty-five; at first the *Peloponnesians* had the advantage, sinking some of the *Athenian* ships, and running others on shoar; but pursuing the advantage too eagerly, and breaking their line, the *Athenians* supplied by their great skill in maritime affairs, their defect in force, and intirely defeated the *Peloponnesians*, taking twenty-one of their ships; it is true, they lost fifteen of their own, but a victory at this time, tho' dear bought, was a prodigious advantage, it raised the hopes of the *Athenians*, gave new life to their affairs, and saved all *Ionia*, and the *Hellespont*: A few days afterwards the *Athenians* took eight gallies coming from *Byzantium*, which had revolted presently after they reduced that city, and grievously fined its inhabitants for their
f disobedience. *Alcibiades* returning with his thirteen gallies, took nine more from the fleet, with which squadron he constrained the *Halicarnasseans* to pay a large sum of money, and fortified *Cos*. The news of these advantages coming to *Athens*, mightily enlivened the People, and inspired them with hopes of recovering *Eubœa*, and putting an honourable end to the war. These events fell out in the summer of the twenty-first year of the war, and here we take leave of our old and sure guide *Thucydides*, who concludes his history at this point of time. The history of the *Peloponnesian* war was continued by *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*, the work of the former comprehended the events falling out in the next seventeen years, that of the latter the next twenty-eight. *Theopompus's* writings are swallowed up by time, but it may be a great part of their contents are preserved by *Diodorus Siculus*. The *Grecian*

history of *Xenophon* remains still in our hands; from these materials therefore, by the assistance of *Plutarch*'s writings, we shall continue our memoirs of the *Athenian* affairs 1. a

*After the flood* 2588. *Before Christ* 411.

*Doricus*, admiral of the *Italian* gallies, passing to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Hellespont*, found the *Athenians* in his way at *Sestos*, whereupon he fled to *Dardanum*, and landing his men, endeavoured from the shoar to defend his ships, which he caused to be hauled on the beach. The *Athenian* fleet, however, attacked him, and were upon the very point of making themselves masters of all his gallies, when *Mindarus*, the *Peloponnesian* admiral, came to his assistance, with a navy of eighty-four sail. The *Athenians* thereupon relinquished their first enterprise, and prepared for a general engagement, *Thrasybulus* commanding the right wing, and *Thrasyllus* the left. *Mindarus*, with his *Lacedæmonian* ships, had the right in the *Peloponnesian* fleet, and *Doneus*, with the *Syracusian* gallies, were in the left. *Pharnabazus* with a *Persian* army lay hard-by on the shore, on whose assistance the *Peloponnesians* knew they might depend. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding these disadvantages, fought with great resolution, and the battle was yet very dubious, when a fleet of twenty sail appeared in view, neither party knew to whom they belonged, and therefore both quickened their endeavours to end the fight before their arrival; when they drew near, the admiral's gally hoisted a purple flag, which was known by all to belong to *Alcibiades*. The *Peloponnesian* fleet immediately broke and fled, the *Athenians* took ten ships, and if a mighty tempest had not arisen, would have taken many more. *Mindarus* was constrained to run his ships into any port, and marched with his men to join *Pharnabazus*, who effectually protected them from the *Athenians*. The *Eubœans* having almost generally deserted the *Athenians*, the *Bœotians* proposed to them the joining their country, by an artificial isthmus, to the continent, to which they assented, and herein they succeeded in spight of the opposition given them by the *Athenians*, and the rapidity of the *Euripus*, *i. e.* the arm of the sea they were to fill up. *Theramenes* the *Athenian* admiral finding it impossible to hinder this design from taking effect, he sailed away to other places, particularly to *Paros*, reduced them again under the *Athenian* government, and levied exorbitant fines upon such as he conceived had willingly deserted him; after which he sailed to join the grand fleet, under the command of *Thrasybulus*. Some short time after this conjunction, advice came that *Mindarus*, by the assistance of *Pharnabazus*, had taken *Cizicum* by storm, upon which it was resolved to sail directly thither and fight them. When, therefore, the *Athenian* fleet had coasted the *Chersonesus*, and were arrived at *Proconnesus*, they anchored there all night, and having landed their men under the command of *Chares*, directed him to march strait to *Cizicum*; as to the fleet they divided it into three squadrons, the first led by *Alcibiades*, the second by *Theramenes*, and the third by *Thrasybulus*. *Alcibiades* with his squadron sailed in sight of the *Peloponnesian* fleet, upon which *Mindarus* having with him eighty sail, put to sea, to give him battle. *Alcibiades*, when the enemy drew near, broke and fled, whereupon the *Peloponnesians* pursued him with great joy, when on a sudden *Alcibiades* made a signal for a new line. The *Peloponnesians* looking about them, saw the squadrons of *Theramenes* and *Thrasybulus*, of whom they had no intelligence, between them and the shore; upon this, altering their course, they endeavoured to get into *Cleros*, a port near *Pharnabazus*'s camp; *Alcibiades* pursued them thither, sinking and taking their ships all the way; when they came to the shore, however, *Pharnabazus* sent them such aid, that the *Athenians* suffered in their turns. *Thrasybulus* then landed his men to their assistance, giving *Theramenes* orders to land also, to join *Chares*, and to come with all speed to their aid. *Alcibiades* dealt with *Mindarus* and his *Lacedæmonians*, *Thrasybulus* fought bravely against the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, and their *Persian* succours, notwithstanding they were much out-numbered, and were at last surrounded. In that instant, *Theramenes* and *Chares* came in with their foot; the battle was long and obstinately fought, till *Mindarus* being killed, the *Persians*, *Peloponnesians*, and *Lacedæmonians* all fled; and thus to his immortal glory *Alcibiades* gained a victory at sea, and another at land, on the same day took the enemy's whole fleet, and more spoil than his and the remains could carry away. When the news of this success reached *Athens*, the people were ready to run distracted; b c d e f

1 Thucyd. lib. viii. prop. fin. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit Alcibiad. Justin. lib. 5.

they

a they immediately levied an army of a thousand foot, and three-hundred horse, and sent thirty gallies to join *Alcibiades*, from whom, as he was now master of the sea, they expected all things. The *Lacedæmonians* conceiving rightly of this war, that it would end in the destruction either of the one state or the other, sent *Endius* their embassador to *Athens* to propose a peace. This minister delivered himself to the assembly of the people, after the *Laconic* manner, in a short, plain, and excellent speech, wherein he shewed, that *Athens* had suffered more, and was like to suffer more than *Sparta* from this war, but inasmuch as the evils occasioned by war, were hateful to all good men; he said the *Spartans* desired both to free themselves, and their neighbours, from labouring any longer under them, and that on this ac-
b count only they had sent him to treat of peace. The people at first were inclined to relish what he said, but one *Cleophon*, an orator, a man of mean birth, and formerly a slave, but who had surreptitiously got his name inserted in the roll of citizens, by a petulent harangue, put all thoughts of peace out of their heads, and engaged them to send back *Endius* without an answer. This was the last step they had to take for perfecting their ruin, for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuse peace again, and indeed they did it now merely from the hopes they had, that *Alcibiades* would for ever conquer, and fortune, who had been hitherto so unsteady, fix herself now to their side [m].

In the beginning of the next year, *Thrasybulus* having repulsed *Agis*, king of
c *Sparta*, who led an army to the gates of *Athens*, sailed with a great fleet, and a strong body of land forces on board, to *Ephesus*, which he attacked, but was forced to retreat; he went afterwards to *Lesbos*, and other places, where he had better success. The *Spartans*, in the mean time, perceiving that the war was transferred far from *Greece*, attacked *Pylus* by sea and land, whereupon the *Athenians* sent a squadron under the command of *Anytus*, but he finding the wind directly against him, after he had been some days at sea, returned directly to *Athens*; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die, which sentence however, he commuted by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgment in that manner. In the mean time the garrison of *Pylus*,
d after having made an obstinate defence, rendered upon terms; and thus the *Lacedæmonians* pulled this thorn out of their side, after it had vexed them fifteen years. On the heels of this followed another misfortune, the *Megareans* surprised *Nisæa*, which so enraged the *Athenians*, that they immediately sent an army into that country, though it could be of no use; the *Megareans*, by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, and some troops from *Sicily*, ventured a battle, wherein they were most shamefully beaten, the *Athenians* killing great numbers of them, and committing horrid devastations in their country. In the mean time *Alcibiades*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Theramenes*, did great things in the *Hellespont* and *Thrace*; at last they besieged *Byzantium*, then well fortified, and having in it a *Lacedæmonian* garrison, under the
e command of *Clearchus*; some of its inhabitants, however, betray'd it, and let in *Alcibiades* and his army; the garrison, however, and such of the *Byzantines*, as adhered to them, made so gallant a resistance, that the *Athenians* were on the point of being driven out; which when *Alcibiades* saw, he caused proclamation to be made, that the *Byzantines* should be safe in their persons and effects, whereupon they turned out the garrison, which were all put to the sword, except five hundred, who were sent prisoners to *Athens*. This done, *Alcibiades* received *Byzantium* into favour [n].

In the beginning of the next year *Alcibiades* and *Theramenes*, returned in triumph to *Athens*, they brought with them a fleet of two-hundred ships, and such a load of
f spoils, as had never been seen in *Athens* since the *Persian* war. The people left their city destitute, that they might croud to the port to behold *Alcibiades*, as he landed; old and young blessed him as he went by, and the next day when he made an harangue in the assembly, they directed the record of his banishment to be thrown into the sea, ordered the *Eumolpides* to absolve him from the curses he lay under, created him general with absolute power, and in fine endeavoured to cover him with as many favours as he had conferred benefits on them. The sweetness of his temper, his complacence towards all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immense riches he brought, to the discharge of taxes, made the best

[m] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. 1. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Justin. lib. v. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Alcibiad. [n] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Justin. ubi supra.

of

of the *Athenians* ready to own that he deserved the honours that were paid to a
him; neither did he long indulge to himself the enjoyment of his glory, but soon put to sea with a fleet of an hundred ships, in order to do further service to his country. He was scarce departed when *Agis*, king of *Sparta*, made a bold attempt upon *Athens*; he came with an army of twenty-eight thousand men, in the night, to the very walls, slew the watch, and gained a part of the walls. The *Athenians*, greatly amaz'd, ran to arms, and in the morning sent out a body of horse, equal to the cavalry of the *Peloponnesian* army; they fought under the walls, and in the sight both of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*; at last the *Athenians* prevailed, and drove the *Peloponnesian* cavalry back on their foot, whereupon b
*Agis* retired, finding it impossible to prevail against the city. *Alcibiades*, in the mean time, leaving part of his fleet under the command of *Antiochus* his pilot, with strict orders to do nothing till his return, sailed into the *Hellespont*, to assist some of the cities, which yet stood firm to the *Athenians*. When he was gone, *Antiochus*, little regarded his orders, went and provoked *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* admiral, to fight, which he, finding *Alcibiades* was absent, very readily did. In this engagement the *Athenians* were beat, losing fifteen ships, with *Antiochus* their commander. On the news of this defeat *Alcibiades* returned, and would have provoked *Lysander* to a second battle, but that prudent general would not hazard the glory he had acquired. In the mean time, the *Athenians* being persuaded, that this disgrace c
was owing to the indolence and luxury of *Alcibiades*, and listening also to certain stories they were told, that he corresponded with *Pharnabazus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, they instantly stripped him of his command, naming ten new generals, among whom were *Conon*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Pericles*, the son of the famous *Pericles*. *Conon* having demanded the fleet from *Alcibides*, he readily yielded up his command, but refused to return to *Athens*. He then with his own ship passed over into *Thrace*, built a castle for his own security, and erected a little principality in the sight of his many and potent enemies [a].

The next year *Conon*, the *Athenian* general, engaged *Callicratidas*, the successor of *Lysander*, in a sea-fight, wherein he is said to have shewn greater conduct than any d
admiral before him had done, in the disposition of his fleet; however, he was worsted, lost thirty of his ships, and was closely besieged in *Mytelene*. News of this coming to *Athens*, the people were in great confusion; they admitted all sorts of persons to the freedom of their city, who would assist them in this war, and with much ado equipped a great number of ships, which were sent away to *Samos*, where their fleet rendezvoused, with strict orders to relieve *Conon* at any rate. In obedience to these commands, the whole fleet, consisting of an hundred and fifty sail, bore away from *Samos*: *Callicratidas* receiving advice thereof, leaving a force sufficient to block up the city, sailed with an hundred and fifty ships to *Malea*, a promontory of *Lesbos*. The same night that he arrived there, the *Athenian* fleet e
came to *Arginusæ*, a place over-against *Lesbos*. In the morning a general engagement ensued, which was fought with great obstinacy, till at last the *Lacedæmonian* admiral being sunk, the *Athenians* gained a great victory, with the loss, however, of nineteen of their ships, with most of the men in them; but the *Peloponnesians* lost seventy-nine. It might have been expected, that the people of *Athens* would have been extremely grateful to those generals, who had gained them this victory, but the very contrary happened, for *Theramenes* having accused his collegues of having taken no care to save the dying, or to pay the last rites to the dead, they were immediately recalled, two of them not caring to trust the people, fled, but six of them returned home and stood their tryal, alledging that they were hindered by a tempest f
from doing what they were now accused of neglecting; but *Theramenes* making a most laboured and pathetic oration against them, in which he now and then stopped, that the cries of those who lamented the dead might be heard, and producing in the end a man who pretended to have escaped in a meal-tub, and who deposed, that the people, when drowning, desired that the *Athenians* would revenge them on their generals, the people, against law and reason, condemned them all to death. *Socrates*, the philosopher, was at that time one of the prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. *Diomedon*, one of those who were condemned, rising up, desired to be heard, whereupon silence being made, he spoke thus, *We all of us wish, ye men*

a Thucyd. Diodor. ubi supra Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Corn. Nep. in vit. Ejusd. Justin. lib. 5.

of

a *of* Athens, *and wish it from our hearts, that the sentence pronounced against us, may issue in the prosperity and happiness of this city; but since we are prevented from paying our vows for the victory, it is but just and fit, that you return thanks to* providence *for it.* They were then all haled to execution, and suffered like brave men, with great resolution, calmness, and fortitude; their names are *Diomedon*, *Thrasyllus*, *Calliades*, *Lysias*, *Aristocrates*, and *Pericles*, the only son of the famous *Pericles*. A little while after the madness of the people turned the other way, *Cleophon*, the demagogue, who had been very busy in this matter, was killed in a sedition, upon which the rest who had stirred in that affair, fled, but *Calixenus* who pronounced the sentence returned afterwards, and being hated by all men, was famished to b death [p].

The next year the *Athenian* fleet assembled at *Samos*, under the command of *Conon*, while *Lysander* took the command of what fleet the *Peloponnesians* had left; he being unable to fight with so small a force, and having too great a one to lye idle, sailed first to *Thasus*, which he took, afterwards he sailed to the coast of *Attica*, where being able to do nothing of great moment, he returned to his old station, and some time afterwards besieged and took *Lampsacus*. The *Athenians* hearing of this, sailed under the command of *Conon* and *Philocles*, with a fleet of a hundred and eighty ships; first to *Sestos*, and then to the river *Ægos*, where *Lysander* lay daring him to fight, which he, being much inferior in strength, refused. c While they remained here, the *Athenians* grew idle and careless, and having a camp on shoar, spent their time in revelling and drunkenness. *Alcibiades* residing in this neighbourhood, could not remain an unconcerned spectator; he came therefore to the officers, and earnestly besought them to be more vigilant. He told them that *Lysander* was both a wise and a fortunate general, and that it became them to take care of him. They answered that they wondered at his assurance, who was an exile and a vagabond, to come and give laws to them, threatening if he came any more, to seize him and send him to *Athens*; they afterwards concluded, among themselves, what they should do with the *Peloponnesians*, when they were taken prisoners, and resolved, at the motion of *Philocles*, their general, to cut off d their right hands, or, as *Plutarch* says, their right thumbs, that they might never be able to hold a spear, but tug at an oar. *Adiamantus*, one of their officers, could not help saying, that such idle discourse was unworthy of *Athenians*; for which they hated him. Some days after *Lysander* taking his opportunity, fell upon them, while they lay in disorder, both by sea and land, and gained one of the most compleat victories recorded in history. *Conon* with eight gallies only escaping to *Cyprus*. Afterwards returning to *Lampsacus*, *Lysander* put *Philocles* and three thousand captives, with all their officers, except *Adiamantus*, to death, by the unanimous judgment of all the confederates. This execution over, he reduced all the cities, which had been under the *Athenian* power, dismissing all their garri- e sons with great civility; that going home to *Athens*, the city might be full of people, and empty of bread, whenever he came to besiege it, which soon after he did by sea; while *Agis* king of *Sparta* came with a great land-army before it. For a long time the *Athenians* defended themselves, without so much as demanding a peace, at last, being sore pressed by famine, they endeavoured to treat with *Agis*, but he referred them to *Sparta*; thither then they sent deputies, who offered to give up all things but their city and port. The *Lacedæmonians*, however, would listen to nothing, unless their walls were demolished. On the return of the ambassadors, *Archistratus* proposed complying with those terms to the assembly, for which he was imprisoned, many preferring death to slavery; at length *Theramenes* undertook f to treat with *Lysander*, who after a long attendance referred him to *Sparta*, whither with some other deputies he was presently sent. On their arrival they found the council of the confederates assembled, wherein all gave their votes for the utter destruction of *Athens*, excepting only the *Spartans*, who declared they would not consent to the ruin of that city, which had so well deserved of *Greece*. On the return of *Theramenes*, peace was concluded upon these terms, that the long walls, and the fortifications of the port, should be demolished. That they should deliver up all their ships, except twelve, receive all they had banished, and follow the fortune of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Lysander* caused the walls to be pulled down, all the music in his army playing, on that very day of the year on which they had beat the *Per-*

p Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nep. Justin. ubi supra.

*sians* at *Salamine*. He likewise established an oligarchy, expressly against the will of a
the people; and thus the ruin of *Athens* ended the twenty-seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* war [9].

As soon as *Lysander* had demolished the long walls, and the fortifications of the *Piræum*, he constituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to make laws, but in truth to subjugate the state. These are the persons so famous in history, under the title of the thirty tyrants; they were all the creatures of *Lysander*, mere implements of power, who as they derived their rise from conquest, and the law of the sword, exercised their offices in a suitable manner; that is with the highest testimonies of pride, insolence, and cruelty. Instead of making laws, they governed without them, appointed a senate, and magistrates at their will, and, that they b
might do all things without danger and controul, they sent for a garrison from *Lacedæmon*, which was accordingly granted them, under the command of *Callidius*, upon their promise to pay the soldiers regularly. One of the first steps they took was to punish all informers, who by false accusation had taken off honest men, and disturbed the state; this, though severe, was popular, but when through flattery and bribes, they had wholly drawn over *Callidius* to their party, they suffered bad men to live in quiet, and turned their rage against the good. *Critias* and *Theramenes* were at the head of the thirty, men of the greatest power and abilities in *Athens*; the former was ambitious and cruel without measure, the latter retained some bowels for his country; the former pushed on all the bloody schemes framed c
by his confederates, and carried into execution many of his own; the latter always opposed them at first with moderation, at last with vehemence. He said that power was given them to rule, and not to spoil the commonwealth, and that it became them to act like shepherds, not like wolves, and that they ought to beware of rendering themselves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to domineer over all, being such a handful of men as they were. The rest disliking much the former part of his discourse, catched hold of the latter, and immediately chose out three thousand, whom they made the representatives of the people, and to whom they granted this notable privilege, that none of them should be d
put to death, but by the judgment of the senate, thereby openly assuming a power of putting any other *Athenian* citizens to death by their own authority. A glorious use they made of this new-assumed privilege, for as many as they conjectured to be no friends to the government in general, or to any of themselves in particular, they put to death, without cause and without mercy. *Theramenes* openly opposing this, and absolutely refusing to concur in such measures, *Critias* accused him to the senate as a man of unsteady principles, sometimes for the people, sometimes against them, always for new things and state revolutions. *Theramenes* owned that he had sometimes changed his measures, but alledged that he had always done it to serve the people; he said that it was solely with this view, that he made e
the peace with *Sparta*, and accepted the office of one of the thirty; that he had never opposed their measures, while they cut off the wicked, but when they began to destroy men of fortune and family, then he owned he had differed with them, which he conceived to be no crime against the state. While *Theramenes* was speaking, *Critias* withdrew, perceiving that the senate were thoroughly convinced of the truth of what *Theramenes* had said; but he quickly returned with a guard, crying out, that he had struck *Theramenes*'s name out of the list of the three thousand, that the senate had therefore no longer cognizance of the cause, which the thirty had already judged, and condemned him to death. *Theramenes* perceiving, that they intended to seize him, fled to the altar, which was in the midst of the senate-
house, and laying his hands thereon, said: *I do not seek refuge here, because I expect f
to escape death, or desire it, but that tearing me from the altar, the impious authors of my murder, may interest the gods in bringing them to speedy judgment, and thereby restore freedom to my country:* The guards then haled him from the altar, and carried him to the place of execution, where he drank the poison with undaunted courage, putting the people in mind with his last breath, that as they struck his name out of the three thousand, they might strike any of theirs. His death was followed by a train of murders, so that in a short time sixty of the worthiest and most eminent citizens of *Athens* fell by the cruelty of the thirty. Amongst these the most pitied was

[9] Xenophon Hellen. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Lysander. Corn. Nepos in vit. ejusd. Justin. lib. xv.

*Niceratus*,

a *Niceratus*, the son of *Nicias*, a man universally beloved for his goodness, and universally admired for his virtues. As for the *Spartans*, they, losing their former generosity, were extremely pleased with these things, and by a public decree commanded that such as fled from the thirty tyrants should be carried back bound to *Athens*; which extraordinary proceeding frightened all *Greece*; but the *Argives* and *Thebans* only had the courage to oppose it; the former received the *Athenian* exiles with humanity and kindness, the latter punished with a mulct; such of their citizens as did not rise and rescue the *Athenian* prisoners, who in pursuance of the *Lacedæmonian* decree were carried bound through their territories [r].

*Thrasybulus* and such as with him had taken shelter in the *Theban* territory, resolv-
b ed to hazard something, rather than remain perpetual exiles from their country; and though he had but thirty men on whom he could depend, yet considering the victories he had heretofore obtained in the cause of his country, made an irruption into *Attica*, where he seized *Phyla*, a castle at a very small distance from *Athens*, where in a very short space his forces were augmented to seven hundred men; and though the tyrants made use of the *Spartan* garrison in their endeavours to reduce him and his party, yet *Thrasybulus* prevailed in several skirmishes, and at last constrained them to break up the blockade of *Phyla*, which they had formed. The thirty and their party conceiving it very advantageous for them to have the possession of *Eleusina*, marched thither, and having persuaded the people to go
c unarmed out of their city, that they might number them, took this opportunity most inhumanly to murder them. The forces of *Thrasybulus* increasing daily, he at length possessed himself of the *Piræum*, which he fortified in the best manner he could, but the tyrants being determined to drive him from thence, came down against him with the utmost force they could raise. *Thrasybulus* defended himself with great obstinacy, and in the end they were forced to retreat, having lost before the place not only a great number of men, but *Critias* the president of the thirty, another of the same body, and one who had been captain of the *Piræum*; when they came to demand the dead from *Thrasybulus*, in order for their interment, he caused a cryer he had with him, to make a short speech in a very loud voice to
d the people, intreating them to consider, that as they were citizens of *Athens* without, so those against whom they fought, and who fought to preserve themselves within the fort, were *Athenian* citizens also, wherefore instead of thinking how to ruin and destroy their brethren, they ought rather to consult how all differences ought to be composed, and especially ought to rid themselves of those bloody tyrants, who in the short time they had had the administration in their hands, had destroyed more than fell in the *Peloponnesian* war. The people, though moved by these discourses, differed among themselves, the consequence of which was, that they expelled the thirty, and chose ten men out of each tribe to govern in their stead, whereupon the tyrants retired to *Eleusina*. The citizens, however, though they
e changed the government, made no agreement with those in the *Piræum*, but sent away deputies to *Sparta*, as did also the tyrants from *Eleusina*, complaining, that the *Athenians* had revolted, and desiring their assistance to reduce them. The *Spartans* sent thereupon a large sum of money to encourage their confederates, and appointed *Lysander* commander in chief, and his brother to be admiral, resolving to send sea and land forces to reduce *Athens*, a second time, intending, as most of the *Greek* states suspected, to add it now to their own dominions. It is very probable that this design of theirs would have taken effect, if *Pausanias*, king of *Sparta*, envying *Lysander*, had not resolved to obstruct it. With this view he procured another army to be raised against the *Athenians*, of which himself had the
f command, and with which he marched immediately to besiege the *Piræum*. While he lay before the place, and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correspondence with *Thrasybulus*, informing him what propositions he should make in order to force the *Lacedæmonians*, who were suspected by all their allies, to grant them peace [s].

The intrigues of *Pausanias* had all the success he could wish; the *Ephori* who were with him in the camp concurred in his measures, so that in a short space a treaty was concluded on the following terms; that all the citizens of *Athens* should be restored to their houses and privileges, excepting the thirty, the ten which had

[r] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Lysand. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Lysand. Justin. lib. v. [s] Xenoph. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Justin. ubi supra.

succeeded

succeeded them, and who had acted no less tyrannically than they, and the eleven, a who during the time of the oligarchy had been constituted governors or keepers of the *Piræum*; that all should remain quiet for the future in the city, and that if any were afraid to trust to this agreement, they should have free leave to retire to *Eleusina*. *Pausanias* then marched away with the *Spartan* army, and *Thrasybulus* at the head of his forces marched into *Athens*, where having laid down their arms, they sacrificed with the rest of the citizens in the temple of *Minerva*, after which the popular government was restored. Yet quiet was not thoroughly established, the exiles at *Eleusina*, having endeavoured by the help of money to raise an army of foreigners, by whose aid they might recover the authority they had lost; but first depending on their friends in the city, they sent some of the principal persons b amongst them as deputies, to treat with the citizens, but strictly instructed them to sow jealousies, and excite discords among them. Which the latter quickly perceiving, put these persons to death, and then remonstrating to those at *Eleusina*, that these contentions would undoubtedly end either in their own, or the destruction of their country, they offered immediately to pass an act of oblivion, which they would confirm with an oath. This being accepted, those who had withdrawn returned to the city, where all differences were adjusted, and both parties most religiously observed the agreement they had made, and thereby thoroughly resettled the state. In this whole transaction, the virtue of *Thrasybulus* deserves chiefly to be admired. When he first seized the castle of *Phyla*, the tyrants privately offered him c to receive him into their number instead of *Theramenes*, and to pardon at his request, any twelve persons he should name; but he generously answered, that his exile was far more honourable than any authority could be, purchased on such terms; and by persisting in his design, accomplished, as we have seen, the deliverance of his country. A glorious deliverance it was, since, as *Isocrates* informs us, they put fourteen hundred citizens to death, contrary to, and without any form of law, and drove five thousand more into banishment, procuring also the death of *Alcibiades*, as many think, though at a great distance from them (N). Much about

(N) We are here to speak of the misfortunes of *Alcibiades*, a man who deserved much of his country, and would have deserved more, if her impatience had not prevented his services, and her ingratitude deprived him of the power of serving her. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was removed from his employment, not because he had done any fault, but because he had not performed all which the *Athenians* hoped from him; his success in his first expedition had so elated them, that they would not afterwards believe he could fail of atchieving any thing, which he desired to atchieve, tho' his ships were ill provided, and tho' he had no pay for his soldiers; when therefore he was sent to *Chios* and *Ionia*, they concluded the first news they heard would be that he had reduced both, being disappointed in this their fond opinion, they grew angry, and persecuted him anew, for not doing what in the nature of things it was, not possible he should have done. With the public madness of the people conspired the private envy of the chief men amongst them. *Thrasybulus* began to dislike him, and most of the ten commanders, who afterwards perished by popular rage, now busied themselves in turning it on him, of which when *Alcibiades* had notice, he retired, according to his old maxim, that it was foolish to study a defence against an accusation, when it was possible to fly from it. In his expedition into *Thrace*, he made use of such as offered their service, and he did it with honourable intent; first to settle a secure retreat for himself, and secondly to preserve the *Greek* cities in his neighbourhood, from the insults of these *Thracians*, who as they yielded no obedience to the king, so they consulted nothing but their own interest, preying, as occasion served, on any who were least able to resist. After the entire destruction of the *Athenian* fleet, and the flight of *Conon* to *Cyprus*, *Alcibiades* thought himself no longer safe in his castle; for the *Lacedæmonians*, his inveterate enemies, being now every-where powerful, he was afraid they should take this opportunity of avenging the many defeats they had received from him; he therefore retired first into *Bythinia*, but finding himself not safe, there, he went to *Pharnabazus*, who received him with great civility, and as he believed, with great friendship. In *Athens* the people fighing under the thirty tyrants, placed all their hopes in *Alcibiades*; they knew his love for his country, and they doubted not but he would make some effort to relieve her. The tyrants themselves expected the same thing, and especially *Critias*, their chief, who had been his most intimate friend, and at whose motion the decree had been made for recalling *Alcibiades* from banishment; but the lust of power destroys all ties, whether of blood or affection. He who was before his friend, became now his bitter enemy, and sending to *Lysander*, assured him that *Athens* would never be quiet, or *Sparta* safe, till *Alcibiades* was destroyed. The *Lacedæmonian* general scorning to defile himself with an assassination, treated these notices with the contempt they deserved; but *Critias* applying to the magistracy of *Sparta*, procured an order to be sent from thence to *Lysander*, which he durst not disobey. Upon receipt of this order, *Lysander* sent away a messenger to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to put it in execution. *Pharnabazus* committed the affair to *Magæus*, his brother, and to his uncle *Susamithres*. *Alcibiades* resided at that time in a small village in *Phrygia*, together with *Timandra*, a mistress of his. As he slept he had this dream: He thought himself attired in his mistress's habit, and that she holding him in her arms, dressed his head, and painted his face as if he had been a woman. Others say, he dreamed that *Megæus* cut off his head,

a about this time, that is, a little after the popular government was settled again in *Athens*, *Socrates* was condemned, and put to death. He was not only a philosopher, or one who in words professed the love of wisdom, but one who in deeds, as well as by his excellent sayings, demonstrated that he was truly wise. As a soldier, he had been present in several engagements; in one he preserved the life of *Alcibiades*, in another he carried off a friend of his, who was wounded upon his back, in a third shewed as much courage and conduct as the most experienced generals. In all the campaigns wherein he served, he distinguished himself by enduring hardships with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying readily with any thing that was desired of him; for tho' b he was exceedingly temperate, and strictly sober, yet if his company was desired he refused not to go to entertainments, and to drink there as other people did. He refused to meddle at all with matters of state, till he grew far in years, and was then elected to the senate by his tribe. He opposed, as we have already related, the judgment given against the generals for not burying the dead; though *Theramenes*, his friend had promoted it, and when he was called upon to put that judgment into writing, as his office required, he said he was unacquainted with the law terms, and at last absolutely refused it. Afterwards he sought to rescue *Theramenes*, when he was accused by his collegues; after his death, he continuing to speak his mind freely, which gave some umbrage to the thirty, who notwithstanding suffered him to live, because *Critias* was his intimate friend. But the danger he was in c hindred him not from disclosing his mind to his associates, particularly he said one day to *Antisthenes* on account of the eminent men, who were daily taken up, Doth it repent thee, that we have done nothing memorable, or at all comparable to what those monarchs have performed, who are celebrated in tragedies, such as *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, *Agamemnon*, and *Egisthus*? They are in those plays beheaded, feasted with their childrens flesh, and some way or other destroyed at last; but no poet had ever the hardiness to introduce the death of a hog upon the stage. One of his friends complaining, that of late, he was grown a no-body, and could pretend to no post or office, *Socrates* demanded tartly, Are you sorry for it? At another time he delivered himself in a public conversation thus: A herdsman would d be very disingenuous, who, in case the cattle grew worse, and the herd thinner, by his management, would not confess himself an ill herdsman; but the governor of a city would be yet more disingenuous, if, seeing his citizens grew worse and thinner, he should not own himself an ill governor. Which being reported to the tyrants, *Critias* and *Charicles* sent for him, and forbad him to converse with any man under thirty, on pain of having his head placed somewhere else than upon his shoulders; but not being yet satisfied of his fidelity to their government, they summoned him to the senate-house, and ordered him to go with some other persons, whom they named, to seize one *Leon*, a man of rank and fortune, whom they determined to put out of the way, that they might enjoy his estate; this e commission *Socrates* flatly refused, and not satisfied therewith, added also his reason

head, and burnt his body; and it is said that it was but a little while before his death, that he had these visions. They who were sent to assassinate him, had not courage enough to enter the house; but surrounding it first, they set it on fire. *Alcibiades*, as soon as he perceived it, getting together great quantities of Cloaths and furniture, threw them upon the fire, with a design to choak it; and having wrapped his robe about his left arm, and holding his naked sword in his right, he cast himself into the middle of the fire, and escaped securely through it, before it had time to take thoroughly the furniture and other materials he had thrown into it. The *Barbarians*, as soon as they saw him, retreated, and none of them durst stay to expect him, or to engage with him; but standing at a distance, they slew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, the *Barbarians* departed, and *Timandra* took up his dead body, and covering and wrapping it up in her own robes, the very best she had, she buried it as decently and as honourably as her present circumstances would allow. She buried him in a town called *Melissa*; and we learn from *Athæneus*, that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor *Adrian*, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of *Parian* marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull should be sacrificed to him annually. *Ephorus* the historian, as he is cited by *Diodorus Siculus*, gives quite another account of his death, than that before recited from *Plutarch*. He says, that *Alcibiades* having discovered the design of *Cyrus* the younger to take up arms, informed *Pharnabazus* thereof, and desired that he might carry this news to the king; but *Pharnabazus* envying him that honour, sent a confident of his own, and took all the merit to himself, which *Alcibiades* suspecting, went to *Paphlagonia*, and sought to procure from the governor thereof letters of credence to the king, which *Pharnabazus* understanding, hired people to murder him. He was destroyed in the fortieth year of his age (1).

(1) *Plutarch in vit. Alcibiad. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xiv. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Alcib. Athen. in Deipnos.*

for such refusal. *I will never willingly, said he, assist an unjust act.* Chericles replied a
sharply, *dost thou think,* Socrates, *to talk always in this high style, and not to suffer. Far from it,* added he, *I expect to suffer a thousand ills, but none so great as to do unjustly.* Upon which he went directly home, where he would not have been long safe, if the tyrants had not shortly after been obliged to turn their thoughts to the contriving means, for their own safety, rather than to project how to injure and destroy others. The cause of this great man's death was the pique one *Anytus* had taken against him, who drew in *Melitus* a bold young man, and *Aristophanes* the comic poet. The last of these broke the ice first, brought *Socrates* upon the stage, in a comedy of his, called the clouds, wherein he represents him as a man given to a subtle fallacious manner of arguing, whereby he could make a bad b
cause seem good, an introducer of new gods, whilst himself worshipped none, and as a petulent railer at those things which others held sacred. *Socrates* himself went to the *Theatre*, where he sat in the most conspicuous place; and when one of his friends asked him if it did not vex him to be thus treated, he answered, *Not at all; I fancy I am at a feast, where every one enjoys me.* A long time after this *Anytus* conceiving the season now proper for the execution of that vengeance, which he had so long meditated, engaged *Melitus* to prefer a complaint against him to the senate, which he did in these words: Melitus, *son of* Melitus, *a* Pythian, *accuseth* Socrates *son of* Sophronicus *an* Alopetian. Socrates *violates the law, not believing the deities whom this city believeth, but introducing other new* gods. *He* c
*violates the law likewise, in corrruping youth, the punishment death.* When the day of trial came on, *Melitus* opened the prosecution with a very poor harangue, in which he was often prompted, and had much ado to get through it. The crimes he therein alledged, were, that *Socrates* persuaded his scholars to contemn the laws of the republic; that he was the intimate friend of *Critias* and *Alcibiades*, that he taught young people to be disrespectful to their parents, by telling them that he would make them more knowing than their fathers, with many other things of a like nature. When he had done, *Anytus* began a long and malicious harangue, wherein he was favourably heard; and after him *Lyco* in a set rhetorical speech supported d
the accusation. When these had done speaking, *Socrates* went up into the orators desk, and from thence spoke after this manner to the people; " I am surprized, " O *Athenians!* how *Melitus* came by this extraordinary piece of knowledge, that " I do not worship the gods the city worships. Others have seen me, and so, if " *Melitus* had pleased, he might have done too, sacrifice at common festivals in " the public altars; how do I introduce new deities, when I profess in all my " actions to be directed by the voice of God; they who observe the notes of " birds, or the answers of men are guided by the voice. None doubts of thunder, " that it proceeds from the supreme power, and is oraculous, that the priestess on " the tripod conveys to us by her voice, what she receives from the god, who e
" doubts? and that he foreknows future events, and communicates them to whom " he pleases, all men believe and confess as well as I. Many call such as foretel " future things, sooth-sayers and diviners. I ascribe these things to the dæmon, " and, I conceive, speak more religiously therein than they who fancy I know not " what divine power in birds; that I am no impostor herein many can attest, " who have asked any advice, and never found it fail; let such as are incredulous " hear this also to confirm their opinions; as to my being favoured of the gods, " when *Cherephon* in the presence of many witnesses, inquired of the oracle at " *Delphos* concerning me, *Apollo* answered, that no man was more free, more " just, more wise; yet the same god said more of *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* law- f
" giver, that he knew not whether to call him a god or a man. Me he compared " not with the gods, though he gave me the priority amongst other men, but trust " not the gods herein, consider me exactly your selves, whom have you less a slave " to sensual pleasures? whom more free? I accept neither stipends nor gifts. " Whom more just than him who conforms himself so to the present time, as that " he stands not in need of the defence of any other? who will say that he deserves " not the title of wise, who, since he was able, never lost any opportunity of learning, " by inquiry, all the good possible? And that I took not the pains in vain, is evi- " dent from hence, that citizens and strangers, studious of virtue, have preferred " my conversation to that of other men. Why do you think so many desire to " oblige me by gifts, whom they know to have no capacity of requiting them?

" or

a " or how can you account for my engaging so many, without requiring any return " from them? that when the city was besieged, and every one lamented the " wretchedness of his condition, I shewed no alteration of temper, but remained " the same as before, that while others lay out their money on exteriour things to " please themselves, I furnish myself from within, with such things as please " me better. If none can controvert what I say, how comes it to pass that I " deserve not commendation both of gods and men, instead of being charged as I " am now by you, *Melitus*, that with these instructions I corrupt youth. Every one " knows what it is to corrupt youth; can you name one whom I of religious have " made impious, whom from a modest deportment, I have rendered impudent, of b " a frugal disposition, prodigal, of a sober habit, debauched, of a hardy way of " life, effeminate? know ye any of these"? " I know those, answered *Melitus*, " whom you have persuaded to be more obedient to you than to their own parents". " With respect to instruction, I confess I have, answered *Socrates*, for that was my " sphere, not theirs. In regard to their health, men consult physicians, before their " parents, in law suits they apply to counsel, not to cousins; and in war you " inquire as to your general's skill in arms, not who are his allies". " With " good reason, cried *Melitus*, and fit we should". " Is it so, said *Socrates*: If others " are preferred for such things, as they excel in, and with reason too, can you " think it fit, because in the opinion of some I have an advantage beyond others c " in educating of youth, which is a matter of the greatest consequence to society, " that therefore I ought to suffer death? *Anytus* and *Melitus*, O my judges, may " procure that judgment, but hurt me they cannot: to fear death, is to seem " wise, and not to be so, for it is to pretend to understand what we really under- " stand not. No man knows what death is, or whether it be not the greatest " happiness which can arrive to us, yet all fear and shun it, as if they were sure " it would be the greatest misfortune". *Plato* would also have spoken in his defence, and going up into the desk, opened his speech thus: *Though I*, Athenians, *am the youngest of those that come up into this place*. The people immediately cried out, *of those which go down*, which they constrained him to do without speaking of d another word; then proceeding to vote, it was carried against *Socrates* by two hundred eighty-one voices. He might, however, have escaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him, but he contented himself with saying, that to pay a fine was to acknowledge an offence, and that what had provoked a prosecution against him, deserved rather the highest rewards, and a maintenance out of the public stock, than a pecuniary mulct. At this the judges were so much incensed, that they judged him to a capital punishment, by a majority of eighty. He might easily have avoided this, if his friends could have prevailed on him to have made his escape; but he refused, drank the poison in their presence, praying to God to make his passage from this life happy, and shewed the same calmness e and resolution in death, for which throughout his life he had been famous (O).

It

(O) *Socrates* happened to be condemned the very day after the sacred ship set sail for *Delos*. The reader must observe, that this ship went annually in commemoration of the mighty deliverance of *Thesius* in *Crete*, and in consequence of his vow. It was a rule of their religion never to be broken through, that from the time of the departure of this ship from the port of *Athens*, to the time of its coming back, no malefactors were ever put to death; this sometimes, by means of contrary wind, occasioned the intervention of a considerable space, as happened in the case of *Socrates*, who was in prison thirty days before his death; in this time he was visited by his friends, some of whom offered to carry him away by force, at which he laughed, *Why*, said he, *do you know any place out of* Attica *where death never comes? Plato* hath wrote a long discourse concerning the manner of his death; we will from thence transcribe only so much as relates immediately thereto, though indeed the whole is an admirable piece, and extremely well worth the reading. " It was " now sun-set, for he had staid long within, when " the officer entered, and after a little pause, said, " I have not, *Socrates*, observed that carriage in you " which I have found in others; but as I thought " you the most generous, the mildest, and best of " all men, that ever came into this place, so I " now see you hate me not, for that whereof " others are the cause: you know the message I " bring, farewell; bear what you cannot remedy. " With that he departed weeping; and fare thee " well, said *Socrates*, I am well: how civil is this man? " I found him the same all the time of my impri- " sonment, he would often visit and discourse with " me, used me always courteously, and now see " how kindly he weeps for me; but come, *Crito*, " let us do as he bids us, if the poison be ready, let " it be brought. The sun is yet scarce set, answer " *Crito*, others take it late after a plentiful supper, " and full cups; make not so much haste, there is " time enough. He replied, they who do so think " they gain time, but what shall I gain by drink- " ing it late, only deceive myself, as covetous of " life, and sparing of that which is no longer " mine? Pray let it be as I say; then *Crito* sent one " of the attendants, who immediately returned, " and

It is easy to judge that from the usage they gave the worthiest men amongst a them, the *Athenians* left deserved to meet with patriots; yet so it was, that notwithstanding her ill usage, never any city was more beloved by her citizens. *Conon*, who after the misfortune which befel him, at the battle of the *Hellespont*, which was followed by the destruction of *Athens*, had kept himself close in *Cyprus*, and never ventured home, now conceived in his mind a mighty project, no less than the restoring the *Athenian* affairs to their antient state, and bestowing once more upon that city the empire of the sea; with this view he caused a project to be transmitted to the *Persian* king, wherein he endeavoured to demonstrate that the pride of the *Lacedæmonians* would be extremely detrimental to his affairs, that their dominion once thoroughly settled in *Greece*, they would presume to give laws to *Asia* also, b especially with respect to the *Greek* cities therein, and that therefore it would be expedient for the *Persians* to consider of some means for putting it once more in the power of *Athens* to check the insolence of that aspiring state, and thereby preserve the great king's dominions in peace and safety. *Conon*'s memorial was quickly supported by facts; two *Lacedæmonian* armies within the compass of a few years passed over into *Asia*, the last under *Lysander* and *Agesilaus*, which performed great things, and would have performed greater, if the *Persian* king had not, by sending some of his agents with vast sums of money into *Greece*, raised so many, and so powerful enemies against *Sparta*, that she was constrained to recal *Agesilaus* to her assistance. The expediency of *Conon*'s advice being so fully made known, he, as c a person perfectly well skilled in maritime affairs, was preferred to be admiral of the *Persian* fleet; the *Athenians* in the mean time had the courage to join with the *Argives*, and other states, in a war against the *Lacedæmonians*, which they pursued with variety of fortune. *Conon* attacked the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, which was nearly equal to that of the *Persians*, which consisted of ninety sail, and after an obstinate engagement, wherein the *Spartan* admiral was killed, totally defeated it, taking fifty ships, and five hundred prisoners. Afterwards he and *Pharnabazus* obliged most of the states, dependent on *Lacedæmon*, to change sides, particularly those of *Coos*, *Nisæa*, *Tios*, and *Chios*, *Mitylene*, *Ephesus*, *Erythræa*, and other places followed their example, and thus the *Lacedæmonians* at once lost the empire of the sea. d *Conon* determined after this unexpected success to return to *Attica*, and in his way

" and with him the man that was to administer " the poison, bringing a cup in his hand. To whom " *Socrates*, Prithee honest friend, for thou art well " versed in these businesses, what must I do? no- " thing, said, he, but as soon as you have drank, " walk till you find your legs begin to fail; then " lie down, and in so saying he gave him the cup. " *Socrates* took it chearfully, not changing either " countenance or colour; and looking pleasantly " upon him, demanded whether he might spill any " of it as a libation, who answered, he had made no " more than would just serve. Yet, said *Socrates*, I " may pray to God, and will, that my passage hence " may be happy, which I beseech him to grant, " and in that same instant drank it off easily, with- " out any disturbance. Many of us, who till now, " had refrained from tears, when we saw him put " the cup to his mouth, and drink off the poison, " were not able to contain any longer; which *So-* " *crates* observing, *Friends*, said he, *what mean ye?* " *for this reason I sent away the women, lest they* " *should be so unquiet: I have heard we should die* " *with gratulation and applause, be quiet then, and* " *take it patiently*. These words made us, with " shame, suppress our tears; when he had walked " a while, perceiving his legs to fail, he lay down " on his back, as the executioner directed him; " who looking on his feet, pinched them hard, " asking him if he felt it, he answered no; he did " the like to his legs, and shewing us how every " part successively grew cold and stiff, told us when " that chilness came at his heart, he would die; " not long after he spake these his last words, O " Crito, *I owe Æsculapius a cock, pay it, neglect it* " *not*. It shall be done, said *Crito*, will you have " any thing else? He made no answer, lay still a " while, then stretched himself forth; with that " the executioner uncovered him, his eyes were " set, *Crito* closed them. This was the end of the " best, the wisest, and most just of men". Tho' *Leo Allatius*, and some others, have endeavoured to represent the time of the death of *Socrates*, as a point not easily settled, yet they are certainly in the wrong, since there is scarce a great event in the whole *Greek* history, the time of which is more unquestionably settled, the *Arundelian* marbles, and many other authorities, shew that it happened when *Laches* was archon, in the first year of the ninety-fifth olympiad, that is 2599 years after the flood, and four hundred before the birth of Christ. The reader may possibly be desirous to know what became of his enemies; and because we shall have no opportunity of inserting it in the history, we will add it in this note. The *Athenians* grew very quickly sensible of the mischief they had done, and because it was irreparable, they so hated its authors that they would not suffer them to light fire at their houses. They would not answer them a question. They would not bathe with them; and if they were seen to touch ever so large a vessel of water, they threw it away, as impure, until these men, unable to bear this usage longer, hanged themselves; and for the same reason, the *Athenians*, that they might blot from their minds the memory of so black an action, forbad the name of *Socrates* to be mentioned in the *Theatre* (z).

(z) *Plato in Phæd. Plut. de Invidia & odio.*

thither

a thither brought over the *Cyclades*, reduced *Cythera*, put a garrison therein, and after having confirmed the *Corinthians* in their league with the *Athenians*, he sailed from thence to *Athens*, where he promised the citizens to rebuild the long walls, and to re-fortify the city, which he accordingly performed as far as in him lay, hiring a multitude of workmen, and landing a great body of men from the fleet; the *Thebans* also sent five hundred carpenters and masons, and other cities did the like; but *Teribazus*, who commanded the *Persian* Armies in *Asia*, envying *Conon*'s great success, gave out that he made use of the *Persian* power merely to get towns and countries for his own citizens. To answer which charge, he sent for him to *Sardis*, where upon his first appearance he threw him into prison.

b The disturbances in *Greece* gave the *Athenians* an opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, and making themselves once more considerable; the *Corinthian* war, particularly as it lasted a considerable time, and with various success, served as a kind of school to the *Athenian* youth, who addicted themselves to arms; and it served the better, because the *Athenian* general, who then commanded, was *Iphicrates*, not only the best officer of *Greece* in his days, but who, in his knowledge of the art of war, exceeded all who went before him; others had studied it from the glory resulting therefrom, *Iphicrates* looked upon it as a science, for which he laid down rules and brought things nearer a certainty than it was ever conceived they would have been. *Plutarch* tells us that he was the son of a shoe-maker, but *Cornelius Nepos*
c does not mention any thing of his family; the first exploit by which he distinguished himself was in a sea-fight, where finding himself wounded, and unable to remain on board the enemy's ship, he catched up one of the soldiers in his arms, and carried him on board his own, which shews that he had great strength of body, as well as mighty presence of mind. We are told further with respect to his person, that it was wonderfully venerable, and that he struck with awe all such as conversed with him. He shewed his good sense in altering the habit and arms of the *Athenian* soldiers, which had been used to his time; instead of large heavy shields, he gave them light ones; instead of short spears, long ones; and instead of little stabbing swords, weapons of a more useful size. In this war of *Corinth* he gained by
d his skill great advantages over armies more numerous, and composed of better soldiers than his own. He carefully fortified his camp, though it was in the country of his allies; and when some of his officers, who thought he gave the soldiers needless trouble, asked him, who he was afraid of; I am afraid, answered he, of being forced to use that expression, which of all others least becomes a general, *I did not think of it*. *Agesilaus* king of *Sparta*, whose troops had been elsewhere always victorious, were notwithstanding beaten with great loss by this *Athenian*, which exceedingly grieved *Agesilaus*, and made him abate somewhat of that haughtiness he had hitherto shown upon all the offers which had been made to him for peace. Abroad the affairs of the *Athenians* went but ill, the exiles from *Rhodes*, which was now
e under a democratic government, went to *Sparta*, and boasting there of their great interest, and of the facility with which their country might be brought to change sides, and join with the *Lacedæmonians*, two fleets were sent to that island. The *Athenians* greatly alarmed at this, dispatched the famous *Thrasybulus*, to whom they owed their deliverance, to prevent the designs of the *Lacedæmonians* from taking effect. When this great captain came into these seas, he received such intelligence from *Rhodes*, as thoroughly convinced him that any attempt he made thereupon would be fruitless; he therefore sailed to the *Hellespont*, where he reconciled two *Thracian* princes, and made them confederates with the *Athenian* states; after this he bent his endeavours to the reducing such cities as, taking advantage of the bad state
f of the *Athenian* affairs, had revolted from them. In pursuance of this scheme, he reduced *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*, and afterwards sailing over to *Lesbos*, where all the cities had revolted except *Mitylene*, he brought them again under the obedience of *Athens*, and levied considerable sums of money by way of fine for the revolt; after these victories he set sail for *Rhodes*, hoping that the fame of them would awe the people of that island, and contribute to the end for which he had been sent thither. First of all he exacted a sum of money from *Aspendus*, but after it was paid him, his soldiers having plundered some of the inhabitants without his knowledge, it so much provoked them, that in the night, when *Thrasybulus* thought himself safe,

[a] Xenophon. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Cononis.

and expected no harm, they suddenly entered his camp, where they committed a great slaughter, and in the beginning thereof slew him, which so terrified his soldiers, that making what haste they could to their ships, they withdrew without attempting to prosecute further the expedition on which their general had been sent. This end had *Thrasybulus*, a man who in point of virtue was inferior to none, in fortune superior to most, and in the glory of freeing his country from servitude without any view to his own interest scarce equalled by any. The *Athenians* to supply his place were constrained to send *Iphicrates*, for they had not now as formerly, choice of generals; their insolence and their misfortunes having either driven away or extinguished all their great men. *Iphicrates* had only with him eight gallies, and twelve hundred men, when he joined the remains of *Thrasybulus*'s fleet hitherto commanded b by one *Argyrius*; he having intelligence that *Anaxibius*, the *Lacedæmonian* admiral, proud of some small successes he had obtained, lay very carelessly at *Abydus* immediately sailed thither, and intercepting him one day abroad with twelve more governors of towns, fell upon and slew them, after which *Iphicrates* sailed to *Chersonesus*. Shortly after this *Egina*, at the motion of *Eteonecus* revolted, whereupon the *Athenians* sent one of their Admirals with a fleet to reduce it, which could not be effected; on the contrary, the inhabitants of the island, as soon as the *Athenian* fleet was withdrawn, began to infest the coast of *Attica*, which vexed the *Athenians* exceedingly, and constrained them to keep a squadron continually at sea, to protect as well the villages on the shore, as their ships employed in trade, an evil they had experi- c enced since the close of the *Peloponnesian* war. The affairs of the *Lacedæmonians* obliging them to remove the fleet they had in the neighbourhood of *Egina*, the *Athenians* sent *Eunomes* with a strong squadron to keep in *Gorgopas*, who was left to command there. *Gorgopas* finding his much outnumbered by the *Athenian* gallies, retired into port, and landed his troops, which when the *Athenian* Admiral perceived, he put to sea in the night, carrying a light in his poop, that the rest of his ships might steer after him. *Gorgopas* instantly reimbarked his men, and stood away after the *Athenian* fleet, keeping aloof, till *Eunomes*, entering a port of *Attica*, began to land his men; which when he had half finished, *Gorgopas* fell upon them with great vigour, and after an obstinate fight, carried off four gallies to *Egina*; this loss was a little d after repaired by *Chabrias* the *Athenian* general, for he sailing to *Cyprus* with a fleet which had a body of land forces on board, landed in *Egina* in the night-time, and having posted the major part of his forces in a valley near the temple of *Hercules*, ordered the rest to advance towards a place called the *Three Towers* at break of day; *Gorgopas*, as soon as he had intelligence of the *Athenians* landing in the island, marched with what forces he could to oppose them, and sent orders to all who were on board the fleet to hasten to him with the utmost speed, which accordingly they did; and these rushing all by the ambuscade where *Chabrias* lay, he suddenly charged them in flank and rear, while the other *Athenians* fell upon them in front; *Gorgopas* with eight *Spartans* being quickly slain, the rest betook themselves to e flight, of whom *Chabrias* cut off near four hundred men, which, with the want of the subsides they expected from *Sparta*, so broke the spirits of the inhabitants of *Egina*, that they undertook nothing for a considerable time after. At length *Talentias* being sent from *Sparta* to command the gallies in that island, he so wrought upon the people by his fair speeches, that they went on board the ships, and offered to follow him where he pleased. He having sacrificed and taken a day's provision on board, put out to sea, and having in the night rode very near the port of *Athens*, as soon as it was day, he sailed strait into the *Pyræum*, where he took several gallies, and a great number of prisoners. These he sent presently away to *Egina*, and afterwards cruising along the coast, carried off several trading vessels, and an f immense booty, out of which having given his men a month's pay beforehand, he so raised their spirits, that they were ready to undertake any thing. In the height of their ardor he fell upon an *Athenian* squadron of eight gallies, and took them; after which, drawing together a fleet of eighty sail with twenty gallies of *Syracuse*, he roamed about without rival, and maintained the dominion of the sea for the *Lacedæmonians*[t].

*Peace of Antalcidas.* *After the flood* 2612. *Before Christ* 387.

The *Spartans*, willing to secure the great advantages they had obtained, ordered *Antalcidas* their admiral to settle with the ministers of the king of *Persia* the terms of

[t] Xenophon. lib. iv, v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Iphic. Thrasyb. & Chabr.

a ge-

a a general peace in *Greece*; for on account of the *Corinthian* war, and the vast expence of keeping so many fleets at sea, *Sparta* was grown weary of fighting though she had the better of her rival. The *Athenians* on the other hand, wearied out with continual misfortunes, were far from being averse to the putting an end to the war; for which the rest of the cities of *Greece* were anxious, provided the peace was not prejudicial to their interests; they therefore sent all of them agents to *Tiribazus* to know what terms the king his master would propose. The *Persian* having first shewn them the great king's seal, opened his dispatch; the contents of which were, that the king thought it just the cities in *Asia* should belong to him, and remain under his jurisdiction, and that all the rest little and great should remain free; of the islands how-
b ever he claimed *Clazomene* and *Cyprus*, *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Sciros*, he left to the *Athenians*, because they had belonged to them time out of mind, declaring moreover, that if any of the *Greek* states rejected these terms, he and the rest of the confederates would compel them to accept them by continuing the war by sea and land. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* accepted of them, and became once more friends and allies; this from its author was stiled the peace of *Antalcidas*, which in the main was very scandalous to *Sparta*, who, after so long pretending to vindicate the liberties of the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, now delivered them up to the king[a].

The design of this peace was evidently the raising *Sparta* to an uncontroulable dominion over the *Grecian* states, which she began to exercise immediately after it
c took effect, falling first on the *Mantineans*, and afterwards on other little states, at last on *Thebes* itself, where, without the least provocation, the *Lacedæmonians* seized the citadel, and enabled the *Thebans* of their faction to tyrannize over their country, of whom four hundred fled to *Athens*, which city was far from making the same figure now as formerly; the *Grecians* remembering with aversion her cruelty when in power, and seeing with disdain her insolence under the affronts of *Sparta*. The *Theban* exiles however found here not only a safe place of refuge, but all the kindness and assistance they could reasonably expect for the principal men in *Athens*, who laboured hard to persuade the people that it was both safe and honourable for them to succour these unhappy men. The exiles, unsatisfied with being safe abroad, longed
d to live with freedom at home; they therefore found means to set on foot a conspiracy in *Thebes*, and by the private assistance of the *Athenians* brought matters so to bear, that they got possession of the city; but fearing lest the *Lacedæmonians* should send mighty succours to their garrison in the citadel, they sent deputies to *Athens*, beseeching the people to call to mind with what kindness they had received the *Athenians* who were banished by the thirty tyrants, and how far it was owing to their aid that the *Athenians* recovered that liberty which they now enjoyed, conjuring them not to desert them now, when the *Thebans* were ready to fight against *Sparta* for the liberty of *Greece*, but to afford them such succours as might enable them to fight with hope. The people having heard the *Theban* deputies, came presently to a resolution of send-
e ing away such a body of auxiliaries as might at once demonstrate their gratitude to the *Thebans*, and their care of the liberty of *Greece*; with this view they sent *Demophoon* at the head of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, who marched with prodigious diligence to *Thebes*, where they enabled those of their party to take the citadel, which they effected before the *Lacedæmonians* could relieve it; after which the *Athenians* returned home. From this time forward they sought by all means to raise a party against the *Spartans*, by putting themselves at the head, by which they hoped to recover their ancient lustre. The forces however of the *Lacedæmonians* being as yet much greater than their own, made them sometimes obliged to dissemble their hatred to that state, and also to discountenance those orators
f who were notoriously enemies to *Sparta*. An accident happened at last which intirely changed the face of things, and constrained the *Athenians* to declare openly against *Lacedæmon*. One *Sphodrias* a *Spartan*, who commanded at *Thespis*, undertook a bold expedition, in which if he had succeeded, his countrymen must have been absolute lords of *Greece*; for he marched suddenly with a great body of troops towards *Athens*, and hoped to seize the fort of *Pyræum* in the night; but when he had marched as far as *Eleusina*, the sun began to appear, upon which his soldiers refused to march any farther. That he missed his blow was far from being the worst consequence of his rashness; the *Athenians* were so much alarmed, that they seized certain *Spartan* em-

[a] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Artax. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Iphicr.

bassadors

baſſadors who were in their city, and made them priſoners, conceiving that they a
were privy to this attempt; but they aſſerting their innocence, aſſured the people
of *Athens* that *Sphodrias* ſhould be called to a ſevere account, and pay with his life
for this infamous attempt; whereupon they were releaſed, but *Sphodrias* being brought
to a trial, and acquitted, the *Athenians* inſtantly declared war, accounting it better to
hazard all things in the field, than to be in danger of having their throats cut in their
houſes by ſuch ſudden expeditions. They named on this occaſion three generals,
*Timotheus*, *Chabrias*, and *Calliſtratus*, directing them to levy an army of twenty-
thouſand foot, and five-hundred horſe; they likewiſe ordered a fleet to be fitted
out of two-hundred ſail. To ſhew that they did not intend to fight for themſelves
only, but that they would do juſtly by all their confederates, they reſtored all the b
lands which had been divided among their citizens out of *Attica*, to their ancient
proprietors, and offered ſuch reaſonable terms to their allies, particularly the fixing
a ſenate, which was to conſiſt of one deputy from each city of *Athens*, that they
preſently drew over a great number to their ſide, and exceedingly alarmed the *Lacedæmonians*. The fame alſo of the *Athenian* generals was of no ſmall ſervice to their
country, for *Timotheus* was exceedingly eſteemed on account of his father *Conon*'s
merit, and for his own magnanimity and prudence; *Chabrias* was reputed one of
the firſt generals of his age, and *Calliſtratus* was a man of great worth, and high ac-
compliſhments; as for *Iphicrates*, the king of *Perſia* had begged him of the *Athe-*
*nians*, and they held the friendſhip of that prince, in conſideration of the great ſer- c
vices he received from that experienced general. In the mean time the *Lacedæmoni-*
*ans* invaded *Bœotia* under the command of their king *Ageſilaus*, who with a mighty
army braved the *Thebans* and their allies in the neighbourhood of their own city.
*Chabrias*, who commanded them, took poſt along the deſcent of a hill; and when
*Ageſilaus* led the *Spartan* army in battalia towards them, *Chabrias* ordered his ſoldiers to
lean one knee on the ground, to let their ſhields hang careleſsly on their arms, but to
keep their ſpears extended as if they intended to continue in their poſts, and to expect
the *Spartans* without putting themſelves into any hurry. *Ageſilaus* having weighed
within himſelf the advantage they had in ground, the intrepidity of the men, and
the experience of their general, retired without attempting to force them. After- d
wards the *Athenians* obtained ſome advantages, and in conſequence of them obliged
*Cleombrotus*, king of *Sparta*, to retire without entering *Bœotia*. *Chabrias* in the interim
was recalled to take upon him the command of the *Athenian* fleet, which was to go a-
gainſt *Naxus*; he beſieged the capital of that iſland, but in vain; *Pollis*, the *Lace-*
*dæmonian*, coming with a great fleet to its relief, *Chabrias*, deſirous to regain the ho-
nour of his country, reimbarked his forces, and offered the *Lacedæmonians* battle; the
engagement was long and obſtinate, at laſt however he gained an abſolute victory,
though with the loſs of eighteen gallies, the *Lacedæmonians* loſing twenty-four, be-
ſides eight that were taken with all their men. But *Chabrias* did not purſue this victory
as he might have done, being deterred by the fate of the ſix generals who had ſuffer- e
ed for not ſuccouring the wounded, and burying the dead; as it was, he recovered the
*Athenian* reputation at ſea, for this was the firſt naval victory, which with their own
proper forces the *Athenians* had acquired ſince the *Peloponneſian* war. Afterwards he
ſailed againſt the *Thracians*, and delivered the *Abderites* whom they had treated with
great cruelty; but while he was here taking care of the affairs of the city, and pro-
viding againſt the return of the barbarians, he was, as ſome ſay, aſſaſſinated, none knew
by whom, or for what reaſon. The *Athenians* ſent *Timotheus* to ſupply his place, which
he effectually did, proving more formidable to the *Lacedæmonians* in his ſingle perſon,
than all their enemies beſide; for by his eloquence, affability, and juſtice, he drew
many of their allies to forſake them, and by his great skill in maritime affairs, he f
vanquiſhed them in a ſea fight at *Leucades*, ſo that all things went proſperouſly for the
*Athenians* on this ſide. *Artaxerxes*, king of *Perſia*, endeavoured all this time to recon-
cile the *Grecians* among themſelves, becauſe he wanted mercenaries to be employed in
a war he intended againſt *Egypt*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* themſelves were
weary of war, and therefore ſuffered themſelves to be the more eaſily intreated;
beſides they were both apprehenſive that the *Thebans* would at length run away with
that authority for which they had ſo long contended; they therefore clapped up a
ſudden peace, which was ill kept, upon theſe terms, that all cities ſhould be free; to
which the *Thebans* would by no means yield, for they would never conſent that all the
little cities of *Bœotia* ſhould be freed from their dominion. *Iphicrates* much about
this

a this time quitted the *Persian* service, where he had been entrusted with the command of twenty thousand *Greeks*, escaping with a single ship to *Athens*. The reason of this was, that *Pharnabazus* and he had differed, whereupon the *Athenian* fearing that this *Persian* general would serve him as he had done *Conon*, that is clap him into a prison, and put it out of his power to defend himself, chose rather to quit his command than hazard his liberty, and therefore retired in the manner beforementioned; he was quickly followed to *Athens* by *Persian* embassadors, who charged him with mighty crimes, and earnestly desired that he should be punished; to which the *Athenians* answered, that they would punish him when he was proved guilty, but in the mean time having occasion for his service they made him admiral of their fleet. The late peace having given the *Grecian* cities a just title to freedom, disputes arose in many of them, whether aristocracy or democracy should prevail, and these disputes not being accommodated by words, sedition and civil war ensued in several places, especially in *Zacynthus* and *Corcyra*; the *Lacedæmonians* notwithstanding the peace assisted to the utmost of their power such as were for oligarchy, and the *Athenians*, according to their old practice, befriended every where the democratic government. *Menesippus* the *Lacedæmonian* general blocked up *Corcyra*, the inhabitants of which were on the very point of being ruined; *Timotheus*, who had been sent to their assistance, having found it necessary to sail to *Thrace*, preferring the service c of his own country, to the necessities of its allies, for which the *Athenians* rewarded him and *Iphicrates* after the old manner, that is to say, they condemned them both; but when the former brought along with him many embassadors who desired to renew the ancient leagues between their constituents and *Athens*, and also proved that he had encreased the fleet with thirty gallies, and brought mighty sums into the public treasury; the *Athenians*, in regard to his own and his father's merit, who by rebuilding their walls, had made *Athens* once more a city, rescinded their former decree, and restored *Timotheus* to his command. In the mean time *Ctesides* was sent with five hundred men to *Corcyra*, where he was so fortunate as to kill the *Lacedæmonian* general, and to leave very little to be done by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, who came at length d with the fleet. *Artaxerxes* still labouring to reconcile the *Grecian* states, and the *Athenians* having conceived a violent antipathy against the *Thebans* for destroying *Plataea* and *Thespis*, sent deputies to *Sparta* with *Callistratus* at their head, and there concluded a peace on the old terms, that all the city should be set at liberty, to which as before the *Thebans* refused to consent; this happened in the beginning of the hundred and second olympiad, *Alcisthenes* being archon at *Athens* u.

*The Athenians declare for and assist the Lacedæmonians.*

THE *Athenians* now perceiving that they were become very inconsiderable, endeavoured to strengthen themselves, by proposing an oath to the cities of *Greece*, that they would observe the truce established by the king, and in case any injury was offered to one city, that she should be assisted by all; this was readily yielded to e by all except the *Eleans* and *Thebans*: between the latter and the *Spartans* a new war broke out, in which the latter were so distressed, that they demanded aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon sent *Iphicrates*, who in this expedition lost some part of his reputation. Some negotiations for a general peace being set afoot at the court of the *Persian* king, the *Athenians* amongst the rest sent deputies, and amongst them one *Timagoras*; the *Thebans*, who now aimed at the dominion of *Greece*, sent *Pelopidas*, a man of superior abilities, who drew to himself the confidence of the *Persian* king, and having found a way to bring over *Timagoras* to his party, he clapped up a peace, whereby it was agreed that *Messene* should be exempted from the *Lacedæmonian* government; that the *Athenians* should no more pretend to the sovereignty of the f sea; that the cities should be governed by their own laws, and the *Thebans* be esteemed the king's chief friends and allies. *Timagoras* on his return was accused to the *Athenian* people of having betrayed his trust, upon which he was condemned, and put to death. The *Argives* falling upon the *Phliacians* on account of their remarkable fidelity to the *Lacedæmonians*, and bringing them to great streights, the latter desired aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon sent *Chares* to their assistance, who behaved himself with great prudence and valour, and gained two victories against the *Argives*. After this the *Athenians* entered into a strict league with the *Arcadians*, for they were now forced to temporize, and to take such opportunities as the times offered for maintaining themselves in any shew of power. *Timotheus* their last great

u XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vi. DIODOR. lib. xv. PLUT. in vit. Agesil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Timoth. JUSTIN.

commander gave, however, some degree of credit to their arms, by reducing *Torone* and *Potidea*, in *Macedonia*, under their obedience, and raising the siege of *Cyzicum*. The war still continuing between the *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Epaminondas* desiring to put an end to it at once, fought the famous battle at *Mantinea*, against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, *Achæans*, *Eleans* and *Athenians*; of the latter there were six thousand, who behaved very well in the left wing, where they were posted, but were at last put to flight by the *Thebans*; however, they rallied again, and remained in the field of battle till the engagement was over, wherein, indeed, the *Thebans* had the victory, but it cost them very dear; for they lost here *Epaminondas* their glorious general, who first inspired them with the thoughts of attaining the sovereignty of *Greece*, both by land and sea. Some stirs in *Arcadia* engaged the *Athenians* to send thither a great army, under the command of *Pammenes*, who performed what he was sent for, and returned home with honour. *Alexander*, prince or tyrant of *Phærea*, having undertaken an expedition against the *Cyclades*, met with some opposition therein from *Leosthenes* the *Athenian*, whereupon he attacked some gallies belonging to that state, and took them; upon which the *Athenians* being angry with *Leosthenes*'s bad success, condemned him, and sent *Chares* with a fleet into those parts, who was so far from repairing the disasters which had already fallen out, that by his ill management he greatly increased them, plundering the confederates of the *Athenians*, delaying any attempts upon the enemy, creating seditions where-ever he came, and seeming to have nothing else in view but to enrich himself [x].

*The first Macedonian war. Year after the Flood, 2639. Year before Christ, 360.*

We are now come to those times in which the *Athenians* came to contend with *Philip* of *Macedon*, unluckily for them, when all their great captains were exhausted, and when this prince appeared with a genius superior to all the politicians and chieftains of his time. The *Athenians* were very early apprehensive of his abilities, and therefore they espoused the cause of *Argius* his competitor, to whose assistance they sent *Mantias* at the head of three thousand men, with a great fleet. This *Mantias* put things into a good posture at his first arrival; for besides the *Macedonians* who adhered to *Argius*, the *Pæonians* and the *Thracians* were of his party. King *Philip* advanced, however, with an inferior army, as if he came to an assured victory, rather than to a doubtful engagement. First, he took off the *Pæonians* and *Thracians*, by giving them a prodigious sum of money, and as soon as they were retired, he fell upon *Argius* and *Mantias*, who still lay with their army at *Methone*, and thoroughly routed them. The *Macedonians* of *Argius*'s party he pursued, but suffered the *Athenians* to make an orderly retreat, which mightily affected the spirits of that people, and readily disposed them to an accommodation, wherein they chiefly sought to make themselves masters of *Amphipolis*, to which *Philip* quitted his claim, the situation of his affairs requiring it, and in consequence thereof a peace was concluded; however, he took it shortly afterwards, pulled down its walls, and expelled such of its citizens as had given him offence; the *Athenians* not being able to relieve it, on account of the many troublesome affairs in which they were now engaged, and of which we are next to give an account [y].

*The Social War. Year after the flood, 2643. Year before Christ, 356.*

The *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, growing weary of the *Athenian* yoke, resolved to throw it off, and set themselves free. The *Athenians* on the first notice thereof sent *Chares* with a land army to besiege *Chios*, while *Chabrias*, (who, as we observed before, *Diodorus* affirms to have been slain long before,) was to block up the place by sea. *Cornelius Nepos*, who expresly wrote the life of that general, says, that he was no more than a private man in this expedition, but that the soldiers and seamen, having a better opinion of his skill, than of their generals, in a manner forced him on the command, which respect of theirs proved his destruction; for endeavouring first to enter the haven, where he had broke in, nobody followed him, so that being encompassed by the enemy, his galley was sunk, out of which casting himself he might easily have escaped, as others did, but preferring a glorious death to a life without honour, he continued fighting till he was slain. If we may credit the author beforementioned, the *Athenians* doubting whether *Chares* with his fleet of sixty sail would be able to reduce the confederates again under their dominion, dispatched away sixty other ships, under the

[x] Xenoph. Hellen. lib vii. viii. Diodor. lib. xv. Plut. & Corn. Nep. ubi supra. Justin. lib. vi.
[y] Diodorus lib. xvi. Plut. Corn. Nep. Just. ubi supra.

com-

a command of *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*,, making them all equal in commission. In the mean time the confederates fitted out a fleet of a hundred gallies, and with it infested *Imbros* and *Lesbos*, taking all ships that fell into their hands, and raiseing contirbutions where-ever they landed their troops, so that by these methods they acquired mighty sums of money, wherewith they paid their armies and fleets; they afterwards besieged *Samos* both by land and sea. The *Athenian* generals, to constrain them to abandon this design, went and besieged *Byzantium*, which had the effect they proposed, for immediately the confederates raised the siege of *Samos*, and with their utmost force bore away for *Byzantium*. When they came before the port, they offered the *Athenians* battle; but a great storm arising, *Timotheus* and b *Iphicrates* thought it improper to fight, though *Chares* vehemently pressed it; and because he could not carry his point, he sent home to *Athens*, and accused his collegues, at which the people were so incensed, that they cashiered and fined them; *Timotheus* being unable to pay his mulct, did not return to his country, but retireing to *Chelos*, broke his heart. Such was the end of the great *Conon*'s son, a man no way inferior to his father, either in military skill, or in love to his country; the *Athenians*, when they heard of his demise, remitted the greatest part of his fine to his son, but they obliged him to pay a tenth of it, which they most unaccountably appropriated to the reparations of those walls which had been built by his grandfather. *Philip* of *Macedon* in the mean while took *Pidna*, which he afterwards deli- c vered up to the *Olynthians*, after which he besieged and took *Potidea*, which had so long been under the power of the *Athenians*, and which was of vast advantage to them in all their *Thracian* war. *Chares* the *Athenian* admiral having now no-body to check him, rashly engaged in an arduous affair, whereby he hoped greatly to serve his country. *Pharnabazus* having revolted from the king of *Persia*, a mighty army was sent against him by the king; *Chares*, hoping that the *Persian* would well repay the favour, joined him with his forces, and together they proved an over-match for the king's generals, whom they totally routed. The *Athenians*, as their custom was, struck with the first news of the victory, cried up *Chares* as one of the greatest patriots that could be; but afterwards, when the *Persian* king by his ambassadors d complained of the act, as contrary to the amity which subsisted between them, and when it was reported abroad that the *Persians* intended to lend the confederates a great fleet, the *Athenians* treated *Chares* as a traitor, and cried out vehemently against that action, which they had as vehemently commended, and in the first transports of fear, resolved to make a peace with the states which had revolted from them, almost upon their own terms; accordingly peace was concluded, tho' little to the honour of the *Athenians*, after the war had lasted four years [s].

Phocian *War*. *Year after the flood* 2644. *Year before Christ* 355.

The *Phocian* war broke out the same year, in which the *Athenians* made peace with the states which had revolted from them; this war concerned all *Greece*, and particularly the *Athenians*, and therefore, though they had nothing to do with the e beginning of it, yet it is requisite we should give an account thereof here. The *Phocians* had plowed some of the lands dedicated to the *Delphian Apollo*, for which they were fined by the *Amphictiones*, or states general of *Greece*, but instead of submitting to the judgment of that court, the *Phocians* at the motion of *Philomelus*, a bold and daring speaker, carried their insult on *Apollo* yet farther, and seized on the temple, and all its riches; this put all *Greece* into a flame, the *Locrians* and *Bœotians* made war on the *Phocians*, and to countenance their cause styled it *sacred*; the *Phocians* on the other hand pretended that they were far from being sacrilegious persons, for that they meddled not at all with the riches of the temple, but only resumed the honour of protecting it, which had belonged to their ancestors; but f knowing that an army could better support their pretensions than fine speeches, they applied themselves to the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, and prevailed on them to become their allies. The war lasted a long time, and with various success, sometimes the *Phocians*, and at other times the *Thebans* prevailing; however, it was conceived that the *Athenians* acted unworthily in sending such great supplies as they did to the *Phocian* commanders; at one time no less than five thousand foot, and three hundred horse, because it was certain that the chief reason which induced them thereto, was the high pay given to their troops; and as the money expended on this occasion, was raised either by the coinage or sale of the dedicated things in the

[s] Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nep. Just. ubi supra.

temple

temple of *Delphos*, it was considered as a sacrilege to receive any part of this theft, a especially for defending the robbers. But, indeed, the *Athenians* were much degenerated in their manners, of which their inclinations to these sort of proceedings may pass for a manifest proof; for though it is certainly beneath a wise and free people, to run, as the *Athenians* had formerly done, into gross and cruel superstitions, yet it has been in all times accounted a certain sign of corruption and degeneracy, when people lose all sense of religion, and openly affront those powers they pretend to worship. It is true, the *Athenians* pretended to colour the assistance afforded by them to the *Phocians*, by pretending they were their old allies, and that they endeavoured to raise up their power, to ballance that of the king of *Macedon*; but even at this distance of time we may conclude, that these were merely pretences, since it is certain, that when *Iphicrates* intercepted some statues b of gold and ivory, sent by *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, they sent him orders to sell them publicly, notwithstanding they were dedicated to the *Olympian Jupiter*, and to the *Delphian Apollo*. But it must be owned, that not *Athens* only, but all *Greece*, was at this time governed by money; the *Persian* king, who had always made use of gold to preserve himself from the unwelcome visits of the *Greeks*, and to purchase their assistance, when he found it necessary, employed it now more than ever, and laid out greater sums in *Greece* than any of his predecessors, because bribery, like other vices, rises higher by degrees; and when men have been accustomed to take money, they require larger wages than those which contented them c at first. *Philip* of *Macedon* having found a way to render the gold mines in *Thrace* infinitely more beneficial to him than they had been to the *Athenians*, openly practised the same art, maintaining pensioners in all the states of *Greece*, and in *Athens* among the rest. The *Phocian* chiefs had nothing else to support their cause but money, and that they parted with it very freely, we may guess from what *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* tells us; that in a few years they squandered ten thousand talents, which falls little short of two millions of our money. The orators, or as the *Athenians* stiled them, the *Demagogues*, that is, such as led the people by their speeches, were most of them retained by some or other of these parties. *Demosthenes* himself, who was, by far, the most worthy of that number, was not unimpeached of d accepting *Persian* gold. He became about this time eminent, and therefore, according to our custom of giving the characters of *Athenian* statesmen, it is necessary that we should here draw his, since he was the *Pericles* of his time, and in right of his eloquence held a kind of dominion over his fellow-citizens. He was the son of an eminent *Athenian*, who had raised a great fortune from the manufacture of sword blades, but was far from being a blacksmith, as *Juvenal* would have us believe. *Demosthenes* himself seemed least of all designed by nature for an orator; his person was far from being handsome, his tongue was too large, his voice weak and broken, and his gesture very uncouth. His father dying when he was young, and his own constitution being weak, his mother indulged him, to the prejudice e of his education, and his guardians taking advantage of his tender years, imposed on him, to the prejudice of his fortune; these unforeseen accidents led him to commence orator, for being engaged by that time he was seventeen years old in several law suits, he pleaded his own cause, which no law forbid, and having from thence attained an ability of speaking, he attempted, when of a proper age, to harangue the people, in which he succeded so ill, that it had like to have discouraged him from speaking more; but his passion for becoming an orator, enabled him to get the better of nature, and the people; to render his tongue flexible, he accustomed himself to speak with stones in his mouth; to raise his voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the sea shoar; to repress a habit he had f got of shrugging his shoulders, he hung a sword drawn in his chamber, at such a height, that when he practised his orations, it pricked his shoulders whenever he pulled them up: long practice supplied him with all things, and knowing he had nothing to trust to but his merit, he by study and patience acquired a manly solid eloquence, not only superior to that of his co-temporaries, but also excelling all that went before, and all who have come after him, which his orations, yet in our hands, demonstrate beyond a question. He declared himself, in loud terms, against the prevailing follies of his countrymen, he reproached them with their fickleness, faithlessness, and want of true regard for the public interest. He exclaimed against their vanity, in attributing to themselves the merit of their ancestors,

a ancestors, and fancying that the reputation of the ancient *Athenians* would support the vices of their posterity. He expatiated on the necessity of pursuing the old method of making war, by maintaining an army of free citizens, not of mercenaries, and taking care of their naval affairs; he advised them to be kind to their allies, and ready on all occasions to assist them, whereby they might keep war at a distance, enure their subjects to martial toils, and revive the glory of the *Athenian* name. He exhorted them to live always upon good terms with the *Persian*, because it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will, to think of conquering them; but on the contrary, it was his interest to preserve them from being conquered, as it was theirs to preserve the independency of all the states of *Greece*. Above all, he cautioned b them against the growing power of the *Macedonian*, he observed that the dominion of republics seldom lasted long, whereas monarchies lasted the longer for being powerful; whence he inferred, that they ought to fear *Philip* more than the *Thebans*, and not suffer themselves to be amused either by his specious pretences of loving peace, or of his affection to the *Athenian* state; but in these discourses, as he shewed himself a true patriot, so there wanted not many pretended ones, who strenuously pleaded the cause of *Philip*. But the *Macedonian* in the mean time did not altogether depend either on his money, or the friends purchased by his money, but endeavoured by force to establish himself in that absolute power of *Greece*, which he affected. He made use of the war then raging between the *Phocians* and *Bœotians* to march c into *Greece*, and though he had ill success in two engagements, yet he overcame at last, and partly by force, partly by fraud, gained possession of the streights of *Thermopylæ*; then it was that *Demosthenes* endeavoured to rouse the *Athenians* to a proper sense of their danger, and to that end composed the first of those orations which bear the title of *Philippic*, and which to this day are held inimitable in their kind; he shewed the *Athenians* with great perspicuity and candour, that it was to no purpose to make use of palliations in their dangerous condition, or to fancy that to apply a remedy to this evil, and that would preserve them from ruin. He proved to them, that *Philip*'s plain and settled design was to advance himself to the sovereignty of *Greece*, in consequence of which they must become his subjects, tho' he might per- d haps call them his allies. He therefore advised them to think of forming a plaster as broad as the sore, and instead of opposing *Philip* here and there, in sending succours as they had two or three times already done to places before they could arrive, to begin a war in earnest, to excite all their confederates to rise in arms, and concur with them in destroying the power of an ambitious prince, who would neither be contented with his own, nor suffer other people to enjoy their possessions in quiet. He concluded with assuring them, if they trusted any longer to expedients they would be ruined, because *Philip* would every day grow stronger, and they weaker; whereas by following vigorous and uniform counsels, they might possibly retrieve all things, and reduce *Philip* and his *Macedonians* to their primitive obscurity. The *Athenians* listened, e as they were wont to do, attentively to his discourse, and came to some resolutions which were suitable thereto; but contented themselves with this, and took no care to put their votes in execution. To say the truth, they were at this time very unfit for great undertakings; the general they chiefly relied on was *Chares*, a man of great vices, and small abilities; it is true, *Phocion* was then in their service, but they employed him in a trifling war in *Cyprus*, where it was not in his power to do them much good; besides he was so modest, that he never sought command, nor instigated wars, that he might raise his authority by them, though, taken as a soldier, and an orator, as a statesman and a general, he was by far the greatest *Athenian* of his time. As he was a most disinterested patriot, he could have no great affection for f *Philip*, but as he perfectly well knew the disposition of his countrymen, and how unlikely they were to support long such measures as were necessary to pull down the *Macedonian* power, he did not express himself vehemently, but chose rather to cultivate the esteem which on all occasions *Philip* shewed for the state of *Athens*, as a means of preserving her, when things should be in that state which he conceived they wanted virtue to prevent. From this character the reader will easily discern that *Demosthenes* and he could not well agree, the former was always warm, his language copious, and his designs vast and surprizing; *Phocion* on the other hand was of a mild temper, delivered himself in very few words, and proposed things at once fit and easy to be done; yet he seldom or never concurred with the people, but spoke as poignantly against their vices as *Demosthenes* himself; insomuch that this

orator once told him, *The* Athenians, Phocion, *in some of their mad fits will* a *murder thee. The same*, answered he, *may fall to thee*, Demosthenes, *if ever they come to be sober*. At this season, such of the *Athenians* as had a competent share of eloquence and knowledge in state affairs, applied themselves to the management of the assemblies, to the practice of pleading, and other civil matters; such again as had spent their time in the army, addicted themselves wholly to military employments, endeavoured to obtain such commands as were at once honourable and lucrative, and meddled little with the civil polity, seldom aspiring to the supreme magistracy, but confining themselves wholly to what they conceived their sphere. *Phocion* was too wise not to discern how dangerous such a conduct must in the end prove to the state; he saw that their speakers would dwindle into declaimers, and their officers become b soldiers of fortune, valuing nothing but their rank, and their pay. He applied himself therefore alike to both, he spoke frequently in the assemblies, but in few, plain, and significant words; he refused no commands that were assigned him, never canvassed for any, and lived and died poor. The *Chalcidian* cities fell most of them into the hands of *Philip*, in the last year of the hundred and seventh olympiad, and the year following he made war on the *Olynthians*, a people who had hitherto been a match for him, and had frequently been an over-match for his predecessors. When the news of this expedition was spread through *Greece*, *Demosthenes* exerted his utmost eloquence to engage the *Athenians* to aid the people of *Olynthus* to the utmost of their power, and there are still remaining three excellent orations on this subject. The c reasons offered by him appeared so clear, and the necessity of sending succours to *Olynthus*, was made so evident, that relief was decreed. The supplies sent were small, but they came so opportunely, that the *Olynthians* received great advantages from them, which being reported at *Athens*, the people became insolent with their good fortune, and affected to give out, that the *Athenians* had nothing more to do than to appear in a war, in order to carry victory to the side they favoured; but *Demosthenes* shewed them the vanity of these light conceits in his third oration on the *Olynthian* war, wherein he told them that there was indeed some merit in beginning well, but that they were in danger of losing even this, if they did not proceed with the same spirit, and enable their confederates not only to repulse the invasion of *Philip*, but d also to invade him in their turns, and to carry that terror into *Macedon*, which of late years *Philip* had struck through all his neighbours. But the *Athenians* were not able to relish such high-seasoned discourses, they were content to send a squadron now and then to the coasts of *Thrace*, with a small body of land troops on board; but to think seriously of a war like that which their fore-fathers had sustained against the *Peloponnesians*, and for it to forego all their public diversions, and relinquish all the donatives which they at present received from the revenue of the state, was what the *Athenians* of those times could not be brought to endure; what therefore *Demosthenes* had predicted, came exactly to pass, *Olynthus* could not long resist the power of *Philip*'s armies, and his bribes; on the contrary two of its citizens betrayed the place e into his hands, where having exercised all that his cruelty and his avarice could dictate, he marched away big with new projects for aggrandizing his own empire, and ruining his neighbours [a].

The *Phocian*, or, as the friends of *Philip* affected to call it, the sacred war, was open yet, and the *Bœotians* and their allies, who were unable to carry it on with their proper forces, intreated the king of *Macedon*, to come down into the heart of *Greece*, and put an end thereto. But *Philip* being at that time intent on his conquests in *Thrace*, did not listen so readily to this proposal as was expected; the true reason was that he grew apprehensive of the *Athenians*, and was in some doubt, whether, considering their great interest in *Thrace*, they might not be able to stir up much f mischief in his absence. He therefore proposed to make peace with them, and his party in *Athens* having drawn over many to an opinion that this would be a mighty advantage to their republic, *Æschines* with some other deputies were sent to treat with him. He made these ambassadors wait his leisure untill he had finished his affairs in *Thrace*; then he came suddenly down into *Thessaly*, proposing to pass immediately into *Phocis*, which grievously alarmed the *Athenians*, notwithstanding their ministers had concluded a peace for seven years. *Demosthenes* advised them to send and demand a ratification of the treaty before he passed the *Pylæ*, as also to

[a] Diodor. l. xvi. Plut. in vit. Demost. & Phocion. Justin. lib. ix. Demost. Olynth. & Philip.

persuade

a persuade him not to undertake a war against the *Phocians*. On the other hand the *Bœotians* sent to intreat him to continue his march, and come speedily to their assistance. *Philip* heard all the embassadors, and though their demands were diametrically opposite, he promised them all to do as they desired, and thereby kept them in a state of dependence, till he seized the post of *Thermopylæ*; then coming down with a mighty army into *Locris* in the third year of the hundred and eighth olympiad, he put an end to the sacred war by his presence only, for the *Phocians* finding themselves too weak to give him battle, made a treaty, whereby their general obtained leave to march away with such as would follow him; the rest were left to the mercy of *Philip*, who referred them to the *Amphyctions*, which great council, in return for b this eminent service, took from the *Phocians* their double voice, and gave it to *Philip* and his subjects, who till then had no voice at all. Returning crowned with glory into his own country, he bent his arms first against the *Illyrians*, and soon after, when he conceived the *Athenians* unable to help them, he attempted to bring the *Perynthyans* under his dominion. *Perynthus* was seated on the shore of *Propontis*, and as it always favoured the *Athenians*, had incurred the *Macedonian*'s high displeasure. The inhabitants however were not easily subdued, they had learned from the *Athenians* to set a high value on their liberty, and prepared to defend themselves valiantly, when they heard that *Philip* was marching against them. The *Persian* king beginning to doubt the designs of the *Macedonian*, whose ancestors had been his tributaries, gave c instructions to his lieutenants, who were nearest *Perynthus*, to favour the inhabitants as much as possible; the *Byzantians* also doubting much the intentions of *Philip*, sent *Perynthus* a very great supply, insomuch that they not a little weakened their own forces, of which *Philip* having intelligence, he left part of his army to block up *Perynthus*, and marched at the head of the rest to surprize or besiege *Byzantium*; at the news of this the *Athenians* were indeed affrighted; they therefore decreed that succours should be immediately sent, and with more than ordinary care put it in the power of *Chares*, who was elected general, to sail with a good fleet, and a numerous army, to the assistance of the *Byzantines*; yet this effected nothing, for when the fleet appeared off of *Byzantium*, the inhabitants of that city refused to let it enter d their port, having before experienced the worth of the *Athenian* admiral, and knowing him to be no better than a pyrate with a commission. *Chares* having dressed this refusal in the worst colours possible, dispatched advice of it at home, where it put the *Athenians* into a mighty chafe, and caused many of them to say in the assembly, that it was a pity they had assisted the *Byzantines* at all; upon which *Phocion* rising up, addressed them in the following concise terms: *My masters, you ought not so much to blame the jealousy of your allies, as the base behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you suspected even to those who are unable to support themselves without your assistance.* Upon this the people with their usual inconstancy dropped their former opinion, and unanimously chose *Phocion* general, who immediately sailing to the *Hellespont*, received e the command of the fleet from *Chares*, and again appeared before *Byzantium*, landed his forces, and would have encamped without the city; but the *Byzantines* would by no means permit it, setting open their gates, and joyfully receiving the *Athenians*, when they had *Phocion* for their general, who quickly obliged *Philip* to return to his own dominions, took many of his ships, recovered several places into which he had put garrisons, and exceedingly harassed the frontiers of his kingdom, so that it appeared that the *Macedonian* was not invincible when opposed by a man of probity as well as of abilities[a].

Some time after this the *Megareans* privately sought the friendship of the *Athenians*. *Phocion* being apprehensive that the *Bœotians* would exert themselves to prevent f this union, caused an assembly to be called very early in the morning; where having presented the petition from *Megera*, and backed it with great warmth, the *Athenians* came into it very readily; whereupon he made proclamation, that all such as would go on this expedition should immediately assemble in arms, and a great number presenting themselves very readily, he without more ado put himself at their head, and marched directly away to *Megara*, where he was very joyfully received. He re-edified the long walls, joining that city to its port *Nicæa*, and thereby effectually secured it to the *Athenians*; after this he was sent again among the islands to regulate all things for the interest of his country. *Philip* in the mean time neglected nothing

[a] Diodor. Plut. Just. ubi supra.

which

which might either tend to the raising of his own power, or depressing that of the a
*Greek* states; but above all, desiring to humble the *Athenians*, he came suddenly down to *Phocis*, and having seized *Elatæa*, he there assembled a mighty army with a resolution to invade *Attica*, for which purpose there was an absolute necessity of passing through *Bœotia*; the *Athenians* upon this were in the utmost confusion, so that *Demosthenes* had need of all his eloquence to keep up their spirits; at last however he prevailed upon them to declare war against *Philip*, and to send to the *Bœotians* to intreat them to stand fast for the liberty of *Greece*; he also engaged them to raise a very considerable army in an instant, and to chuse *Chares* and *Lysicles* generals, who without more ado marched into *Bœotia*, where they were kindly received, and promised all things. *Philip* however resolving to have as few enemies as he could to deal with, b
sent *Python* into *Bœotia* to persuade the people of that country to be quiet; to him the *Athenians* opposed *Demosthenes*, whose eloquence prevailing, the *Bœotians* joined their utmost force with the *Athenians*, and resolved to hazard all in a general engagement. *Demosthenes* magnified this at *Athens* as a mighty stroke of policy, because he put the war at a distance from *Attica*, to which *Phocion* shrewdly replied; *Let us not be so careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a distance; whereas, if we are overcome, the very worst of calamities will soon be at our doors.* *Phocion* had the resolution also to express at the same time a dislike of the war, and a doubtfulness of its event, nay even to propose an accommodation, and the renewing the peace with *Philip*, when an *Athenian* of c
very bad character cried out, *Dareſt thou*, Phocion, *think of dissuading the* Athenians *from the war, now the sword is drawn? Yes, I dare*, returned he, *though I know that in time of war I shall always be thy master, whereas in peace thou perhaps may be mine.* The event shewed how just a notion *Phocion* had of things, for *Philip* coming down at last with an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* met him at *Cheronæa*. In this battle, which began at the rising of the sun, *Alexander* commanded one wing, and his father the other; the confederate army was divided according to the nation of which it consisted, the *Athenians* having the right, and the *Bœotians* the left; at the beginning the confederates had the better, whereupon *Stratocles* an *Athenian* commander cried out, *Come on, brother soldiers, let us drive them back to* Macedon; which king *Philip* hearing, said d
very coolly to one of his officers, *These* Athenians *do not know how to conquer.* Whereupon he directed the files of his phalanx to be streightened, and drawing his men up very close, retired to an eminence hard by, from whence, when the *Athenians* were eager in their pursuit, he came down like thunder, broke and routed them with prodigious slaughter. *Demosthenes* acted very unbecomingly in this engagement, for he deserted his post, and was one of the first that fled. *Philip* did not preserve that wisdom after his victory which he had shewn in the fight; for he danced about like one distracted with joy, and coming up to the band of *Athenian* prisoners, treated them with scoffs, and ill language; upon which *Demades*, who was one of them, e
could not help reproving him: *Since fortune*, O Philip, said he, *seems to have assigned thee the part of* Agamemnon, *why wilt thou play* Thersites? At which *Philip* blushing, ordered him to be immediately released, and discharged likewise the rest of the *Athenian* captives, who sending afterwards to demand their baggage, *Philip* said laughing, *I believe these people don't think we beat them in earnest.* He ordered them however to be given them; he likewise sent embassadors to *Athens* to renew the peace, which was done. After this *Philip* convoked a general assembly of the *Greeks*, into which *Demades* persuaded the *Athenians* to insist on being received. *Phocion* opposed it, alluding that they ought first to be informed what *Philip* would demand in that assembly; however it was carried against him; but when it afterwards appeared that f
the *Athenians* were by this rash step obliged to furnish the king with a body of horse, and a squadron of ships, they repented their meddling at all, and reproached in the assembly *Demades* and the other orators, who were so forward in the business, expressing at the same time a doubt whether they ought to comply with articles so unworthy of the *Athenian* state. *Phocion* upon this stood up again, *I foresaw, gentlemen*, said he, *what would happen, and therefore I was against this step, when it was first proposed; but since it is once taken, I am for it, and advise you to bear it as well as you can, always remembering the conduct of your ancestors, who suited their behaviour to their fortune; sometimes giving laws, sometimes receiving them, but doing both with a good grace, whereby they not only preserved their own city, but also all* Greece. The kindness expressed

a expressed by the king towards the *Athenians*, was not over sincere, since he doubted so far of them, as to enquire on the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra*, that a deputy should be sent from them with a gold crown, as from the rest of the cities, which was accordingly done, and presented to him in the midst of the marriage solemnities, with this remarkable compliment; that if any conspirator against *Philip* fled to *Athens*, he should be delivered up. At this marriage, however, *Philip* was murdered, which gave a new turn to affairs at *Athens*; *Demosthenes* and his party making great rejoicings, wearing chaplets of flowers, and behaving as if they had gained a great victory, which *Phocion* reprehended, bidding them remember *that the army which had beat them at* Cheronæa, *was lessened but by one.* This b reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; the very people who put *Lisicles* their general to death, merely because he was so unlucky as to command them in that battle, who directed *Demosthenes* to exalt the memory of those who fell therein, in a funeral oration, who in contradiction to these measures had just now flattered the king, by sending him a crown of gold, ran again into the same extravagancies, and heard with pleasure all the harsh things the orators could say of the young *Alexander*, whom they represented as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to grasp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing; but he soon gave them occasion to understand that they were mightily mistaken by his quick dissolution of that confederacy, which they formed not only for depriving him of c the command of *Greece*, but even of his hereditary dominions; for *Demosthenes* taking pains to inspire all the states with high notions of liberty, the *Etolians* first of all made a decree to recal the exiles whom *Philip* had driven out of their country. The *Ambraciots* drove out the *Macedonian* garison, the *Thebans* cast out that which had been established in the citidel, the *Arcadians*, as they had refused to give their votes for *Philip*'s becoming general of *Greece*, so they now rejected *Alexander*; the *Argives*, *Elians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and others in *Peloponnesus*, all spoke the same language, and all determined to throw off that yoke, which the *Macedonians* had imposed; they likewise treated with *Attalus*, *Alexander*'s uncle, who aspired to the kingdom, to favour his pretensions; so that if the son of *Philip* had really been as d weak as the *Athenian* orators would have represented him, he must have been crushed by such a load of opposition; but he, far from being dismayed, came first into the council of the *Amphictions*, where he procured himself to be recognized general of *Greece*. He then marched immediately towards *Thebes*, with a numerous army, sacked and plundered it, and thereby struck such a terror into the rest of the confederates, that no-body durst oppose him. As to the *Athenians*, he refused to admit them into his favour, unless they delivered up to him *Demosthenes*, and as some say, nine more of their orators; other historians say, but seven. This struck the Assembly with the utmost terror, none knowing what to say, or what to propose; at last they called upon *Phocion*, and desired his opinion, upon e which, arising up and pointing to his friend *Nicocles*, *These persons*, said he, *whom* Alexander *demands of you, are they who have brought you into these miserable circumstances; circumstances so miserable, that if he demanded that friend of mine, I should advise you to deliver him innocent as he is. As for my own life, if that would purchase you safety, I would resign it chearfully; but truly it pierces my heart, that those who have fled for succour from the desolation of* Thebes, *should have so little hopes of safety here; surely it would be more for our interest to pacify the conqueror in time, and to intercede for both cities, than to hazard another battle:* Demosthenes contented himself with saying, *that once on a time, the wolves offered to make peace with the sheep; but first, said he, they would have them give up their dogs.* The stream, however, f was too strong, and therefore he and his party were forced to give way; the first decree which the *Athenians* passed for making peace, and which they sent to *Alexander*, he would not deign to take notice of, but turned his back upon the embassadors, as if they had not been worthy of his notice; but when *Phocion* presented the second decree, he received him very graciously, and not only granted him his requests, but listned to his advice, nay he had the complaisance to tell him at parting; *Your* Athenians *ought to have their eyes about them, for if I should miscarry, they only are worthy to command.* The friendship which *Alexander* contracted with this general, was not broke off, or interrupted by his expedition into *Asia*; on the contrary, he wrote to him frequently, offered him mighty presents, and even his choice of four cities; nay, what was still a greater mark of his regard,

when he no longer used in his letters the phrase of, *Alexander wishes health*, he preferred a
it to him and *Antipater*, as if they had been his equals. When that conqueror had occasion for gallies to complete his fleet, he sent to demand those which had been promised him by the *Athenians*; the orators, as they were wont, opposed this as derogatory to their freedom; at last, *Phocian* being required to speak, delivered his sentiments freely, which were, that the gallies should be immediately sent; *For*, said he, *till you can put yourselves at the head of* Greece, *I would have you the friends of those who are at the head of it.* *Harpalus*, one of *Alexander*'s commanders, having in several respects failed of his duty, and dreading the resentment of his prince, fled with an immense quantity of treasure, which he had amassed together out of the spoils of *Asia*. *Athens* was the city of *Greece*, he thought the most b
proper place for his retreat, and therefore thither he came, and brought his plunder along with him, not doubting, that since he came laden with wealth, he should meet with friends enough to be purchased. Accordingly, most of the orators came flocking about him, to know how they might be serviceable, and upon what terms; as for *Demosthenes*, his good sense engaged him to make a warm oration against receiving a person who was little better than a thief, and thereby involving the common-wealth in a war at once dangerous and unjust; but a few days after, when the treasure was publickly brought on shore, and laid up, *Demosthenes* being present, took notice of the king's golden cup, whereupon *Harpalus* desired him to poize it in his hand, and consider its weight; which he c
did, and then asked the price of it, *To you, Sir*, (said *Harpalus*) *it shall come with twenty talents*; at night accordingly it was sent, and *Demosthenes*, when he was called upon the next day in the assembly, to deliver his opinion, shewed his neck, which was swathed round with several rollers, and made signs, that he was unable to speak, upon which some of the wits said, *The orator had got a silver quinsey.* As for *Phocion*, *Harpalus* knew well that he was of another disposition, and therefore he sent him no less than seven-hundred talents, and offered to commit himself and all his affairs to his disposal; but *Phocian*, treated those who came to him very roughly, and threatned not to be content with words, if he went on thus to corrupt the people; when the matter came to be debated the last time in the assembly, d
those who had received his money, railed most at *Harpales*, to conceal their own guilt, whereas *Phocian* expressed a great regard for his misfortune, and treated him in such gentle terms, that *Harpalus* again offered him money; but he was impregnable, and in the end the *Athenians* expelled the *Macedonian* the city, and ordered the court of *Areopagus* to take cognizance of such as were impeached of bribery; which court dealt very severely with them, and particularly fined *Demosthenes* fifty talents, and ordered him to be imprisoned, till it was paid, but he shortly after made his escape from thence, and fled to *Ægina*, where he remained till after the death of *Alexander*, which was no very long time [a].

This great event altered all the affairs of *Greece*; the *Athenians* had been much e
dissatisfied with him, for designing to take from them *Samos*, in order to restore it to its ancient inhabitants; and therefore, when *Asclepiades*, the son of *Hipparchus*, brought the first news of it to *Athens*, the people ran immediately into the market-place, where many contradicted it, but the majority cried out, that what *Asclepiades* had related was true. *Phocion* fearing they would do some mad action or other, cryed out; *Well, suppose it is, if it be true to day, it will be true to-morrow, ay, and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate coolly.* The orators unanimously concurring in prompting the people to make war, and indeed all *Greece* was in commotion, so that, at length, it was carried by a great majority, that the *Athenians* should take upon them the defence of the common liberty, should free all the f
citizens from their garisons, should fit out a fleet of two-hundred and forty sail, and that all men under forty years old, should take up arms. *Leosthenes* was the commander, who drew together a very fine army, with which he marched against the *Macedonians*. *Antipater*, as soon as he had intelligence of this, sent to *Craterus* in *Cilicia*, to come to his assistance, but in the interim he marched into *Thessaly* himself with 13000 foot, and 600 horse. The *Thessalians* joined him with a great body of cavalry; but when *Leosthenes* approached, and it appeared that the *Athenians* and their confederates were by far more numerous, the *Thessalians* deserted

[a] Diodor. lib. xvii. Plut. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. Justin. lib. xi. & xii.

to

a to them; yet *Antipater* had the courage to venture a battle, in which his troops were thoroughly beaten, and himself constrained to fly; but he shewed himself a great general in his flight; for arriving with some foot at *Lamia*, a city in *Thessaly*, he caused the place to be fortified, and received into it all his troops, as fast as they came up, so that he drew together again 8 or 9000 men, and prepared to make an obstinate resistance. *Leosthenes* coming up with the confederate army, invested and attacked this city, but finding that it could not be taken by storm, he was constrained to make a regular siege: *Antipater* watching his opportunity, though he was every day attacked by fresh troops, made a sally upon the workmen, and put them in great disorder. *Leosthenes* coming to encourage them, was b unfortunately killed with a stone, which greatly dispirited the *Greeks*; however, they chose *Antiphalus* their general, and continued the war, notwithstanding *Antipater* had escaped out of *Lamia*; not long after they routed the *Macedonians*, under the command of *Leonatus*, which victory was their ruin; for slighting the *Macedonians*, many returned home to their respective cities. *Antipater* having joined the remains of *Leonatus*'s army, and being joined afterwards by *Craterus*, who yielded to him the command, he soon after fought and routed the *Greeks*, under the command of *Antiphalus* and *Memnon*; though there were but five-hundred men slain in this battle, yet the confederates were so dispirited, that they sent to *Antipater* to treat of peace; but *Antipater* refused to treat at all of a general peace, professing at the c same time, that he was willing to hear and receive embassadors from each of the cities, and to consider their respective demands. At first the *Grecians* rejected this with scorn, but when several of the *Thessalonian* cities were taken by storm, they were glad to treat upon the terms prescribed, upon which *Antipater* received the embassadors very kindly, and granted almost every thing they desired; thus the *Athenians* were deprived of all their confederates, and in a short time reduced to the utmost extremity. In this distress, *Phocion*, with some of the orators, were deputed to go to *Cadmæa*, where *Antipater* was encamped, to procure from him, if possible, an honourable peace; when they came thither, *Phocion* intreated, that the terms might be adjusted there, whereas *Craterus* was for marching into *Attica*, and treating with d the *Athenians*, as it were, at their own doors; saying, it was unreasonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with enemies. *Antipater* replied, that what he said was just; but yet, continued he, let us grant this favour to *Phocion*. In fine, a treaty was concluded, or rather *Antipater* imposed upon the *Athenians* these conditions; that *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* should be delivered up, that the ancient way of raising taxes in the city should be restored, that they should receive a garison into *Munichia*, defray the charges of the war, and submit to some other taxes. *Phocion* was very desirous that they might be spared the garison; but *Antipater* answered, *I will deny thee*, Phocion, *nothing but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin, and my own*. In consequence of this treaty, *Menyllus*, a man of great sweetness e of temper, and one of *Phocion*'s friends, was sent to command the garison, which entered *Munichia*; *Demosthenes* in the mean time fled, fearing to be delivered up to *Antipater*; and being pursued by some persons in that nobleman's service, poisoned himself (P). The *Macedonian* garrison being settled in *Athens*, a great number of the lower citizens were disfranchised, and sent into *Thrace*, where *Antipater* assigned them

(P) As to the character and eloquence of *Demosthenes*, we have spoken at large in the text; as to his works, the greatest part of which have escaped the injuries of time, the reader is to expect an account of them elsewhere; in this note we have nothing in view, but his misfortunes and death, which to have related at length, would have broke in on the thread of our history, and to have passed over in few words, must have offended the peruser. When he was banished, that is voluntarily, by flying from prison, some of his enemies followed him out of town; from these he endeavoured to hide himself, but they having him in view, kept close to him, and at last coming near, called him by his name; and when he came out, exhorted him to bear his misfortunes patiently, and presented him with a sum of money for his support; whereupon *Demosthenes* broke out into a louder lamentation than ever, crying out, Alas, how shall I support my self under so heavy an affliction, since I am forced to leave a city, where one's very enemies are more kind and generous than any friends I can hope to find elsewhere? To say the truth, his love for his country made him bear his exile but very indifferently, the greatest part of which he spent either in *Ægina* or *Trœzene*, from whence he could see the coast of *Attica*, towards which he would frequently look with tears in his eyes; he had a just sense, however, of the danger to which wise men are exposed in democratic governments; for looking once at the citadel, he could not help breaking out into this exclamation; *O goddess*, Minerva, *whence comes it, that thou delightest in three such fierce and untractable creatures, the owl, the dragon, and the people.* When *Leosthenes* led the *Greeks* against *Antipater*, and endeavoured to prevent slavery from being introduced

them a place to build a city, and lands to cultivate. In the mean time political affairs were managed by men of the better sort, and especially by *Phocion*, who was in very high credit with *Antipater*, and the *Macedonians*. He was for proceeding still on his old maxim of complying with the times, and making no attempts beyond the reach of their power. Happy had it been for the *Athenians*, if they had gone into this way of thinking; but they were continually rejoicing at the loss of that power, which they knew not how to manage, abhorred the sight of the *Macedonian* garison, which they knew not how to remove, and earnestly longed for an alteration of circumstances, though there was no reason to hope that such an alteration would be for their benefit. They were continually pressing *Phocion* to apply to *Antipater* for removing the garison, and at last finding all their sollicitations in vain, they turned their eyes on *Demades*, the orator who was also in the *Macedonian* interest, and had been greatly favoured by *Antipater*. This man, willing to do the people a pleasure, and at the same time to make a display of his interest, readily undertook the proposed embassy. This *Athenian* was a man of parts and eloquence, but probity and disinterestedness were not among the number of his good qualities, as we may guess from this saying of *Antipater's*, *That he had two friends at* Athens, Phocion *and* Demades, *the former a man who would receive no satisfaction for the services he did him, and the latter who would never be satisfied, how much soever he received.* Whether *Antipater* had lately left off his liberality towards this orator, or whether *Demades* had reason to hope greater appointments from *Perdiccas*, who was *Antipater's* mortal enemy, is a point we cannot determine; but so it was, that *Demades* had entered into a correspondence with *Perdiccas*, and had put him upon invading *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and assumeing the government of them himself, making use in one of his letters of this expression, *That at present they leaned on an old rotten staff*, meaning *Antipater*. It so fell out that all these transactions, and particularly this very letter, were found out, while *Demades* and his son *Demias* were solliciting the recal of the garison; upon which *Antipater* ordered the son to be put to death, not only in the presence of the father, but in such a manner, that his blood flew all over him. After this *Demades*

introduced by all the commanders of *Alexander* the great, *Demosthenes* exerted his eloquence again, and was indefatigable in stirring up all the little states to remain firm in their confederacy for supporting the *Grecian* liberty. Amongst the rest, he travelled to the *Arcadians*, among whom one *Pytheas* an agent of the *Macedonians* was very busy; this man seeing the *Athenian* embassadors, and *Demosthenes* with them at a public assembly, could not help crying out, That as it is a certain sign there is some disease in the family, where asses milk is brought, so the coming of an *Athenian* embassy was a never-failing indication, that the city to which they came was indisposed. *Demosthenes* immediately retorted this comparison. As asses milk, said he, is never carried into a house, but with intent to restore the health of those who dwell therein; so the *Athenians* never send their embassadors to any city, but with a view to cure it of those distempers, with which it is afflicted. On the report of this, the *Athenians* instantly recalled him, found a means to satisfy his fine, and paid him the highest honours they could invent, but his prosperity was of a very short continuance; for in *September* the *Greeks* lost the battle of *Cranon*, in *October* the *Macedonian* garison entered *Athens*, in *November Demosthenes* fled to avoid death, which followed and overtook him the same month; for one *Archias* a player having undertaken to *Antipater* to find him out, receiving intelligence, that he had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Neptune* in the little island of *Calauria*, he passed over thither with a small detachment of *Thracian* guards. When he found *Demosthenes*, he would fain have persuaded him to go with him to *Antipater*, assuring him that he would receive no harsh treatment, which was very improbable, because most of his friends were already murdered. To these fine speeches therefore the orator answered, O Archias, *I was never much pleased with you as a player, and now I am as little moved with you as a negotiator. Archias* beginning at this to grow angry, and to threaten him; *Now*, said Demosthenes, *thou speakest like the oracle of* Macedon; *before thou dist but act a part. Therefore forbear only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family.* Having thus spoken, he withdrew himself farther into the temple, and taking some paper, as if he meant to write, he put the quill into his mouth, and biting it, as he was wont to do, when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for some time. Then he bowed down his head, and covered it. The soldiers who stood at the door, supposing all this to proceed from pusillanimity, in derision, called him effeminate faint-hearted coward. And *Archias* drawing near, desired him to rise up, and repeating the same kind things he had said before, he, once more promised to make his peace with *Antipater*. But *Demosthenes* perceiving, that now the poison had pierced and seized his vitals, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon *Archias*, *Now*, said he, *as soon as you please, you may act the part of* Creon *in the tragedy, and cast out this body of mine unburied: but*, continued he, turning towards the altar, *O gracious* Neptune, *I, for my own part, while I am yet alive, arise and depart out of this sacred place, without profaning it; but* Antipater *and the* Macedonians *have not left so much as thy temple unpolluted, but have defiled it by my death.* After he had thus spoken, he desired to be held up, because already he began to tremble and stagger, as he was going forward, and passing by the altar, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghost (3).

(3) *Plutarch. in vit. Demosthen. prope fin.*

himself

a himself was put to death, and the *Athenians* left without hopes of ever seeing this bit taken out of their mouths [b].

On the death of *Antipater*, two factions sprung up in *Macedonia*, the one headed by *Polyperchon*, who had the custody of the persons of the kings, and the other by *Cassander*, the son of *Antipater*, the latter sent *Nicanor* to command the garison in *Athens*, a man of great art, and a good soldier; with him *Phocion* often conversed, labouring all he could, to persuade him to use the citizens kindly, and to leave the government in the same condition in which he found it; *Polyperchon*, on the other hand, desiring to recover the *Greek* cities from his rival *Cassander*, published a decree in the king's name, restoring them all the freedom, par-
b ticularly *Athens*, directing the garison immediately to withdraw from them thence, and the democracy to be restored; this had its effect, for it put the *Athenians* all into confusion; *Nicander* refused to obey the decree, and because *Phocion* corresponded with him afterwards, the people accused him of being an enemy to his country, whereas he desired nothing more than to see their liberty restored, which it was not likely to be on a bare decree unsupported by arms, *Nicanor* paying no respect to *Polyperchon*'s orders. Not long after, *Polyperchon* came with the kings, and a great army into *Attica*, or at least to the borders of *Attica*, whither *Phocion* was sent, and deputies from the *Athenians* to accuse him; *Polyperchon*, willing to keep up to the terms of that decree, which he had published, sent back *Phocion* and his friends
c chained in carts, with this message, *That though he was convinced they were traytors, yet he left them to be judged by the* Athenians, *as a free people.* As soon as there was silence made, that he could be heard, *Phocion* demanded whether they intended to proceed against him by form of law; and some crying out that they would, *Phocion* demanded how that could be, if they were not allowed a fair hearing; but perceiving by the clamour of the people, that no such thing was to be expected, he cried out, *As for myself, I confess the crime objected to me, and submit myself to the judgment of the law; but consider, O ye* Athenians, *what have these poor innocent men done, that they should be involved in the same calamity with me?* The people at this cried aloud, They are your accomplices, and that is enough. Then the
d decree was read, adjudging them all to death, *viz. Phocion, Nicocles, Abeudippus, Agamon*, and *Pythocles*; these were present; *Demetrius, Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles*, and others, were condemned in their absence; some moved that *Phocion* might be tortured before he was put to death; nay, they were for bringing the rack into the assembly, and torturing him there. The majority, however, thought it enough if he was put to death, for which the decree was carried unanimously; some putting on garlands of flowers, when they gave their votes; as he was going to die, a person who was his intimate friend, asked him, if he had any message for his son? *Yes*, replied Phocion, *tell him it is my last command, that he forget how ill the* Athenians *treated his father.* The spleen of his enemies was not extinguished
e with his death, they passed a decree, whereby his corpse was banished the *Athenian* territories, they likewise forbad any *Athenian* to furnish fire for the funeral pile. One *Conopian*, an undertaker, took up the corpse and carried it beyond *Eleusina*, where he borrowed some fire of a *Megarian* woman, and burned it. A *Megarian* matron who attended with her maids, raised on the place an honorary monument, and having gathered up the bones carried them home, and buried them under her own hearth, praying at the same time thus to the *Penates: To you, O ye* gods, *guardians of this place, I commit the precious remains of the most excellent* Phocion; *protect them, I beseech you from all insults, and deliver them one day to be reposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the* Athenians *shall become wiser.* It was not long before this came
f to pass, when the *Athenians* began to cool a little, and remember the many kindnesses they had received from *Phocion*; they decreed him a statue of brass, ordered his bones to be brought back at the publick expence, and decreed that his accusers should be put to death; *Agnonides*, who was principally concerned, suffered; but *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, who were also concerned in it, fled; however *Phocion*'s son met with them, and executed his revenge upon them, which was almost the only good action he ever did, he having a very small share of his father's *abilities*, and none at all of his *virtues*. It was not long, however, before *Cassander* came with a great fleet into the port of *Athens*, and by the help of *Nicanor*, who commanded in the fort

Cassander seizes Athens. Year after the flood, 2631. Year before Christ 318.

[b] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Plut. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. Justin. lib. xxvi.

*Munichia*, reduced this city into such streights, that the *Athenians* were content to a submit to him upon these terms: That he should leave a garison in the fort, and appoint some *Athenian* to preside over the city. He accordingly placed *Demetrius Phalereus* in the office of governor, a man of great quality, being descended from *Conon*, and of great fortune, yet neither his birth nor fortune were equal to his virtue. He had studied under the philosopher *Theophrastus*, and from him learned how to behave as an active as well as contemplative philosopher; he treated the *Athenians* with the utmost kindness, and made use of that power which he might easily have improved into tyranny, to do those things for them which their factions had hitherto hindered them from doing for themselves. He encreased their public revenues, beautified their city with many magnificent structures, restored b such as were in danger of falling through the injuries of time, and in every other respect gave such signal testimonies of his tender affection for them, that the *Athenians* set up no less than three-hundred statues to his honour, most of them equestrian; but because he derived his power from *Cassander*, and they were not able to depose him at their pleasure, they secretly hated him, of which we shall see many instances hereafter[e].

Demetrius Poliorcetes *frees* Athens. *Year after the flood* 2602. *Before Christ* 307.

*Antigonus*, the most magnanimous of *Alexander*'s captains, and his son *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, *i. e.* the city-taker, having resolved to free *Greece* from the yoke of *Cassander*, determined to begin with *Athens*. The young prince *Demetrius*, who was the handsomest, and at the same time one of the bravest men of his time, took c upon him the command in this expedition, which he executed with great facility; for hoisting false colours, he sailed without the least opposition into the port of *Athens*, where a multitude of people were assembled on the shore, who, when they discovered their mistake, armed themselves in haste; but *Demetrius* quickly disarmed them, not by force, but by fair words; for he caused a cryer to make proclamation, that he was come thither, by the command of his father, with no other design than to deliver them from the oppression of *Cassander*, to expel the garison, which he had placed in the fort, and to restore to them their ancient laws and government. The people immediately welcomed him with loud shouts, bestowing on him the title of deliverer and benefactor. As for *Demetrius Phalereus*, he was in a moment deserted, d and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of suffering death. He thereupon sent one *Aristodemus* to *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, to intreat a guard to protect him, and to beg leave of him to retire to *Thebes*: *Demetrius* received this messenger very respectfully, said he came not to injure persons of worth, and granted *Demetrius* both his requests; after this he blocked up the fortress of *Munichia*, and then departed for *Megara*, where *Cassander* had also a garison; having set this place at liberty, he returned to *Athens*, and attacked *Munichia* so briskly, that he took it by assault; after which at the earnest intreaty of the *Athenians* he entered the city in great pomp, and having summoned an assembly, he therein publickly declared that he did not only freely restore them e to their former popular government, but that he would prevail on his father to bestow on them fifteen-thousand measures of wheat, and such a quantity of timber as would enable them to build a hundred gallies for the defence of their city. These mighty favours the *Athenians* repaid with most unmanly flattery, for they bestowed on *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* not only the title of kings, which hitherto they had not taken, but also styled them tutelar deities and deliverers; they appointed a priest to them; and whereas they had till this time marked the year by the name of the first archon. They decreed, that for the future, it should be designed by the name of this priest. They caused the portraits of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* to be placed among the number of their gods, they erected an altar where *Demetrius* f first alighted from his chariot, and stiled it the altar of the descent of *Demetrius*; they added two new tribes to the ten which already subsisted, and called them *Antigonides* and *Demetriades*. To sum up all, *Stratocles* proposed, and had it decreed, that as often as they sent embassadors to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, they should be stiled embassadors of the gods; they changed the name of the month *Munichian* into *Demetrian*. It would be tedious to dwell on the rest of the follies of this degenerate people, who, at the same time that they paid all this court to *Antigonus* and his son, passed a decree, whereby they adjudged *Demetrius Phalereus* to death,

[e] Diodor. Plut. ubi supra. Justin.

ordered

a ordered all his statues to be thrown down, and even sent persons to execute, as far as in them lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him, a practice which could not but give those whom they now flattered to understand that they would be sure to desert them, when they were deserted by fortune. The democratic government was no sooner restored in this city, than the effects of it were abundantly felt, accusations were frequent, condemnations common, to be eminent induced danger, and to be low contempt. At the motion of *Sophocles* the people decreed, that no philosophers should teach unless licensed by the senate and people, which occasioned *Theophrastus* the successor of *Aristotle*'s breaking up his school. It is likely that they were displeased with this great man, because he was so much in favour with b *Cassander* king of *Macedon*, and because their late governor *Demetrius Phalereus* had been his scholar; however their resentment did not last long, for they afterwards rescinded this decree, and recalled the philosophers; but their protector *Demetrius* being engaged with all his force in the siege of *Rhodes*, *Cassander* took this opportunity of vindicating his title to *Greece*, and coming with a powerful army to support it, many of the cities revolted to him, so that in a short space he penetrated as far as *Attica*, and laid siege to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, thus distressed, sent for aid to *Demetrius*, who came speedily to their relief, and after obliging *Cassander* to raise the siege, stript him in a very short time of all his conquests. After this success he put various cities under the power of the *Athenians*, and multiplied his good turns, c as if he intended to overwhelm them with benefits. The *Athenians* in return racked their wits to devise new compliments, and acts of flattery, still superior to those which they performed before. They assigned *Demetrius* lodgings behind the temple of *Minerva*, in the apartments belonging to the virgins devoted to her service; this was a scandalous insult on religion, because *Demetrius* was remarkably intemperate with respect to women. But the *Athenians* were so corrupt, that they gave way even to his unnatural lusts, which afforded an instance of private virtue worthy of being recorded to latest times. There lived now in *Athens* a young gentleman so remarkably handsome, that he was styled the beautiful *Damocles*; him *Demetrius* pursued where-ever he appeared, so that the poor young man was constrained to avoid the d public bathing-places, and to go to a private bagnio; yet even thither *Demetrius* came, and surprized him alone in the bathing-room; the unhappy youth, with a courage never to be enough commended, threw off the cover of the chaldron, where the water was boiling for the bath, and leaping into it, was stifled in a moment. It would have been unpardonable to have dwelt on such particulars as these in any other period of the *Athenian* history; but the *Athenians* having now forgot to act, we are constrained to entertain the reader with what they said, and having no more victories, to speak of, we are forced to record their flatteries. After all his mighty victories, *Demetrius* had a mind to be inrolled in the fraternity of the priests of *Ceres*, and admitted to all the mysteries. Now the constant practice in this case was, that he who de- e sired such admission, was introduced as a novice in the lesser mysteries in the month of *November*, and afterwards admitted to the greater in the month of *August* following; but when *Demetrius* signified his desire, it was the month of *March*. *Stratocles* furnished them with an invention which set all things to rights, and which ought everlastingly to be remembered to the dishonour of this servile flattering people. He proposed a decree, and procured it to be passed, that the month of *March* should become *November*; in consequence of which, *Demetrius* was admitted to the lesser mysteries: when this was over, *Stratocles* had it decreed, that the month before called *November* should now be called *August*; and by virtue of this decree, *Demetrius* assisted at the greater mysteries. *Philippedes* the comedian could not help stigmatizing these f mean compliances in the following distich:

What miracles by flatt'ry wrought are here,
Which in one month have crowded all the year!

The pride with which the *Athenians* inspired *Demetrius* and his father, drew upon them first the envy, and then a general confederacy of all the rest of the successors of *Alexander* against them; this obliged *Demetrius* to quit *Greece*, and go into *Asia*, where in one battle his father *Antigonus* lost his empire and his life, and *Demetrius* was constrained to sail with a small squadron of ships from *Ephesus* towards *Athens*, where he had left his queen *Deidamia*, and great part of his navy; but in the islands called *Cyclades*, he met with embassadors from that city, who informed him, that the *Athenians* had made a decree that no crowned head should enter their city; a most grateful

grateful decree indeed towards a man whom a little before they acknowledged for a
their saviour, and their god! *Demetrius* did not however resent this usage with that warmth which might have been expected; he only desired that his ships and his queen might be delivered to him, which was done; however the *Athenians* were shortly after severely punished, for their seditions among themselves encouraged one *Lacharis* to seize the sovereignty, and to reduce the people to submit to him, who was but an obscure person, rather than live under the protection of so great princes; but when the affairs of *Demetrius* were a little restored, he began to think of humbling this insolent and inconstant people, who, to shew their ingratitude and contempt, passed a decree in full assembly, whereby they made it death for any person to propose a treaty or intercourse with *Demetrius* on any pretence whatsoever. This rather irri- b
tated the king, than at all inclined him to lay aside his first design. He therefore first began to interrupt the trade of *Athens*, and to ruin its territories, at last he closely besieged the city; *Lacharis* in the mean time applied to *Ptolemy*, beseeching some relief, for the *Athenians* were almost starved, *Demetrius* punishing capitally such as attempted to bring them provisions; by degrees their distress grew so great, that a bushel of salt was sold for forty drachms, and a bushel of wheat for three hundred. At last a hundred and fifty ships laden with corn came from *Egypt*, and anchored at *Ægina* in sight of *Athens*; but *Demetrius* being at the same time reinforced with three hundred sail from *Cyprus*, and other places, the *Egyptians* cut their cables in the night, and steered away. *Lacharis*, as soon as he was acquainted with this c
misfortune, privately quitted the city; and the *Athenians*, who had no choice but starving or yielding, surrendered at discretion to *Demetrius*, who immediately entered the place with all his forces. He first of all commanded that the *Athenians* should all instantly assemble in the public theatre, which when they had done, he surrounded it without with his guards, and so brought in a body of armed men, who were posted round the stage. The people, trembling with fear, expected every moment when the signal should be given for putting them to the sword, when through the door made for the actors, *Demetrius* came upon the stage, where in a short oration he gently reprehended their former ingratitude, and told them at the d
same time that he would receive them again into his wonted grace and favour, as an instance of which he presented them with an hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and named such magistrates as were agreeable to the people. The *Athenians* immediately relapsed into their old strain of flattery, their orators were all at work in contriving fine speeches to celebrate the generosity, and extol the clemency of this great prince, whose valour had acquired, whose abilities deserved, and whose gentleness adorned the diadem he wore. *Dromoclides*, one of the speakers on this occasion, did him a much more acceptable service than the rest; for he besides his compliments preferred a decree, whereby the haven of *Pyræum*, and the castle of *Munichia*, were given to the king, who was far from slighting so accept- e
able a present: he knew too well the fickleness of that people, to trust them again without taking some security for their behaviour; in *Pyræum* and *Munichia* therefore he placed garrisons by virtue of the decree, and in the *Musæum*, because it was convenient and fit for his purpose; thenceforward the *Athenians* were exceedingly faithful, especially when *Demetrius* had possessed himself of the kingdom of *Macedon*; but when he was expelled from thence, and brought into such circumstances that he did not presume to wear the habit of a king, the *Athenians* exerted their old ingratitude, degraded the priest of the two deities, and put all things into their old form. Sometime after their old master getting together an army, came and besieged them, and reduced them to great streights; they had then recourse to *Cra-* f
*terus* the philosopher, who went out to *Demetrius*, interceded with him, and so fully persuaded him, that it would be more for his interest to pass over into *Asia*, that he left them in that liberty to which *Olympiodorus* had restored them [d].

While *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Sosthenes* held by turns the *Macedonian* kingdom, the *Athenians* remained free indeed, but without making any great figure; when the *Gauls* under the command of *Brennus* threatened the destruction of the *Greeks* in general, the *Athenians* for a time exerted somewhat of their ancient magnanimity, and under their general *Calippus* did great things; for then the common danger united all the *Greeks*, and even the king of *Macedon* himself, they had

[d] Plut. in vit. Demet. Diogen. Laer. in vit. Theoph. Epicur. & Crat. Athen. in Deipnosoph.

nothing

a nothing to fear but the common enemy; but these dangers over, and the affairs of *Antigonus Gonatus* the son of *Demetrius* once in a prosperous way, the *Athenians* felt the weight of his power: for he remembering how they had dealt with his father, resolved to punish them for their former behaviour; and to make sure of them for the future, he first wasted their territories, and afterwards closely besieged *Athens*; at last, unable to hold out, and unwilling to yield, they made the best treaty with him they could, and in consequence thereof admitted a garison, whereby, though they flattered themselves with the face of liberty, they became effectually his subjects, and after his death were left as such to his son *Demetrius*. About this time a spirit of liberty revived in *Greece*, and the *Achæans*, who were far from being a considerable b people, not only defended their own freedom, but made it their business to free others, in which they were exceedingly assisted by the mighty genius of *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, one of the ablest, and in all respects one of the honestest men that *Greece* or any other country produced; for he bent all his great qualities, and expended the vast riches which the fame of his virtue procured him in doing good to others, without having a view to any other reward than the satisfaction of doing good; this disposition of his co-operating with the inclination of the *Achæans*, put him on two or three sudden expeditions in order to surprize *Athens*, not with any intent to seize and keep it, but to set the people free; all which expeditions proved unfortunate, and it so happened that in the last of them his forces being dispersed, he wandered about in the night, and with much ado got back to *Corinth*, while a report prevailed he was c dead, upon which the *Athenians* in a giddy ingratitude put on garlands, as if it became citizens to rejoice for the death of their best friends; sometime after, when *Aratus* was sick in his bed, the *Athenians* suddenly resolved they would be free, and as the greatest men, and even nature herself must submit to their desires, sent for *Aratus* to come to their assistance; he thinking only of the merit of such an action, and forgetting their former ingratitude, caused himself to be carried thither in a litter; and having prevailed on *Diogenes* the *Macedonian* governor to give up the three fortresses, *Pyræum*, *Munichia*, and *Musæum*, for a hundred and fifty talents, he advanced twenty of them out of his own pocket, and then left the *Athenians* absolutely free, having also the d protection of the *Achæans* to guard their freedom. This happened in the beginning of the hundred and thirty-second olympiad, two thousand seven hundred and forty-seven years after the flood, and two hundred fifty-two years before Christ. Thus we have traced the history of the *Athenians* in a continued series from their becoming a free people to their junction with the *Achæans*, which hitherto hath not been done in our language, nor, that we know of, in any other*.

* Plut. in vit. Arat. Athen. in Deipnosoph. Justin. lib. xxvi. c 3.

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# CHAP. XIX.

## *The history of* Sparta *from* Lycurgus *to its being joined by* Philopœmen *to the* Achæans.

*The scope of this chapter.*

We are in this chapter to give the history of the *Lacedæmonians* from the time of *Lycurgus*, till they ceased to be an independant state; that is, for a long series of years, while they were the most considerable people in *Greece*, not from extent of territory, not from their numbers or wealth, not from the convenience of their situation, or in short from any other accidental or external cause, but from their wisdom and virtue, their valour, their moderation, their strict regard to honour, their love of liberty, and contempt of luxury under all its various disguises: The stability as well as glory of the *Lacedæmonian* government was derived from the wise institutions of *Lycurgus* the celebrated law-giver of *Sparta*, with whose administration we are to begin this chapter; but previous thereto, it will be necessary to continue

tinue the list of the kings of *Sparta* begun in our former section relating to the *Lacedæmonian* affairs, that we may preserve the same order which has hitherto obtained throughout this work. a

A Table of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings.

| The *Agidæ*, or family of *Agis*. | | | The *Proclidæ*, or family of *Procles*. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| xviii | *Archelaus* | 60 | xviii | *Charilaus* | 64 |
| xix | *Teleclus* | 40 | xix | *Nicander* | |
| xx | *Alcamenes* | 37 | xx | *Theopompus* | |
| xxi | *Polydorus* | | xxi | *Zeuxidamus* | b |
| xxii | *Eurycrates* | | xxii | *Anaxidamus* | |
| xxiii | *Anaxander* | | xxiii | *Archidamus* | |
| xxiv | *Eurycrates* | | xxiv | *Agasicles* | |
| xxv | *Leon* | | xxv | *Aristo* | |
| xxvi | *Anaxandrides* | | xxvi | *Dæmaratas* | |
| xxvii | *Cleomenes* | | xvvii | *Leotychides* | 22 |
| xxviii | *Leonidas* | | xxviii | *Archidamus* | 42 |
| xxix | *Plistarchus* | 1 | | | |
| xxx | *Plistonax* | 68 | xxix | *Agis* | 42 |
| xxxi | *Pausanias* | 14 | xxx | *Agesilaus* | 41 c |
| xxxii | *Agesipolis* | 14 | | | |
| xxxiii | *Cleombrotus* | 9 | xxxi | *Archidamus* | 23 |
| xxxiv | *Agesipolis* | 1 | xxxii | *Agis* | 9 |
| xxxv | *Cleomenes* | 61 | xxxiii | *Eudamidas* | |
| xxxvi | *Areus* | 44 | xxxiv | *Archidamus* | |
| xxxvii | *Acrotatus* | | xxxv | *Eudamidas* | |
| xxxviii | *Areus* | 8 | xxxvi | *Agis* | |
| xxxix | *Leonidas* | | | | |
| xl | *Cleombrotus* | 40 | xxxvii | *Eurydamidas* | d |
| xli | *Cleomenes* | | xxxviii | *Epicidas* | |

*The wise conduct of* Lycurgus *protector of* Sparta.

*Lycurgus* at first held the crown in his own right, till it was known that his sister-in-law the relict of *Polydectes* was with child; *Lycurgus* then declared that he acted only as his guardian or protector who should be born of the queen, (in case she should be delivered of a son,) which was a thing already common among the *Spartans*. The queen, who was an ambitious and profligate woman, privately intimated to *Lycurgus*, that she would make use of means to make herself miscarry, if he would promise to marry her. *Lycurgus* returned her many thanks, accepted a part of her proposal, but intreated her not to hazard her own health by adventuring on any such violent method, assuring her that for her sake he would take the trouble of making away the child upon himself. The queen, amused by his fair speeches, reckoned on her project as already accomplished, when she fell in Labour, of which she immediately gave notice to *Lycurgus*, who sent some of his confidents to be present with instructions, if it was a son, to bring it to him, where-ever he was, or whatever he was about; but if it was a daughter, to deliver it to the women; accordingly the queen being delivered of a boy, his agents brought it to him, where he was at supper with some of the principal persons of the city. *Lycurgus* taking the child in his arms, immediately produced him at the table, *My Lords of* Sparta, said he, *here is a king born unto us*; then laying the child down on the chair of state, when he observed that all who were present were extremely overjoyed at the sight of so worthy and disinterested an action; he called the young Prince *Charilaus*, i. e. *the joy of the people*. He then laid down all pretences to the royal Authority, which he had exercised for about eight Months, and took the title of protector only. This conduct of his, as it rendered him wonderfully beloved and admired by the people, so it exceedingly irritated the queen with all her family and faction; insomuch that they immediately began to calumniate *Lycurgus*, and to alledge, that notwithstanding all this fair shew, he intended nothing less than to resign the crown to his nephew; nay *Leonidas*, the brother of the queen, had the Assurance to tell him in a dispute, which happened between them, *that he was confident it would not be long before he should see him king*. The queen pretended too much concern on the same account, and bewailed e f

a bewailed to her attendants the fate of her unhappy child. *Lycurgus*, greatly alarmed at these practices, and desiring to avoid not only evil, but the very suspicion of evil, resolved to stifle the voice of malice itself by going into a voluntary exile, which resolution he carried into execution soon afterwards, notwithstanding all the intreaties of the people.

The injuries which he had received and the base constructions which had been put on his best actions, did not hinder *Lycurgus* from applying himself with the same diligence abroad to the study of that Science which might render him useful to his country, that he was wont to practice while at home; to this end he devoted all his travels, and like a true patriot, was careful that neither time nor place should alter b his attachment to his fellow citizens. Full of these noble conceptions he first visited *Crete*, an island famous in the most ancient times for the laws whereby it was governed, and for that artful polity which had been established there in the most early ages. As far as can be gathered from *Plutarch*, it was at this time governed by several princes, or was at least cantoned into various independant states, through all which *Lycurgus* travelled, procuring to himself the acquaintance of persons of the first rank, and by their means a perfect knowledge of their laws; some of which he greatly approved, others he slighted. Amongst all the friendships which he contracted in *Crete*, that which stood him in most stead was his intimacy with *Thales* the *Lyric* poet, whom he persuaded to be the companion of his voyages, and afterwards to return c with him to *Sparta*; this poet was not a writer of amorous or drunken songs, but one who made use of the sweetness of poetic numbers to recommend temperance, modesty, obedience, and civil harmony, and whose songs paved the way to the admission of *Lycurgus*'s laws, by removing that ferocity and querulous disposition to which the *Lacedæmonians* had till then been addicted. From *Crete Lycurgus* passed over to the continent of *Asia*, that he might philosophize on the *Ionion* mode of life, which differed greatly from the *Cretan*. Here, as *Plutarch* conjectures, this noble enquirer after truth and virtue found the works of *Homer*, which he eagerly transcribed, and brought over with him into *Greece*, whereas yet they had only scattered episodes of that famous author's poems, which were however highly esteemed. From d *Ionia Lycurgus* went into *Egypt*, a place never forgot by such as went in quest of wisdom, and there he met with that method of distinguishing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at *Sparta*. As to his voyages to *Spain*, *Afric*, and the *Indies*, *Plutarch* says, the credit of them rests solely upon one author; at this distance of time therefore we can affirm nothing about them. Instead of entering into a field of conjectures, from whence it might be difficult to get out, we will pass to the affairs of *Sparta* during his absence[a].

The inhabitants of *Lacedæmon* being in their nature bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongst themselves, or trespassing on the prerogative of their princes; the kings on the other hand sometimes joining with the prevailing faction, e practised a kind of tyranny, and at other times had much ado to support a legal authority; these confusions were greater or less, according as the princes were men of parts or otherwise. At this time neither of the kings had any shining genius, *Archelaus* had the most wit, but *Charilaus* was the better man, more affable, and more beloved; the people however regarded neither of them so much as they did *Lycurgus*; wherefore taking it in their heads that many things went wrong, and that in short the whole frame of the government was out of order since this great man's departure, they sent embassadors to solicit him to return, which embassadors told him, that though they had indeed kings, whom their birth, their title, and their robes, shewed to be such, yet as to royal qualities, and that disposition of the mind which deserves to rule, they had observed nothing among them since his departure of that kind. We use the words of *Plutarch*, who observes farther, that though this language seemed to bear a little hard upon the princes, yet they were far from being averse to his return, hoping that his presence would serve as a bulwark to screen them from the growing insolence of the people. To gratify the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, *Lycurgus* shaped his course homewards, in order to put in practice that wisdom, which with so much industry and pains he had acquired. On his arrival at *Sparta*, he found all things in a very bad way, the people mutinous, the kings timorous, and no middle rank of people, who durst interpose between them.

[a] Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

He

He acted in this case like a great physician; for knowing that palliatives would a
do little or nothing, he resolved to alter the whole political constitution in order to introduce health by thoroughly purging out all precant humours. A glorious undertaking, but attended with mighty difficulties, and no less danger! To surmount these, and to avoid those, he endeavoured first to gain the confidence of the most eminent men of *Sparta*, by communicating to them his scheme, and shewing them the reasons upon which it was founded; and secondly, he sought to secure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the sanction of divinity, and ascribing all he did to the counsels of *Delphian Apollo*. Having made a journey to *Delphi*, and there offered sacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which stiled him, *Beloved of* God, *and rather* God *than man*; *declared the laws he had framed perfectly good, and promised to* b
*make the commonwealth, wherein they were observed the most famous in the world.* This divine manifesto having wonderfully awed the people, the next thing he had to do was to publish these laws, which that he might perform with security, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day, armed in the market-place; but of these twenty-eight only appeared. At the news of these preparations, *Charilaus*, who though honest, was very timid, fled to the temple of *Minerva* the protectress, fearing that it was some conspiracy against his person; but when *Lycurgus* sent to inform him of his real design, the king not only quitted the sanctuary, but repaired to the market-place, and entered into the confederacy. The first step taken was the establishing a senate consisting of twenty-eight persons, or of thirty, including c
the two kings; this alone was of very great consequence, since it fixed the form of the government which had hitherto fluctuated between *tyranny* and *democracy*; the senate poising the authority both of the kings and the people, siding with the former, if the latter were seditious, and with the latter, if the former were too enterprizing. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worse than it was before, *Lycurgus* allowed them to meet in a general assembly, which was to be held *sub dio*, and wherein they were not allowed to *deliberate*, but had barely a power of *assenting* or *dissenting* to or from what the kings and senate proposed.

When *Lycurgus* by constituting a senate had secured to himself an accession of power, he proceeded intirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjust all d
things to the scheme he had formed, without any respect whatsoever to their former state and condition; a mighty project, which if we consider, and take at the same time a strict view of those laws which he introduced, we shall have a just idea of his mighty genius, of the form of the *Spartan* government, and of the means whereby a state which was not considerable either for the number or wealth of its people, maintained itself so long in the sovereignty of *Greece*. We have the rather taken upon us to enter into a distinct detail of the laws of *Lycurgus*, because hitherto only general and imperfect accounts of the *Spartan* republic have been inserted in our histories of *Greece*, and even in books relating more strictly to politics; whereas we shall make it evident, that these superficial draughts of a constitution are by no means suffi- e
cient to give us a just idea of its force and effects. The laws of *Lycurgus* may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the subjects of which they treated, and by a proper attendance to the contents of these tables, we shall come at that perfect notion of *Lycurgus*'s scheme, which is absolutely necessary for the thorough understanding of the *Lacedæmonian* history.

In the first table we shall comprehend such of the *Spartan* laws as regarded religion. The statues of all the gods and goddesses worshipped by this people were represented armed, even to *Venus* herself; the reason of which was, that the people might conceive a military life the most noble and honourable, and not attribute, as other nations did, sloth and luxury to the gods. As to sacrifices, they consisted f
of things of very small value; for which *Lycurgus* himself gave this reason, that want might never hinder them from worshipping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or rash prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to ask no more than that they might live honestly, and discharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be made within the bounds of the city, contrary to the custom of most of the *Greek* nations; nay they buried close by their temples, that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it such a dreadful thing, as it was generally esteemed elsewhere; on the same account the touching of dead bodies, or assisting at funerals, made none unclean, but were held to be as innocent and honourable duties as any other. As to the mode of burying, it was also ren-
dered

a dered simple and unexpensive by law, there was nothing thrown into the grave with the dead body, magnificent sepulchres were forbidden, neither was there so much as an inscription, however plain or modest, permitted. Tears, sighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, because they were thought dishonourable in *Spartans*, whom their law-giver would have to bear all things with equanimity. Mournings were stinted to eleven days, on the twelfth the mourner sacrificed to *Ceres*, and threw aside his or her weeds. In favour of such as were slain in the wars however, and of women who devoted themselves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules beforementioned, for such had a short and decent inscription on their tombs. When a number of *Spartans* fell in battle at a distance from their country, many of them b were buried together under one common tomb; but if they fell on the frontiers of their own state, then their bodies were carefully carried back to *Sparta*, and interred in their family sepulchres.

Under the second table let us place the statutes relating to the lands, and to the city; *Lycurgus* divided all the country of *Laconia* into thirty thousand equal shares; the city of *Sparta* he divided into nine thousand, as some say; into six thousand, as say others; and, as a third party will have it, into four thousand five hundred. The intent of the legislator was, that property should be equally divided amongst his citizens, so that none might be powerful enough to oppress his fellows, or any be in such necessity as to be therefrom in danger of corruption; with the same view he c forbad the buying or selling these possessions; if a stranger acquired a right to any of these shares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he submitted to the laws of the republic. The city of *Sparta* was unwalled, *Lycurgus* trusting it rather to the virtue of its citizens, than to the art of masons. As to the houses they were very plain, for their cielings could only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only by the saw, and their utensils were to be of a like stamp, that luxury might have no instruments among them.

As to the third table, it shall consist of the laws regarding citizens. In the first place they were to be neither more nor less than the number of city lots; and if at any time there happened to be more, they were to be led out in colonies: as to d children, their laws were equally harsh and unreasonable; for a father was directed to carry his new-born son to a certain place, where the gravest men of his tribe looked upon the infant, and if they perceived its limbs strait, and thought it had a wholesome look, then they returned it to its parent to be educated, otherwise it was thrown into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain *Taygetus*. This law seems to have had one very good effect, *viz.* making women very careful when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exercising to excess; it made them also excellent nurses, for which they were in mighty request throughout *Greece*. Strangers were not allowed to reside long in the city, that they might not corrupt the *Spartans* by teaching them new-fangled customs. Citizens were also forbid to travel for the same reason, unless the good of the state required it. Such as were not bred up in e their youth according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city, because they held it unreasonable, that one who had not submitted to the laws in his youth, should receive the benefit of them when a man. They never preferred any stranger to a public office, but if at any time they had occasion for a person not born a *Spartan*, they first made him a citizen, and then preferred him.

Their laws relating to marriage shall be comprehended under the fourth table, Celibacy in men was infamous, and punished in a most extraordinary manner; for, in the first place, the old batchelor was constrained to walk naked in the depth of winter through the market-place: Secondly, while he did this, he was obliged to sing f a song in disparagement of himself; and, thirdly, he had none of the honours paid him which otherwise belonged to old age, it being held unreasonable that the youth should venerate him who was resolved to leave none of his progeny behind him, to revere them when they grew old in their turns. The time of marriage was also fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were such also as married above or below themselves; such as had three children had great immunities; such as had four were free from all taxes whatsoever. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should hinder a man, nor riches induce him to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed on, the husband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy children.

dren. Husbands went for a long time secretly, and by stealth, to the beds of their a
wives, that their love might not be quickly and easily extinguished. Husbands were allowed to lend their wives, but the kings however were forbid to take this liberty; some other laws of the like nature there were, which it is not necessary for us to dwell on, because, as they were evidenly against modesty, so they were far from producing the ends for which *Lycurgus* designed them, since though the men of *Sparta* were generally remarkable for their virtue, the *Spartan* women were as generally decried for their boldness, and contempt of decency.

Under the fifth table shall stand the laws relating to eating. It was the care of *Lycurgus*, that from their very nonage and infancy the *Lacedæmonians* should be inured to conquer their appetites; for this reason he directed that nurses should accustom their b
children to spare meals, and now and then to fasting; that they should carry them when twelve or thirteen years old to those who should examine their education, and who should carefully observe whether they were able to be in the dark alone, and whether they had got over all other follies and weaknesses incident to children. He directed that children of all ranks should be brought up in the same way, and that none should be more favoured in food than another, that they might not even in their infancy perceive any difference between poverty and riches, but consider each other as equals, and even as brethren, to whom the same portions were assigned, and who through the course of their lives were to fare alike. Only youths were allowed to eat flesh, older men eat their black broth and pulse, the lads slept together in chambers, and after a manner some- c
what resembling that still in use in *Turkey* for the *Janizaries*; their beds in the summer were very hard, being composed of the reeds plucked by the hand from the banks of the *Eurotas*; in winter their beds were softer, but by no means downy, or fit to indulge immoderate sleep. They eat altogether in public, and in case any abstained from coming to the tables, they were fined. *Xenophon* seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to do; for, whereas the rest say that this was only intended to repress luxury, he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former relateing the great things that had been performed in their memory, and exciting the grow- d
ing generation therefrom to perform great things also. It was also strictly forbidden for any to eat or drink at home, before they came to the common meal; even then each had his proper portion, that every thing might be done there with gravity and decency; the black broth was the great rarity of the *Spartans*, which was composed of salt, vinegar, blood, *&c.* so that in our times it would be esteemed a very unsavory soop. If they were modest in their eating, they were so also in their drinking; thirst was the sole measure thereof, and never any *Lacedæmonian* thought of drinking for pleasure; as for drunkenness it was both infamous and severely punished; and that young men might perceive with how great reason, slaves were compelled to drink to excess, that the beastlinesS of the vice might appear. When e
they retired from the public meal, they were not allowed any torches or lights, because it was expected that men, who were perfectly sober, should be able to find their way in the dark; and besides it gave them a facility of marching without light, a thing wonderfully useful to them in time of war.

The laws relating to their habit fall under the sixth table. As the poor eat as well as the rich, so the rich could wear nothing better than the poor; they neither changed their fashion, nor the materials of their garments; they were made for warmth and strength, not for gallantry and shew; and to this custom even their kings conformed, who wore nothing gaudy in right of their dignity, but were contented that their virtue should distinguish them rather than robes. The young f
lads wore a tunic till they were twelve years old; afterwards they had a cloke given them, which was to serve them a year, and their cloathing was in general so thin, that a *Lacedæmonian* vest became proverbial. Boys were always used to go without shoes, but when they grew up they were indulged to them, if the manner of life they led required it; but they were always inured to run without them, as also to climb up and slip down steep places with bare feet; nay the very shoe they used was of a particular form, plain and strong, and from the place of its invention *Laconic*. Boys were not permitted to wear their hair, but when they grew up they did not cut it. Baths and anointing were not much in use among the *Lacedæmonians*; the river *Eurotas* supplied the former, and exercise the latter. In the field however

their

a their sumptuary Laws did not take place so strictly as in the city; for when they went to war they wore purple habits; they put on crowns when they were about to engage the enemy; they had also rings, but they were of iron, which metal was most esteemed by this nation. Young women wore their vests or jerkins only to their knees, or, as some think, not quite so low, which beyond question was indecent, and as such it is censured both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. Gold, precious stones, and other costly ornaments, were permitted only to common women; which permission was the strongest prohibition to women of virtue, or who affected to be thought virtuous. Virgins went abroad without vails, with which married women on the contrary were always covered, it being conceived fit for the one to be looked b on, but not the other; in certain exercises and shews both the young women and men were naked, a thing for which *Plutarch* endeavours to apologize, as if there could be no nakedness, where the mind was in the habit of virtue; this is evidently playing with words, for without question there never was a more immoral, impudent practice than this; the truth is, *Lycurgus* had nothing in view but the rendering the commonwealth of *Sparta* powerful and lasting; and that he might do this, he sought by all means to eradicate the seeds of civil dissensions; hence the equal division of estates; hence the banishment of wealth; and hence the accustoming men to bear with the wantonness of women; that birth, riches, jealousy, which in other countries, and in other states, produced such stirs and tumults, might be able to effect little or c nothing in *Lacedæmon*.

Discipline and manners, that is the rules regarding these, shall fall under the seventh table. Though the *Spartans* were always free, yet it was with this restriction, that they were subservient to their own laws, which bound them as strictly in the city, as soldiers in other states were bound by the rules of war in the camp. In the first place, strict obedience to their superiors was the great thing required in *Sparta*; this they looked upon as the very basis of government, without which neither laws nor magistrates availed much. Old age was an indubitable title to honour in *Sparta*; to the old men the youth rose up, whenever they came into any public place; they gave way to them when they met them in the streets, and were silent whenever their elders d spoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the state, so all the old men had the authority of parents, they reprehended whatever they saw amiss, not only in their own, but in other people's children; and by this method *Lycurgus* provided, that as youth are every-where apt to offend, so they might be no-where without a monitor. The laws went still further; if an old man was present where a young one committed a fault, and did not reprove him, he was punished equally with the delinquent. Amongst the youths there was one of their own body, or at most two years older than the rest, who was stiled *Iren*; he had authority to question all their actions, to look strictly to their behaviour, and to punish them if they did amiss; neither were their punishments light, but on the contrary very severe, whereby the boys were e made hardy, and accustomed to bear stripes, and hard usage. Silence was a thing highly commended, and greatly valued at *Sparta*, where modesty was held to be a most becoming virtue in young people; nor was it restrained only to their words and actions, but to their very looks and gestures, *Lycurgus* having particularly directed that they should look forward, or on the ground, and that they should always keep their hands within their robes. A stupid, inconsiderate person, one who would not listen to instruction, but was careless of whatever the world might say of him, the *Lacedæmonians* treated as a scandal to human nature; with such an one they would not converse, but threw him off as a rotten branch, and worthless member of society.

The studies and learning of this people fall naturally into the eighth table. f The plainness of their manners, and their being so very much addicted to war, made the *Lacedæmonians* less fond of the sciences than the rest of the *Greeks*; they measured the worth of all things by their usefulness, and therefore, if they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, it was all they sought. For this the *Athenians*, who were excessively vain of their learning, mightily contemned them, insomuch that *Thucydides* himself, in drawing the character of *Brasidas* says, he spoke well enough for a *Lacedæmonian*. These, on the other hand, valued themselves no less on their roughness, and their steady adherence to the maxims of their ancestors, as, amongst other instances, appears from this answer of a *Spartan* to one of the learned *Athenians*, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: *All you say may be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongst the* Greeks *have learned no evil customs from you.*

*you.* Arts were in no greater credit with them than sciences, a soldier was the only a
reputable profession in *Sparta*, a mechanic or husbandman was thought a low fellow; the reason of this was, that they imagined professions which required much labour, some constant posture, being continually in the house, or always about a fire, weakened the body, and depressed the mind; whereas a man free from these incumbrances was at liberty to attend the service of the republic in time of peace, and to fight its battles when engaged in war. Such professions as were necessary the *Helotes* exercised, but for curious arts, and such as served only to luxury, they would not so much as suffer them to be practised in their city, in consequence of which rhetoricians, fortune-tellers, bankers, and dealers in money were shut out; neither tradegy nor comedy could obtrude itself on the *Spartans*, they would not bear the representation of evil even to b
produce good; but other kinds of poetry were admitted, provided the magistrates had the perusal of pieces before they were handed to the public. Above all things they affected brevity of speech, and accustomed their children from their very infancy never to express themselves in more words than were strictly necessary, whence a concise and sententious oratory is to this day stiled *Laconic*. In writing they used the same method, of which we have a signal instance in a letter of *Archidamus* to the *Eleans*, when he understood that they had some thoughts of assisting the *Arcadians*; it ran thus: Archidamus *to the* Eleans. *It is good to be quiet.* And therefore *Epaminondas* had reason to glory in having forced the *Spartans* to abandon their monosyllables, and to lengthen their discourses. We need not wonder that people so much c
removed from their neighbours in their customs and manners, should not be desirous of having the customs and Laws of strangers published or discoursed of in their city; this therefore was a Law given by *Lycurgus*, and strictly adhered to; but some who have inferred from thence that the *Lacedæmonians* were equally cautious to prevent strangers from gaining acquaintance with their Laws and customs, are somewhat mistaken; for in this point they were not so strict. The greatest part of their education consisted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things; the iren or master proposed questions, and either commended the answers that were made him, or reproved such as answered childishly; these questions did not relate either to trivial or to abstruse matters, but to points of the highest importance in civil Life; such as, d
Who was the best man in the city, wherein lay the merit of such an action, and whether this or that hero's fame was well founded? Harmless raillery was greatly encouraged, and this, joined to their short manner of speaking, rendered *Laconic* replies universally admired. Music was much encouraged, but in this, as in other things, they adhered to that which had been in favour with their ancestors; nay, they were so strict therein, that they would not permit their slaves to learn either the tune or the words of their most admired odes, or, which is all one, they would not permit them to sing them if they had learned them. The love of boys was much encouraged at *Sparta*, but it was a virtuous and modest affection untinged with that sensuality which was so scandalous at *Athens*; female friendships were no less frequent, e
and no less warm; it is likely that *Lycurgus* introduced these things in order the better to unite his citizens, which is the more probable, if we consider that neither in one case, nor in the other, rivals were angry, or bore ill-will towards each other; but on the contrary, their love to the same person begat a secondary friendship among themselves, and united them in all things which might be for the benefit of the person beloved. There is but one thing more, in respect to their education, which deserves mention, and it is this; That theft, if it was handsomely concealed, was not held scandalous amongst them; a most absurd institution, for which many apologies have been offered, which have done as little honour to their authors, as this very law did to *Lycurgus*. When theft was discovered however, it was severely punished, and f
what between this practice and the former, the *Spartan* youth were so hardened, that they would endure any thing, after they had committed a theft, rather than suffer it to be known. It would be easy to alledge instances, but to what end? to prove that in defence of vice, men will dare to suffer pain? We see it every day, and therefore they are needless; it was an error in the *Lacedæmonian* policy, which we are not bound either to palliate or excuse. The exercises instituted by law fall under the ninth table; in these all the *Greeks* were extremely careful, but the *Lacedæmonians* in a degree beyond the rest; for if a youth by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for these exercises, he fell into public contempt at least, if not banishment. Hunting was the usual diversion of their children, nay, it was made a part of their

a education, because it had a tendency to strengthen the limbs, and to render those who practised it supple and fleet; they likewise bred up dogs for hunting with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, and which were common alike to virgins, and young men; indeed in all their sports girls were allowed to divert themselves with the youths, insomuch that at darting, throwing the choit, pitching the bar, and such-like robust diversions, the women were as dextrous as the men; for the manifest oddity of this proceeding, *Lycurgus* assigned no other reason, than that he sought to render women as well as men strong and healthy, that the children they brought forth might be so too; violent exercises, and a laborious kind of life, were only enjoined to the youth; for when they were b grown up to men's estate, that is, were upwards of thirty years old, they were exempted from all kinds of labour, and employed themselves wholly either in affairs of state or in war. They had a method of whipping at a certain time young lads in the temple of *Diana*, and about her altar, which however palliated, was certainly unnatural and cruel. It was esteemed a great honour for lads to sustain these flagellations without weeping, groaning, or shewing any sense of pain; and the thirst of glory was so strong in these young minds, that they very frequently suffered death without shedding a tear, or breathing a sigh. A desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of human nature, and thereby rendering his *Spartans* not only superior to their neighbours, but to their species, runs through many of the institutions of *Lycurgus*; c which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impossible to give any account of them at all.

The tenth table shall comprehend their laws, respecting contracts and money-matters. Gold and silver were by the constitutions of *Lycurgus* made of no value in *Sparta*; he was so well apprised of the danger of riches, that he made the very possession of them penal; but as there was no living without some sort of money, that is, some common measure or standard of the worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the *Spartans* were supplied with the useful money, and had at the same time no temptation to covetousness afforded them; for a very small sum was sufficient to load a couple of horses, and a great one must have been kept d in a barn or warehouse; the coming in of all foreign money was also prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the name of commerce. The most ancient method of dealing, *viz.* by barter or exchange of one commodity for another, was preserved by law in *Sparta* long after it had been out of date every-where else. Interest was a thing forbid in the *Spartan* commonwealth, where they had also a law against the alienation of lands, accepting presents from foreigners even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well seem to excuse them; thus by all possible methods *Lycurgus* sought to shut out corruption, to oblige his citizens to live simply and innocently without admitting amongst them those seeds of luxury and dissension, which he saw had pro- e duced such fatal effects in the regions through which he travelled.

Such of the laws of *Sparta* as related to courts of justice may be brought under the eleventh table. Thirty years must have passed over the head of him who had a right to concern himself in juridical proceedings; young men were thought unfit for them, and it was even held indecent, and of ill report, for a man to have any fondness for law-suits, or to be busying himself at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own; by these rules *Lycurgus* thought to shut out litigiousness, and to prevent that multiplicity of suits which is always scandalous in a state. As young people were not permitted to inquire about the laws of other countries, and as they were hindred from hearing judicial proceedings in their courts, so they were f likewise forbidden to ask any questions about, or to endeavour to discover the reasons of the laws by which themselves were governed. Obedience was their duty, and to that alone they would have them kept. Men of abandoned characters, or who were notoriously of ill fame, lost all right of giving their votes in respect of public affairs, or of speaking in public assemblies; for they would not believe that an ill man in private life could mean his country better than he did his neighbour.

The military laws of *Sparta* shall compose the twelfth table. Till a man was thirty years old, he was not capable of serving in the army, as the best authors agree, though some think that the military age is not well ascertained by ancient authors; they were forbidden to march at any time before the full moon, the reason of which

law is very hard to be discovered, if indeed it had any reason at all, or was not a rather founded in some superstitious opinion, that this was a more lucky conjuncture than any other. They were likewise forbidden to fight often against the same enemy, which was one of the wisest maxims in the political system of *Lycurgus*; and we shall see that *Agesilaus*, by offending against it, destroyed the power of his country, and lost her that authority which for so many ages she maintained over the rest of *Greece*; for by continually warring against the *Thebans*, to whom he had an inveterate hatred, he at last beat them into the knowledgeof the art of war, and enabled them under the command of *Epaminondas* to maintain for a time the principality of *Greece*. Maritime affairs they were forbid to meddle with, though the necessity of things compelled them in process of time to transgress this institution, and by degrees they transferred to themselves as well the dominion at sea as land, as the reader has already b seen in the *Athenian* history; but after the *Peloponnesian* war they again neglected naval affairs, from a persuasion that sailors and strangers corrupted those with whom they conversed. As they never fortified *Sparta*, so they were not ready to undertake sieges; fighting in the field was their proper province, and while they could overcome their enemies there, they rightly conceived that nothing could hurt them at home. In time of war they relaxed somewhat of their strict manner of living, in which they were singular; the true reason for this was, in all probability, that war might be less burdensom to them; for, as we have more than once observed, a strong desire to render them bold and warlike, was the reigning passion of their c legislator. For they were forbid to remain long encamped in the same place, as well to hinder their being surprized, as that they might be more troublesome to their enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They slept all night in their armour, but their out-guards were not allowed their shields, that being unprovided of defence, they might not dare to sleep. In all their expeditions, they were careful in the performance of religious rites, and after their evening meal was over, the soldiers sung together hymns to their gods. When they were about to engage, the king sacrificed to the muses, that by their assistance they might be enabled to perform deeds worthy of being recorded to latest times; then the army advanced in order to the sound of flutes, which played the hymn of *Castor*; the king himself d sung the pæan, which was the signal to charge; this was done with all the decorum imaginable, and the soldiers were sure either to die or conquer; indeed they had nothing else to do, for if they fled they were infamous, and in danger of being slain, even by their own mothers, for disgracing their families. History informs us, that a *Spartan* lady, on the news of her son's having fled from a battle, wrote him this short letter, *Fame speaks ill of you, efface it, or be no more*. In this consisted all the excellency of the *Spartan* women, who, if it were possible, excelled in bravery their men, never lamenting over husbands or sons, if they died honourably in the field, but deploring the shame brought on their house, if either the one or the other escaped by flight. The throwing away a shield also induced infamy, and with respect to e this, mothers, when they embraced their departing sons, were wont to caution them that they should either return armed as they were, or be brought back so, that is, when they were dead; for, as we have before observed, such as were slain in battle were nevertheless buried in their own country. When they had made their enemies fly, they pursued no longer than till the victory was out of doubt, because they would seem to fight rather for the honour of victory, than that they might put their enemies to death. According to their ancient rules of war, they were bound not to spoil the dead bodies of their enemies, but in process of time this, and indeed many other of their most excellent regulations, fell into disuetude. He who overcame by stratagem, offered up an ox to *Mars*, whereas he, who overcame by force, offered f up only a cock, the former being esteemed more manly than the latter. After forty years service a man was discharged, that is, it was no longer required of him by law to go into the field, and consequently, that if the military age was thirty, the *Spartans* were not held invalids, till they were seventy. Thus we have comprized the most considerable of the *Spartan* laws into twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted, because we shall be obliged to speak of their being enacted elsewhere[b].

*The* Cryptia *what, and how published.*

*Lycurgus* did not put any of his laws into writing, because he would have them written in the hearts of the people, and to impress them the more strongly there, he

[b] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. & in Instit. Lacon. Arist. Polit. Plat. de Legib. & de Repub. Xenoph. Inst. Lac. Ælian. var. Hist. Herac. Pont. in Fragm.



took

a took great pains to make it be believed, that they were given to him by *Apollo*, wherefore he ſtiled them *Rhetræ*, i. e. *divine ſanctions*. It is not clear whether or not *Lycurgus* was the author of that political contrivance which prevailed amongſt his countrymen, for leſſening the number of their ſlaves whenever they grew dangerous to the ſtate, and which was ſtiled *Cryptia*, i. e. the ambuſcade. Such as had the care of educating the *Spartan* youth, picked out the ſtouteſt of them, and having armed them with daggers, ſent them out to deſtroy their unhappy ſlaves, which they did, either by ſurpriſing them in the night, or falling upon them in the day, when they were at their work, without any crime being pretended againſt them, and for no other reaſon than that the ſtate might be ſafe from their attempts by this reduction b of their number. *Plato* greatly condemns this law, for which reaſon *Plutarch* denies that it was made by *Lycurgus*; but when, or however it was made, it was indubitably againſt natural equity, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, againſt humanity; a cruel and unneceſſary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people [c] (A).

*Sedition in* Sparta. Lycurgus *wounded in the eye.*

It is not to be conceived that ſuch mighty changes could be wrought in a country without any oppoſition, neither indeed were they; for when he proceeded to the diviſion of property, a great ſedition aroſe, wherein at laſt the people proceeded to blows, and *Lycurgus* found himſelf obliged to quit the aſſembly in order to fly to a ſanctuary; ſome of them however cloſely purſued him, and amongſt the reſt one *Alcander*, a young nobleman, of a generous, but too haſty diſpoſition, who on *Ly-* c *curgus*'s looking back, ſtruck him on the eye, and, as ſome ſay, beat it out; the legiſlator then ſtopped, and ſhewing his face all covered with blood, the people were

[c] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. Plato de Legib. l. i. p. 633.

(A) The cruelty of the *Lacedæmonians* towards their ſlaves or *Helotes*, is frequently ſpoken of, and generally decried by all authors, though *Plutarch*, who was a great admirer of the *Spartans*, endeavours every where to palliate it as much as may be. To give the reader a diſtinct account of this matter, we muſt firſt acquaint him who theſe *Helotes* are: *Helos* was an ancient city in *Laconia*, againſt which on ſome pretence or other the *Lacedæmonians* made war, and having ſubdued it, they made all the inhabitants thereof, and of the adjacent diſtrict, ſlaves (1). And in proceſs of time, when they had enlarged the number of perſons in this unhappy condition by ſubjugating other places, they ſtill kept up the old name, and called them all *Helotes*, which ceaſing then to be a proper name, became common to all who were in this ſtate of ſervitude. As to the terms of it, they were theſe: Firſt, their lords could not ſet them free; and ſecondly, they had no power to ſell them, ſo as that they might be tranſported out of the *Lacedæmonian* dominions (2). Hence it came to paſs that they were prodigiouſly numerous, which ſometimes alarmed the *Spartans*, and made them deviſe the law above recited to keep them under. *Ariſtotle* expreſsly affirms that it was deviſed by *Lycurgus* (3). Plutarch would gladly have this diſbelieved, merely becauſe he thinks it injurious to that legiſlator; for he offers no other reaſon for it whatſoever, and at the ſame time owns, that *Plato* himſelf had been diſpleaſed with *Lycurgus* for the cruelty and injuſtice of this law (4). *Plutarch* elſewhere informs us, that the *Helotes* were employed to cultivate the lands of their lords, that they did not give an exact account of their produce, but paid a ſmall ſettled rent, which their lords could not raiſe without incurring public cenſure (5). This is *Plutarch*'s account of the matter, from whence one would be led to conceive, that theſe *Helotes* were a kind of bailiffs, ſtewards, or lower ſort of farmers. But other authors ſpeak quite a different language, they tell us, that liberty and ſlavery were in their extremes at *Sparta*, that none were ſo perfectly free as the citizens of *Lacedæmon*, nor any ſuch deſpicable ſlaves as theſe *Helotes*; they were diſtinguiſhed, that is, marked out for ſlaves in their dreſs, their geſture, and in ſhort in every thing; they wore dog-ſkin bonnets, ſheep-ſkin veſts; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their maſters; when their lords were ſo diſpoſed, theſe poor men were obliged to drink themſelves drunk, that the free-born *Spartans* might ſee the beaſtlineſs of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of ſtripes, for fear they ſhould forget they were ſlaves; and to crown all they were liable to this *Cryptia*, which was ſure to be executed on all ſuch as ſpoke, looked or walked like freemen (6). To take off ſomewhat from the horror and ſcandal of ſuch a practice, the ephori, after they were inſtituted, at their coming into office declared war againſt them (7); againſt whom? why againſt poor naked ſlaves, who tilled their lands, dreſſed their food, and did all thoſe offices for them which they were too proud to do for themſelves. *Plutarch*, according to cuſtom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of *Lycurgus*, and alledges that it was introduced on account of the *Helotes* joining with the *Meſſenians* after a great earthquake, whereby a great part of *Lacedæmon* was overthrown (8); but *Ælian* tells us expreſsly, that it was the common opinion in *Greece*, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the *Spartans* for treating theſe *Helotes* with ſuch inhumanity (9). *Thucydides* gives us a glaring inſtance of the jealouſy of the *Lacedæmonians* on account of theſe poor men; he ſays that about two thouſand of them being manumitted by law for their great ſervice in the *Peloponneſian* war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with ſhews; after all which they diſappeared on a ſudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (10).

(1) *Homer. Iliad. B. v.* 585. *Strabo Georg. lib.* viii. *p.* 363. *Pauſan. Lacon.* 201. (2) *Strabo, lib.* viii. *Pollux. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. (3) *Polit. lib.* ii. (4) *In vit. Lycurg.* (5) *Inſtit. Lacedæm.* (6) *Miron. Prien. ap. Athen. Deipnoſ. lib.* xiv. (7) *Ariſt. Polit. lib.* ii. (8) *Plut. in vit Lycurg.* (9) *Hiſt. Var. lib.* iii. (10) *Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib.* iv. *vide etiam Ubb. Emm. de Repub. Lac. Crag. de Repub. Lac. lib.* i. *c.* 11. *Meurſ. Miſc. Lacon. lib.* ii. *c.* 6.

ſo

so struck thereat, that they immediately asked his pardon, and delivered up a *Alcander* into his hands to be treated as he thought fit. *Lycurgus* accepted the proposal, and carried *Alcander* home with him, where, instead of punishing, or even reproving him harshly, he received him as his attendant, caused him to wait on him at meals, and kept him always near his person; this mildness was of great service to them both; for *Alcander* perceiving that *Lycurgus* was not, as he had supposed him, a man of a harsh and morose disposition, but of a most sweet and affable temper, he became from his fiercest enemy his greatest admirer, which wrought mightily on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive as oracles the instructions of *Lycurgus*. Another good it wrought was this, that it became immediately a law, from which they never receded, that no weapon whatsoever, no not b so much as a staff, was brought into their assemblies, or public councils [4].

*Method taken by this legislator to settle his laws.*

When *Lycurgus* had fully perfected his design, and wrought the commonwealth into that form, which, from the consideration of the nature of men, and of the different effects of various governments upon them he thought most eligible; his next care was to render this fixed and stable, and to prevent his countrymen from overturning that structure which he had raised, and running back into the condition wherein he found them. After some time he fell upon a method of effecting it, which was this: He called a general assembly, wherein he declared that he now thought every thing was brought into its proper order, and that there remained behind but one point to be settled, which was indeed of the highest importance, and what he c could not acquaint them with, till he had consulted the oracle at *Delphi*; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themselves to observe his rhetre inviolably till his return. To this all ranks and degrees of people readily assented, and to bind their assent, *Lycurgus* took an oath upon the spot from the two kings, the senate, and the commons; after which he departed, as he had proposed, and went to *Delphi*. There he proposed this question to the oracle; *Shall the laws established in* Sparta *make that city virtuous and happy?* The response was, *The laws given to* Sparta *are excellent, and the city shall continue in the highest renown, while it observes the polity of* Lycurgus. This he took in writing, and sent to *Sparta*, after which he sacrificed a second time to *Apollo*, and having solemnly taken leave of his friends, d and of his son, he determined with himself to put an end to his life by fasting, that the *Lacedæmonians* might never have it in their power to free themselves from the oath which he had taken from them. *Plutarch* expresses himself in very high terms in respect to the death of *Lycurgus*: he commends it as one of the noblest instances of patriotism, which is to be met with in ancient history; because, says he, the legislator secured a double point by this manner of dying; he put a most honorable end to a virtuous and well-spent life, and he affixed his death as a seal to his laws, which he left as his last will and testament to his country. He tells us likewise, that his bones were carried home to *Sparta*, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, he says was afterwards blasted with lightning, an accident e peculiar to *Lycurgus*, and *Euripides* the poet. The *Spartans*, to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, and sacrificed annually thereat. But after all this pompous account, *Plutarch* himself acknowledges that authors are not well agreed how or where this good man died; some say he ended his days at *Cirrha*, *Apolothemis* affirmed that he died at *Elis*, *Timæus* and *Aristoxenus* agree that he finished his days in *Crete*, the latter says the inhabitants shewed his tomb. *Aristocrates* the son of *Hipparchus* wrote likewise that he died in *Crete*, but he added that by the direction of *Lycurgus* the persons with whom he lodged burnt his body, and scattered the ashes thereof in the air, and on the sea, that they might never be transported to *Lacedæmon*, to prevent the people apprehending themselves released from f their oath. He left behind him one son, whose name was *Antiorus*, who dying without issue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual assembly in commemoration of the deceased, and that they might therein discourse of, and exhort each other to the imitation of his virtues; the days of this meeting were in honour of the legislator stiled *Lycurgides* [*] (B).

From

[4] Plut. ubi supra. [*] Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

(B) The life of *Lycurgus* was the first which *Plutarch* published, as he himself observes (11). He seems to have had a mighty liking to the *Spartans*, and their customs; for besides this life, and those of several

(11) *In vit. Thesei.*

*The reigns of* Charilaus *and* Teleclus. *Year after the flood* 2095. *before Christ* 904

a FROM the death of *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* history is for a long time very perplexed, there being no other materials from whence it may be collected, than scattered passages of ancient authors, which, as well as we are able, we shall put together. *Charilaus* made war on the *Argives*, but with little success; afterwards he fell on the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*; but in this war also he had very bad fortune, for he was taken prisoner in a battle, which was won chiefly by the valour of the women; and to purchase his liberty, he was constrained to take a solemn oath, that he would never make war on this people any more, which oath however he kept very indifferently [f]. He then turned his arms against the *Achæans*, who had taken from the *Lacedæmonians* several frontier towns, which he and his collegue *Tele-*
b *clus* recovered. Among these were *Amyclas*, *Pharis*, and *Geronthra*; the first they raised, the inhabitants of the other two cities by agreement were permitted to retire out of *Peloponnesus*; such were the military exploits of *Charilaus* or *Charillus*; he retained always a great respect for his tutor *Lycurgus*, as appears from several of his sayings which have reached our times: for being once asked, why *Lycurgus* had made so few laws, he answered, *Men of few words need but few laws*; and it being demanded of him what kind of polity he held to be most complete, *That*, said he, *wherein most of the citizens contend in virtue without disturbing each other* [g]. His collegue of the other regal house was *Teleclus*, a prince of indifferent parts and fortune. Being told before he succeeded to the crown, by some who sought to flatter

[f] PAUSAN. in Arcad. [g] PLUT. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

several other *Spartan* chieftains, we have a treatise of his on the laws and customs of the *Lacedæmonians*, and another of *Laconic* apophthegms; he owns notwithstanding, that with respect to the family, and the time of the birth of this legislator, there is great uncertainty. He makes him however in all things a perfect hero, and alledges his behaviour as a proof that the wise man so often described, and so much commended by philosophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. He is very particular as to the salutation of the prophetess at *Delphi*, which, he says, run in these words: *Welcome, beloved of* God, *and rather* God *than man* (12). This oracle was certainly very famous in *Greece*, and generally speaking believed, otherwise *Socrates* would not have quoted it in his defence (13), or *Plutarch* have so often urged it as a full answer to all the calumnies raised against his hero. Yet something may be said, not greatly to the reputation either of the oracle or *Lycurgus*, viz. that this was all contrivance in order to bring about what could otherwise never have been brought about, the imposing his harsh laws upon the *Spartans*. It is very likely that he took this hint from the conduct of *Minos* the *Cretan* lawgiver, who ascribed all his laws to *Jupiter*; but from whomsoever he took it, an ancient author of great note affirms, that the responses of the oracle were framed by his wit, and procured by his money (14). The reader has seen in the *Athenian* history many instances of a like nature, and we shall hereafter shew that *Lysander* knew how to make *Apollo* speak kindly in his favour, as well as *Lycurgus*. It is clear that our law-giver depended chiefly on the people's apprehending his institutions to be divine; for this cause he would never suffer his laws to be put into writing, but trusted them to the memory, that they might at once make the greater impression, and give the government greater power. *Plutarch* affords us an instance of this; he says, that by a *Rhetra* of *Lycurgus* the people had power to assent or dissent from what was proposed to them by the kings and senate; but when by degrees they extended this power, and began to gloss upon the laws, to assent to one part of them, and to dissent from another, the kings and senate, that they might be even with them in their own way, added a new clause to the rhetra to this purpose, that if the people should offer any cross proposal, then the senate and kings might reject it. Which clause, by dint of a little of their legislator's art, they imposed as a genuine injunction, and thereby strengthened their own authority at the expence of the people's (15). Most politicians have held *Lycurgus*'s invention of a senate to have been a most excellent contrivance: *Plato* was so much charmed with it, that from thence he stiles its author a divine spirit residing in a human nature (16); yet *Aristotle*, who was an excellent politician, found great fault with that institution; he thought it unreasonable that senators should be made for life, because frequently mens abilities decay, so that instead of being able to mind public affairs, they become unfit to transact those of their own family. He was likewise offended that they were left without controul, for he thought that as all men were liable to errors, so all men ought to be accountable for them, especially if their errors might any way affect the state (17). The last act of *Lycurgus*, of which we have any certainty, is, his sending the oracle from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, signifying the approbation given by *Apollo* to all his laws; that he starved himself there is improbable, but that he returned no more to his country, seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting; for he was extremely ambitious of being thought somewhat more than man, as appears from the whole tenour of his behaviour, and his life could never have been inclosed by an act more shining than this of quitting supreme power, when his countrymen unanimously desired that he should retain it. This shewed that he was truly disinterested, and did not seek any other reward for the services he rendered *Sparta*, than the glory of having served her. *Solon*, though a person of a different temper, was as disinterested as he; he settled the *Athenian* commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered to him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his opposition vain, went into voluntary exile. *Lycurgus* and *Solon* were both great men, but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder genius, the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

(12) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* (13) *Xenophon. de Reb. Memor.* (14) *Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* i. *c.* 16.
(15) *Plutarch. in vit. Lycurg.* (16) *Plato de Legib. lib.* iii. (17) *Arist. lib.* ii. *& lib.* vi.



him,

him, that his father had spoke slightingly of him, he answered, *That he was sorry* a *for it, because he would not have done it, if himself had not deserved it* [h]. His death gave occasion to the *Messenian* war, but after what manner cannot easily be determined. There was, it seems, a temple of *Diana* seated on the marches between *Laconia* and *Messenia*, to which the inhabitants of both regions resorted; some *Spartan* virgins repairing thither, were violated by the *Messenians*, and *Teleclus*, endeavouring to prevent this outrage, was slain; the women also famished themselves to death. This is the *Spartan* side of the story, the *Messenians* reported it thus: That *Teleclus* intending to surprize some of the principal persons of their country, came thither with certain of his friends in female habits, with poinards under their cloaths; and that a fray happening, *Teleclus* and some of his associates were slain. But there b wanted not other causes of ill-will among these people, for the *Spartans* entertained an opinion that their kings *Euristhenes* and *Procles* were cheated by their uncle *Cresphontes* in the assignment of their territories, the most barren being given to them, and the best reserved to himself. While things were in this situation, an injury done to a private person kindled up the fire of war. Thus it happened; *Polychares* a *Messenian* intrusted *Euephnus* a *Lacedæmonian* with some cows, on condition that he should have a moiety of the profit arising from their milk. The *Spartan* sold these cows to certain chapmen, and not only the cows, but the herdsmen who kept them, his merchants agreeing to take them away by force; as soon as this was done, *Euephnus* went to *Polychares*, and told him a melancholy accident of certain robbers, who c had stolen the cattle, and their keepers. But, unluckily for him, while he was in the midst of his tale, came one or two of his herdsmen, who had made their escape, and falsified all he said; upon this the *Lacedæmonian* confessed the truth, and told *Polychares*, that if he would send his son home with him, he would give him a moiety of the money, to which the *Messenian* readily agreed. But when they were come to *Sparta*, *Euephnus* most perfidiously murdered the lad, and *Polychares* coming several times to *Sparta* to demand justice, was forced to retire unredressed and unheeded. He being exceedingly provoked with such barbarous usage, resolved to take vengeance of the whole nation, and in consequence of this resolution, killed as many of d the *Lacedæmonians* as he could meet with, which on the other hand was highly resented by that people [i]. These transactions we have thrown together, though they happened at some distance of time, because we were willing to place all the causes or supposed causes of the *Messenian* war in the reader's view at once; we will however interrupt this narration a little, that we may preserve in its just order the succession of the *Spartan* kings.

*The reigns of* Nicander *and* Alcamenes.

To *Charilaus* succeeded his son *Nicander*, who reigned thirty-nine years, and in the thirty-fourth year of whose reign was celebrated the first olympiad; he is said to have carried on the war with the *Argives*, and to have done them a great deal of mischief; but for other great actions of his life, if there were any, they were not e recorded. *Teleclus* had for his successor his son *Alcamenes*, who with his collegue before-mentioned, sent to the *Messenians* to demand justice against *Polychares*, and that he should be delivered up; the *Messenians* were at that time governed by *Androcles* and *Antiochus*, brothers; the former was much against yielding on any terms to the request of the *Lacedæmonians*, alledging that they were the aggressors, and therefore ought to do justice first; the latter was against hazarding the public safety on account of a private person, and therefore declared that he would give up *Polychares* rather than break with the *Spartans*; the disputes on this occasion rose so high, that from words they came to blows, wherein *Androcles* was slain. *Antiochus* now reigning alone, sent immediately embassadors to *Sparta*, beseeching the king and senate f to consider that they were originally of the same stock, and that therefore they ought not to be ready on every turn to make war on each other, offering in the present case to leave the decision of this matter either to the *Argives*, who were their common allies, to the *Amphictyonian* council, or to the senate of *Areopagus* at *Athens*. The *Spartans* gave no answer to these deputies, and while things were in this situation, *Antiochus* died, and was succeeded in his dominions by his son *Euphaes*; to him the *Lacedæmonians* made no complaint, neither did they renounce their correspondence with the *Messenians*, yet were they all this time providing secretly for the war, and when all things were ready, engaged in it without giving the least notice. Before

[h] Plut. ubi supra. [i] Pausan. in Messen. Strab. lib. vii, viii. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.

they

a they proceeded to hostilities, the kings and senate called a general assembly, in which the troops appointed for the war took a solemn oath never to return home till they had entirely conquered *Messenia*, which shewed that this was a war of ambition rather than justice, and intended not to repair their own injuries, but to ravage the country of their neighbours [k].

*Alcamenes* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a complete army, entered the *Messenian* territory suddenly, and by night, in consequence of which he easily surprized the city of *Amphea*, the gates of which were opened as usual, the inhabitants not having the least suspicion of what afterwards happened. The *Spartans* behaved on this occasion very cruelly, they slew without distinction all who came in their way, nor b did even temples or altars afford a sanctuary to such as fled thither for protection. The conveniency of the city, which the *Lacedæmonians* knew would serve them as a proper magazine during the war, tempted them to this exploit, and in all probability engaged them to treat the people thus harshly, that they might make themselves absolutely masters of it, and its districts. *Euphaes* the *Messenian* king, on the first news of this extraordinary stroke, assembled his people, and having encouraged them to keep up their spirits, and not to believe that all was lost, because *Amphea* was in the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*; he likewise gave them his opinion of the war, and of the manner in which they might best carry it on; he observed to them that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only brave, but were also bred up to war, as to a c trade, nay were indeed bred up to nothing else; whence he inferred that it was by no means prudent for them to engage in pitched battles with such an enemy. Wherefore his council was, that they should carry on a defensive war in the best manner they were able, till by degrees they acquired experience enough to fight the *Spartans* upon equal terms. The *Messenians* following his advice, maintained a defensive war for three years, in which they suffered the *Spartans* to obtain very few advantages over them. In the fourth year *Euphaes* ventured an engagement, but it was with great circumspection, for having intrenched his best troops, he drew out his horse and light-armed forces skirmishing with these; and when the *Spartans* drew nearer, and thought to have brought it to a general battle, he withdrew his army d behind his entrenchments; and as the *Spartans* had no materials for filling up the ditch, which lay before his works, they were constrained to retire, and shortly after returned to their own country, where they met with a very indifferent reception, on account of the oath which they and their forces had taken, never to return till they had thoroughly reduced *Messenia* [l]. A very short time after this both the kings died. As to *Nicander* we find little of him in ancient authors more than has been already mentioned; with respect to *Alcamenes*, *Plutarch* hath preserved some passages of his life, which shew that he was a wise and gentle prince [m]. Being once asked how a prince might best secure his government, he answered, *By despising gain.* When the *Messenians* sought by presents to have gained him to their interest, he refused them; e and the reason of this being demanded, he readily answered; *If I had taken them, the laws and I could never have agreed.* He inherited, it seems, a great deal of wealth from his father, and encreased it by his own management, living still in a plain parsimonious manner; for which being reproached, he said; *Is it not a mark of virtue and good sense, when he who has abundance chuses to live, rather according to reason, than appetite?* It is a misfortune to us, that we know not from whom the author beforementioned copied these sayings; and the reader, it is to be hoped, will excuse us, if, finding little to say of their deeds, we entertain him sometimes with the sayings of those *Spartan* kings.

*The* Messenian *war commences. Year after the flood* 2256. *Before Christ* 743.

*Polydorus* succeeded his father *Alcamenes* in the kingdom, and *Theopompus* his father f *Nicander*. With these princes the *Spartans* intrusted a new army, with express instructions not to act as their predecessors had done, but to put their country in possession of a prize which she had so long desired. The *Messenians*, under the command of *Euphaes* their prince, no longer fled from their enemies, as hitherto they had wont; but prepared to give them battle, as soon as a proper opportunity offered. It was not long before they had occasion to make trial of each other's valour; the *Lacedæmonians* then marched towards the enemy in battalia. *Theopompus* commanding the right wing, and *Polydorus* the left; the *Messenians* disposed their army so as best to

Polydorus *and* Theopompus *succeed in the* Spartan *kingdom.*

[k] Pausan. & Justin. ubi supra. [l] Pausan. in Messen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 4. [m] Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon.

oppose

oppose the *Spartans*, *Antander* and their king *Euphaes* commanding their left, and *Pytharatas* their right; the engagement was very obstinate, the centre in both armies remaining firm; the right wing of the *Spartan* army was routed by *Euphaes*, as was the right wing of the *Messenian* army by *Polydorus*, *Pytharatas* their general being slain. These advantages however were so inconsiderable, that neither party durst pursue the other, and the next day a truce was agreed to, that both sides might have leisure to withdraw, and bury their dead; after which the *Spartans*, notwithstanding the instructions they had received, thought fit to return home, the conquest of *Messenia* appearing by this time a thing impracticable for the present [a]. The reader will observe that we have ascribed this war to motives of interest, which at first sight may seem to clash with what the historians, whom we have mentioned, have said about it; but that the fact was so, putting all circumstances together, is indubitably true; nay *Polydorus* the *Spartan* king openly professed as much when he went to this war; for some of the *Messenians* having demanded of him, *If he would fight against his brethren*, alluding to their and the *Lacedæmonians* descent from the same parents, the king readily answered, *No, but I will put in my claim to an estate, to which as yet no body has any good title* [b]. The great resistance the *Messenians* made on this second invasion, determined the *Spartans* not to carry on the war any longer in the same manner, but to content themselves with harassing and plundering the country, whereby the spirits of their own troops would be kept up, and the *Messenians* worn out, and destroyed; for in this lay the great advantage of the *Spartans*, that war was their business, in which if they were not engaged, they were idle, whereas the *Messenians* having their country affairs to mind, were beggared and destroyed by being thus obliged to keep many garisons, besides a standing body of troops in the field. To add to these misfortunes, which were already almost insupportable, a distemper raged in *Messenia*, which differed little from the plague, except that it did not sweep off such numbers. These misfortunes produced a long and serious consultation among the chief persons in the kingdom, who at length came to a resolution to abandon such villages and little towns as were least capable of defence, and to fortify a city which stood on the top of the mountain *Ithome*; to which the inhabitants of the demolished places might repair: from this they promised themselves two things; first, that they should be released from the expence of garisons; secondly, that in time of distress this might be made a place of certain safety [c].

*The* Argive *or* Thyrean *war.*

The *Spartans* were about this time called off from the *Messenian* war to engage with the *Argives*; the dispute was about the city *Thyrea*, and its district, which lying on the borders of *Argolis* and *Laconia*, had been an old bone of contention between those states [d]. To avoid a great effusion of blood, it was by both parties agreed, that three hundred *Argives*, and as many *Lacedæmonians*, should decide the quarrel between the nations, the armies on both sides retiring. In consequence of this agreement, these six hundred men engaged, and fought with such obstinate resolution, that when night came on, there were but two *Argives*, *viz.* *Alcinor* and *Chromius*, and one *Spartan*, whose name was *Othryades*, left alive. The *Argives* ran home to their city to carry the news of the victory. *Othryades* remained in the field of battle, and erected a trophy; hence a new dispute commenced, both parties claiming the victory; the *Argives*, because two of their men were left; the *Spartans*, because the *Argives* fled, and left *Othryades* in possession of the field of battle; this produced a new war, in which the *Lacedæmonians* were victors, a great battle having been fought between their army under the command of *Polydorus*, and that of the *Argives*, with a mighty slaughter of the latter. Some would have persuaded the *Spartan* king to have pursued this victory, and to have attacked *Argos* itself; but he answered with a generosity becoming his character, that the *Spartans* sent him to assert their rights, and not to rob others [f]. Thus ended the *Argive* war, some circumstances of which are variously reported (C). Let us now return to the affairs of the *Messenians* after their fortifying *Ithome*.

The

[a] Pausan. ubi supra. [b] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. [c] Pausan. ubi supra. [d] Herod. lib. i. Pausan. in Argol. [e] Suidas in voce Ὀθρυάδης. Pausan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

(C) In the lesser treatise of parallels between the Greeks and *Romans* generally ascribed to *Plutarch*, the abovementioned fact stands thus: "The *Argives* "and *Lacedæmonians* being engaged in a dispute "about the city and district of *Thyrea*, the *Amphictyons* decreed that it should be decided by "combat. The *Lacedæmonians* chose for their captain *Othryades*; the *Argives Thersander*; the battle being

*The measures taken in this space by the* Messenians.

a THE desire of freeing themselves from this grievous war with *Sparta*, engaged them to send a person to consult the oracle at *Delphi*; the name of this man was *Tisis*, who in his return was attacked by some of the *Lacedæmonian* garison in *Amphea*, from whom however he escaped, though grievously wounded; of which wounds, having first revealed the oracle to the king, he died; the purport of it was, that unless a virgin of the house of the *Æpytidæ*, that is, the royal family, was sacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the ruin of their nation; this oracle, when reported, struck the *Messenians*, and especially the royal family, with the utmost terror. Lots however were cast, and the daughter of *Lysiscus* taken; but when she should have been sacrificed, *Epebolus* the soothsayer, declared that she b was not *Lysiscus*'s daughter, but imposed upon him by his wife, who thereby sought to escape the imputation of barrenness. While the soothsayer was setting forth this matter to the people, *Lysiscus* withdrew his daughter, and fled with her to *Sparta*. Upon this *Aristodemus*, one of the royal house, freely offered his daughter; a young man, who was present, alledged, that he was contracted to her, and that therefore her father had no right over her, which plea being over-ruled, he set up another, that he had consummated his marriage, and that she was actually with child by him; *Aristodemus* conceiving this to be a dishonour to his family, slew his daughter instantly with his own hand, after which opening her womb, he shewed it to the people. The soothsayer insisted that another should be sacrificed, the daughter of c *Aristodemus* having rather died by the passion of her father, than as a victim; but all the family of the *Æpytidæ* joined with the king, who persuaded the people that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of *Aristodemus*'s daughter. Public rejoicings therefore were made, and the *Messenians* concluded, that whenever the war should be renewed, they would be victors [1].

*The* Spartans *renew the war with the* Messenians.

SIX years after the flight of *Lysiscus*, and eight from the fortifying of *Ithome*, the *Lacedæmonians* entered *Messenia* again with a great army. The *Messenians* might undoubtedly have received great assistance from their neighbours, if they had carried on the war as they were wont, that is defensively; but they confiding in the oracle, were eager for an engagement, which suiting the *Spartan* method of making war, d quickly fell out; this battle, like the former, though obstinately fought, was not decisive, the night parting them; *Euphaes* however venturing too far against *Theopompus*, the *Spartan* king, was mortally wounded, and fell down; this, far from checking the spirit of the *Messenians*, made them the more eager, insomuch that a warm contest began about carrying off the dying king, in which the *Messenians* prevailed though with the loss of *Antander*, one of their best captains; *Euphaes* being carried back to *Ithome*, expired in a few days, after a reign of thirteen years, which had been one continual scence of war and confusion. *Euphaes* leaving no issue behind him, the people claimed a right of electing out of the royal family, whereupon *Cleonnis*, *Damis*, and *Aristodemus* put in their claims; the people elected the last, notwithstanding the soothsayers alledging he was incapable on account of his e having slain his daughter. This new monarch was no sooner seated on his throne, than he began to negotiate with the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, in order to draw them to his assistance against the *Lacedemonians*, wherein he was very successful, almost all the *Peloponnesians* beginning to be apprehensive of the mighty power and warlike genius of that nation. At the same time *Aristodemus* laboured with all his might to unite the minds of his countrymen, and to engage them to behave bravely in a war which so nearly concerned them, and on the event of which it depended whether for the future they should be freemen or slaves; with this view he showered his favours upon all, he raised his competitors to the chief dignities

[1] PAUSAN. in Messen.

" over, there remained only two *Argives*, whose " names were *Agenor* and *Cromius*, who ran strait " to the city to carry the news of their victory. " In the mean time while all was quiet, *Othryades*, " who was not quite dead, rose from the ground, " and having propped himself up with two pieces " of broken lances, he drew together as many " shields as lay within his reach, and piling them up, " wrote on the uppermost with his own blood these " words: To *Jupiter* the conqueror, guardian of " trophies. This creating a new dispute, which " was again brought before the *Amphictyons*, they " went to take a view of the place, and having " thoroughly examined all things, decreed in favour " of the *Spartans*. This is recorded by *Chrysermus* " in the third book of his *Peloponnesian* history (18).

(18) *Plutarch. in Paral. p.* 606.

in the kingdom, he conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and distributed a money amongst the people. Such was the beginning of *Aristodemus*'s reign, who was an avowed and most dangerous enemy to the *Spartans* [c].

*The ephori created at* Sparta.

About this time, as the best authors agree, a great change was made in the *Spartan* republic, which is ascribed to *Theopompus*, who seeing the necessity of leaving magistrates to execute the laws, when the kings were obliged to be in the field, appointed the ephori, who afterwards made so great a figure in the *Spartan* state [d]. Some think that they were at first the king's friends, to whom they delegated authority, which is very probable; but they soon grew to have no dependence on the kings, but on the contrary made the kings dependent upon them. They were five in number, chosen by the people out of their own body, sometimes out of the very dregs of it; b for whoever was a bold, factious, talking citizen, was most likely to be elected into this office; they were in fact a kind of tribunes of the people, and placed as checks on the senate and kings; they were annually elected, and in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite; as to their authority, it was in a manner boundless, they presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces that should be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state; they likewise held a court of justice, enquired into the behaviour of all magistrates, inspected into the behaviour and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and in short by c degrees drew the whole administration into their own hands. This *Theopompus*'s queen is said to have conjectured on their first appointment, which made her reproach her husband with suffering the regal dignity to descend to his children mutilated, and in a worse condition than he received it from his ancestors. *Theopompus* answered her with great prudence, that, far from having lessened or injured the regal authority, he had strengthened and secured it, because the people being satisfied by this institution, would have less inclination to run into tumults and seditions, in which princes are never safe [e]. One great privilege of the ephori was, that they did not rise up at the presence of the kings, as all other magistrates did [f]; another, that from the first electing of these magistrates the year was denominated, as at *Athens* from the first of d the archons [g]; the third high mark of their authority was, that if the kings offended against the laws, or were guilty of any sort of excess, the ephori took cognizance thereof, and punished them [h]. Some disputes there are as to the nature and extent of this office, which will be discussed in the notes, but it is now time to resume the thread of the history (D.)

The

[c] Pausan. in Lacon. & Messen. [d] Arist. Polit. lib. v. c. 11. Plut. in vit. Cleom. Valer. M. lib. iv. [e] Arist. Polit. ii. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Plat. de legib. lib. iii. Polyb. lib. iv. [f] Xenoph. de Repub. Lacedæm. [g] Pausan. Lacon. [h] Plut. Instit. Lacedæm.

(D) We have in the text placed the institution of the ephori under the reign of *Theopompus*, though it must be owned, that not only *Herodotus* in his history (19), but *Xenophon* also, treating expressly of the republic of *Lacedæmon*, ascribes the setting the ephori to *Lycurgus* (20). It is fit therefore that we give our reasons why we have rejected these authorities, which certainly would be admitted in any other case, and have placed the ephori a hundred and thirty years lower than *Lycurgus*. First then, we think that the nature of this office very little agrees with that legislator's scheme of government, since he seems to have sought, as far as in him lay, to support the authority of the kings and nobility; otherwise, why did he institute the senate? or why did he leave to the people in their general assembly nothing more than a negative voice? We do admit that these arguments would be of no weight at all against such authorities as *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, if there had not been writers of no less character on the other side. For, secondly, *Aristotle* is express in placing their institution lower (21); *Plutarch* in his life of *Cleomenes* introduces that prince, assigning them the same institution which we have done; besides *Theopompus*'s answer to his queen is recorded by authors of the best credit (22). So that on the whole, it is by far more probable, that this office began under the reigns of *Theopompus*, and his collegue, rather than under that of *Charilaus*. Undoubtedly their power grew by very slow degrees, and that at their first institution they were far from having that authority, which in after-times they exercised with so high a hand. Some have imagined that they were at first appointed by the kings at their pleasure, but that afterwards the people got the power of electing them into their hands; nay, those who have this notion have assigned the time, *viz.* in the fifty-fifth olympiad, when *Chilo* was the first of the ephori, that is the *Epynomus*, or him from whom the year took its name; but as there is no authority of any ancient author offered in support of this notion, and as it is founded only on the supposed sense of a passage in *Diogenes Laertius*, it is sufficient that we have mentioned it, nor are we bound

(19) *Herod. lib.* i. (20) *Xenophon. de Repub. Lacedæm.* (21) *Arist. Polit. lib.* v. (22) *Arist. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Lycurg. Valer. Max. lib.* iv.

*The* Spartans *again invade* Messenia. *Year after the flood* 2276. *Before Christ* 723.

a THE administration of affairs at home being thus provided for, the *Spartan* kings renewed the *Messenian* war, and having engaged the *Corinthians* to lend them some assistance, they marched with a great army towards *Ithome*. *Aristodemus*, like a great captain, disposed his own forces, and those of his confederates, in the best manner possible; himself and *Cleonnis* commanded the heavy armed forces, those who were light armed being committed to the care of *Damis*; the *Argives* and *Sicyonians* he opposed to the *Corinthians*, and the choicest of the *Arcadian* troops, with the flower of the *Messenian* infantry, he ranged against the *Lacedæmonians*; the light-armed soldiers were posted behind the hill, and all things thus disposed, the battle began with great vigour on both sides; the *Lacedæmonians*, though hard pressed, stood b firmly in their posts, and the *Corinthians* behaved very bravely for a long time; but when on a signal given, the light-armed forces commanded by *Damis* took them in flank, and by a shower of missive weapons, destroyed a great many men; they were at last constrained to betake themselves to flight, with very considerable loss, though the number be not ascertained. The *Spartans* were exceedingly afflicted at this miscarriage, and the *Corinthians* were sadly distressed, for they knew not which way to retreat, having on every side an enemy's country to pass through before they could reach home[b]. The *Lacedæmonians* continued the war, and sent deputies to consult the oracle at *Delphi* on its event; the *Messenians* did so too, to the former the oracle answered to this purpose, *By fraud* (i. e. *of* Cresphontes) Messenia *was obtained, and* c *by fraud it must be subdued.* To the latter the oracle also gave an answer, but so perplexed and obscure, that no body either could explain it, or pretended to explain it; the *Spartans*, in pursuance of their response, contrived many stragatems, and at last fixed upon this; they pretended to condemn a hundred men for treason, secretly instructing them to fly to *Ithome* as suppliants, from whence they might easily give their fellow-citizens notice of all the enemies councils; in this they followed the example of *Ulysses*, but not with the like success, for *Aristodemus* immediately penetrating the fraud, obliged the pretended deserters to return home, and directed them to tell the *Spartans, that though their injustice was new, yet their trick was stale*[c]. Some time after they began to be extremely alarmed by ill omens at *Ithome*, *Aristodemus* himself d had ill-boding dreams, wherein his daughter appeared to him, and upbraided him with her death. They had recourse to the old remedy, sending deputies to *Delphi*, and these deputies brought them advice, that whoever first dedicated a hundred tripods in the temple of *Jupiter* at *Ithome*, should remain masters of the place. This raised the spirits of the *Messenians* again, who having no money to make the tripods of brass, immediately fell to cutting them out in wood. The oracle being sent from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, one *Oebalus*, a crafty workman, made a hundred little tripods in clay, and disguising himself like a fowler, got into *Ithome*, and having placed them in the temple of *Jupiter*, escaped. The *Messenians* at this were again struck with despair, especially when they found the city invested by a great army from *Sparta*; e *Aristodemus* encouraged them awhile, but perceiving all things go ill, and that the city in spite of all his care would at last fall into the hands of the enemy, he fell himself into a deep melancholy, and going one night to the tomb of his daughter, there laid violent hands on himself[d]. On his demise the *Messenians* did not elect any other king, but chose *Damis* their chief by the title of general only. He did for them

[b] PAUSAN. Messen. [c] PAUSAN. Lacon. [d] PAUSAN. Messen. & Lacon.

bound to refute it. It is true, that *Cleomenes* in his speech recorded by *Plutarch*, alledges the same thing, that they were originally appointed by the kings, though he does not assign the time when their election was vested in the people; which yet it would have been natural for him to have done, if that time had been exactly known; the truth seems to be, that the election was always in the people, but that king *Theopompus* first devised this expedient of creating ephori for the preservation of the public peace; nor are we to regard what *Cleomenes* says, as the opinion of *Plutarch*, or as an authority indubitable in all its circumstances: for he delivered this discourse to the people after he had taken away the ephori, and therefore it is to be presumed he would say any thing which might serve to colour his designs; but we find it elsewhere recorded by the same author, that the ephori gave this account of the institution of this office, that they were intended to be arbitrators between the kings, when their disputes were likely to prove fatal to the state (23). We shall hereafter have occasion frequently to mention the conduct of these magistrates, and the methods they took to enlarge their authority; at present we have done all that was necessary in producing the reasons which have engaged us to believe, that the ephori were set up under the reign of *Theopompus*, but were always elected by the people.

(23) *Plut. in vit. Agid.*

all that man could do; but all proving ineffectual, such of the *Messenians* as had any a
hopes of a good reception, fled into the adjacent countries; the rest, together with the city of *Ithome*, were constrained to submit themselves to the *Spartans*, who treated them with great rigour. *Polyænus* indeed tells us, that *Ithome* was taken by the following stratagem: *Theopompus* with part of the army pretended to desert his collegue, actually removing from the camp, and pitching behind the city; the *Messenians* greedily laid hold of this opportunity of falling on *Polydorus*, with whom they were no sooner thoroughly engaged, than *Theopompus* with his forces attacked the city, and took it by storm [e]. However this matter happened, *Ithome* was certainly rased by the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Messenians* who remained in their own country, were tied to these conditions; first, that they should cultivate their lands with all diligence, b
and render half their fruits to the *Spartans*; and secondly, when any of the nobles of *Sparta*, or either of the kings died, they and their wives were to attend at the funeral procession in their weeds, on pain of suffering the highest penalties, if they neglected. Besides the *Spartans* gave away a part of their territories which bordered on the sea to the *Asinei*, and another part to the descendants of *Androcles* [f]; this was the end of the famous *Messenian* war, which makes such a figure in the *Greek* historians; that is to say at this time; for we shall see it break out again hereafter, and create new troubles to the *Spartans*.

*Sparta loses both her kings after the Messenian war.*

Some time after this war was over the *Spartans* lost both their kings, whose characters therefore we shall take this opportunity of giving our readers, with all the c
certainty and impartiality we may. *Theopompus* was a wise and gentle prince; as in a great measure appears from an answer he made to the following question; *By what means a monarch might live with the greatest safety? Let him* (answered the king) *permit his friends to advise him freely, and be himself always ready to punish the wicked strictly, and with a good will* [g]. He lost his son *Archidamus* a little before the *Argive* war, which was the reason that the conduct thereof was committed to his collegue. It is very probable, that there were great stirs in *Sparta* during their reigns, for besides establishing the ephori, these kings had recourse to the contrivance beforementioned, of substituting a new clause in the *Rhetra* concerning laws, whereby they restrained the power of the people [h]. The *Pillians* having received great favours from this d
prince, were inclined to pay him excessive honours, which he declined by this short message; *Moderate honours time increases, but takes the immoderate away.* He died in peace, a natural death, after a long and glorious reign [i]. *Polydorus* was a prince of the most amiable qualities, brave in war, prudent in peace, mild and just in both; he was prodigiously beloved by his people, yet in the end died a violent death; for one *Polemarchus*, a *Spartan* of a considerable family, and who was himself eminent in the state, killed him, for what reason is unknown [k]. The *Lacedemonians*, as a grateful testimony of their just sense of his merit, honoured his memory with a statue, and, which surpassed the usual measure of their favours, ordered his effigies to be engraven on the seal which their public magistrates were to make e
use of for the future, as if they were desirous of placing the example of this excellent prince continually before their eyes; a noble instance surely of their gratitude, and his virtues [l].

*Eurycrates and Zeuxidamus.*
*Year after the flood 2209.*
*Before Christ 707.*

*Eurycrates* succeeded his father *Polydorus*, and *Zeuxidamus* the son of *Archidamus* his grandfather *Theopompus*: these princes reigned with great tranquillity, there happening no foreign war in their time, neither the *Messenians* nor the *Argives* having yet recovered spirit enough to begin any new disturbances; at home however a conspiracy was discovered, which might have been very prejudicial to the state. The accounts we have of it are various from various authors, but to us it seems reasonable, that the relation of *Ephorus* the historian should be preferred [m]. The *Spartans*, when f
they were engaged in the *Messenian* war, having been ten years absent from the city, because of the oath they had made, not to return till they had entirely subdued that country; the women sent to them to put them in mind, that while they were so careful to subdue their enemies, they neglected the city; upon which they decreed, that such young men amongst them as came out of *Sparta* under age, and so were not obliged by the oath, should return, and associating themselves promiscuously

[e] Strateg. lib. i. c. 15. [f] Pausan. Lacon. [g] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. & Inst. Lacon. [h] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. [i] Pausan. Lacon. [k] Idem, Ibid. [l] Pausan. in Lacon. Herodot. hist. lib. vii. Plut. in Apophthegm. [m] Apud Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.



with

a with the unmarried women, preserve the city from falling to decay. This project being carried into execution, such as were born of these young women were styled *Partheniæ*, i. e. *sons of virgins*. When the *Lacedæmonians* returned, after the reduction of *Messenia*, they visibly neglected these young men, who at the same time found themselves under great difficulties, having neither parents to apply to nor inheritance to expect; they therefore began to intrigue with the *Helotes*, who were as unhappy as they could be, determining to fall upon the citizens at a general assembly, and to open to themselves a path to riches and honours, with their swords. They went so far as to appoint the signal for the attack, which was to be the throwing up of a cap; but some of the *Helotes* dreading the consequences, discovered the b whole matter, and when the time was come for the assembly, in which the conspiracy was to be executed, the cryer by command of the ephori made proclamation, that no man should throw up his cap, whereby the *Partheniæ* understood that their design was discovered; the *Lacedæmonians* did not however treat them harshly, but weighing the hardships they were under, and considering at the same time their numbers, and their intrigues with the *Helotes*, they wisely agreed to pass the matter by, and by public decree permitted *Phalantus*, who had been the ring-leader in this business, to sail with them over into *Italy*, where they settled themselves in *Tarentum* [a]. Such was the issue of a very dangerous business, and which fully proves the shallowness of human policy, which in this case was driven to undo what it had before c brought to pass, and which when it was brought to pass, no doubt was interpreted as an extraordinary stroke of wisdom. Farther particulars of these kings we have none except a few sayings of *Zeuxidamus*, which are of no great importance [b].

*Anaxander* succeeded his father *Euricrates*, as *Anaxidamus* did his father *Zeuxidamus*; in their reign the second *Messenian* war began, for these poor people having for a long time born the cruel treatment of their insulting lords, became at last unable to sustain it longer. *Aristomenes* the son of *Nicomedes* of *Andania*, descended of the royal blood, was the chief promoter of this revolt; he was bold, enterprizing, intrepid, a man of strong judgment, strict honour, and enthusiastically fond of liberty, and his country. He perceived that the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were friends only by force d to the *Spartans*, wanting and wishing an opportunity to revenge the many injuries which had been done them by this haughty nation. To these *Aristomenes* applied, and receiving an answer more conformable to his wishes than his expectation, he engaged his countrymen unanimously to take up arms thirty-nine years after the taking of *Ithome*, as *Pausanias* relates, though *Justin* and *Eusebius* allow an interval of eighty years between the first and second *Messenian* war [c], which is far from being probable, though, as we shall hereafter shew, this variance is not altogether unaccountable. About a year after the revolt began, and before either party had received any auxiliaries, the *Spartans* and *Messenians* met at a village called *Deræ*, where an obstinate engagement ensued; *Aristomenes* behaved himself so well therein, that he e brought victory to his side, and was conceived to have performed more than mortal atchievements; in gratitude therefore, respect being also had to his descent from *Epytus*, his countrymen unanimously saluted him king, which title he modestly waved, alledging that he took up arms to set them free, and not to make himself great: He consented however to accept the title of general, with a power of doing whatsoever he thought requisite for the service of the public. Knowing well the superstition of the age in which he lived, he resolved to intimidate the *Spartans*, by shewing them what he was sure they would take for an ill omen. Disguising himself therefore, he went privately to the city, where in the night he hung up a shield on the wall of the temple of *Minerva*, with this inscription; Aristomenes *dedicates* f *this of the spoils of the* Spartans *to the goddess*. It was easily perceived, that this war would be both long and bloody; the *Lacedæmonians* therefore sent deputies to *Delphi* to inquire of the oracle concerning its event; the answer they brought was, *That it behoved the* Spartans *to seek a leader from* Athens. The *Athenians*, naturally envious of the *Spartans*, granted their request indeed, but in such a manner as manifested their spite, for they sent them for a general *Tyrtæus* a school-master and poet, lame of one foot, and who was suspected to be a little out of his wits. But here their skill failed them, for this captain, notwithstanding his despicable appear-

Anaxander *and* Anaxidamus. *Year after the Flood*, 2314. *Year before Christ*, 685.

[a] Strabo ubi supra. Heracl. de Polit. Euseb. in Chron. Can. [b] Pausan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon. [c] Pausan. in Messen. Justin. lib. iii. Euseb. in Chron. Can.

ance, proved of mighty consequence to *Sparta*, teaching them how to use good fortune, and how to bear up under ill [a]. In the mean time *Aristomenes* had drawn together a mighty army, the *Eleans*, *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Arcadians*, having sent troops to his assistance, the *Spartans* in this as in the former war having no ally but *Corinth*. The *Spartan* kings, according to the custom of their city, no sooner took the field, than, notwithstanding their inferiority in number, they offered the enemy battle, which *Aristomenes* readily accepted; it was long, obstinate and bloody, but in the end the *Messenians* were victorious, and the *Lacedæmonians* put to flight with a great slaughter; *Aristomenes*, pursued them notwithstanding *Theocles* the soothsayer called him back, perceiving *Castor* and *Pollux* in a tree, by which there was a necessity of passing in the pursuit, which he continuing notwithstanding, when he came to that tree, lost his shield, which gave the *Lacedæmonians* an opportunity of withdrawing without further loss. It is scarce to be conceived how much the *Spartans* were struck with this defeat; they grew weary of the war, dissatisfied with their kings, diffident of their own power, and, in a word, sunk into a state of general uneasiness, and want of spirit. It was now that the *Athenian* general convinced them that he was capable of fulfilling all the promises of the oracle; he encouraged them by his poems, he directed them by his counsels, and recruited their broken armies with chosen men from among the *Helotes*; he shewed them the folly of diffidence, and roused them to the practice of those virtues for which *Sparta* had been famous. *Aristomenes*, on the other hand, acted with no less prudence and vigour, he thought it not enough to restore the reputation of the *Messenians*, if he did not also restore their wealth and power; he therefore taught them to act offensively against their enemies, and entering the territories of *Sparta*, he took and plundred *Pharæ*, a considerable borough in *Laconia*, putting all such as made any resistance to the sword, carrying off at the same time an immense booty; this however was an injury which the *Spartans* could not brook with patience, they therefore sent immediately a body of forces to overtake the *Messenians*, which accordingly they did, but little to their profit; for *Aristomenes* routed these pursuers, and continued to make a mighty slaughter of them, till such time as he was disabled by having a spear thrust through his thigh, which occasioned his being carried out of the battle [b]; his cure, which took up some time, being finished, he resolved to carry the war to the very gates of *Sparta*, and to that purpose raised a very great army; but whether he found his design impracticable, or was really diverted by some dream, he gave out, that *Castor* and *Pollux* with their sister *Helena* had appeared to him, and commanded him to desist [c]. A short time after this retreat, going with a small party to make an incursion, and attempting to take prisoners some women, who were celebrating religious rites near *Egila*, a village in *Laconia*, those zealous matrons fell upon him and his soldiers with such fury, that they put them to flight, and took him prisoner; however he soon afterwards made his escape, and rejoined his forces [d]. In the third year of the war the *Spartans* with a great force entered *Messenia*, whither *Aristocrates* king of *Arcadia* was come with a great body of troops to the assistance of his allies; *Aristomenes* therefore made no difficulty of fighting when the *Spartans* approached, but they entering privately into a negotiation with *Aristocrates*, engaged him with bribes and promises to betray his confederates. When therefore the battle began, the deceitful *Arcadian* represented to the forces under his command the mighty danger they were in, and the great difficulty there would be of retreating into their own country, in case the battle should be lost; he then pretended that the sacrifices were ominous, and having terrified his *Arcadians* into that disposition of mind fittest to serve his purpose, he not only drew them off from both wings, but in his flight forced through the *Messenian* ranks, and put them too in confusion. *Aristomenes* and his troops however drew themselves into close order, that they might defend themselves the best they could, and indeed they had need of all their valour and skill, for the *Lacedæmonians*, who expected this event, immediately attacked and surrounded them on all sides. Fortune was on this occasion too powerful either for the courage or the conduct of the *Messenians*, so that notwithstanding their utmost efforts, most of their army were cut to pieces, and amongst them the chief of their nobility, *Aristomenes* with the poor remains of his shattered forces, retired as well as he could, and perceiving that it was now impossible to maintain the war against the *Lacedæmonians* upon

[a] Strab. Geogr. lib. viii. [b] Pausan. Messen. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. ii. c. 31. [c] Id. ibid.

equal

a equal terms, he exhorted his countrymen to fortify mount *Era*, and to make the best dispositions possible for a long defence, he likewise placed garisons in *Pylus* and *Methonæ* on the sea-coasts, and to these three places he gathered all the inhabitants, leaving the rest of *Messenia* to the mercy of the *Spartans*. They, on the other hand, looked on the war as now in a manner finished, for which reason they divided the lands amongst their citizens, and caused them to be carefully cultivated, while they besieged *Era*; but *Aristomenes* quickly convinced them that the war was far from being over. He chose out of all the *Messenians* three hundred men, with whom he ravaged all the adjacent country, carried off prodigious booty, and when *Messenia* would no longer supply the wants of his garison, he penetrated into *La-*
b *conia*, and bore away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever else was necessary to the subsistence of his countrymen shut up in *Era*; so that at last the *Spartans* were constrained to issue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation, not only of the *Messenian* territory in their hands, but also of *Laconia* in its vicinity, whereby they distressed themselves more than their enemies, inducing at last a famine in *Sparta* itself, which brought with it its usual attendant sedition. Here again all things had gone wrong, if the wisdom of the poet *Tyrtæus* had not supported the *Spartan* courage, nor was it without much difficulty that he influenced them to continue the blockade of *Era*, and to maintain a flying camp for the security of the country[1].

*Aristomenes*, in spite of all these precautions, committed terrible depredations *The Messenian war continued with the utmost vigour.*
c with his small corps of three hundred men. Amongst other places which he plundered, the city of *Amyclæ* was one, from whence he carried not only a great quantity of riches, but also many carriages laden with provisions. The Kings of *Sparta* lying with their troops in its neighbourhood, as soon as they heard of this expedition, marched after *Aristomenes* with the utmost diligence, and as the *Messenians* were incumbered with their booty, they came up with them before he could reach *Era*. In this situation of things, *Aristomenes*, prompted rather by despair than prudence, disposed his troops in order of battle, and notwithstanding they were so few, made a long and vigorous resistance against the whole *Lacedæmonian* army. At length, however, numbers prevailed, the greatest part of the *Messenians* were
d slain on the spot, and *Aristomenes* with about fifty of his men, who survived the slaughter, were taken prisoners, that chieftain having received so many wounds, that he was senseless when they carried him away. The *Lacedæmonians* expressed the loudest joy at the sight of this illustrious captive, who for so many years by his single abilities had enabled his exhausted country to defend itself against the whole force of *Sparta*. When he was recovered of his wounds, they decreed him and all his fellow prisoners to be thrown together into a deep cavern, which was the common punishment of the lowest kind of offenders. This judgment was executed with its utmost severity, excepting that *Aristomenes* had leave to put on his armour. Three days he continued in this dismal place, lying upon and covered over with
e dead bodies; the third day he was almost famished through want of food, and almost poisoned with the stench of corrupted carcasses, when he heard a fox gnawing a body near him; upon this he uncovered his face, and perceiving the fox just by him, he with one hand seized its hind leg, and with the other defended his face by catching hold of the fox's jaw when he attempted to bite him. Following as well as he could his straggling guide, the fox at last thrust his head into a little hole, and *Aristomenes* then letting go his leg, he soon forced his way through, and opened a passage to the welcome rays of light, from which the noble *Messenian* had been so long debarred. Feeble as he was, *Aristomenes* wrought himself an outlet, with his nails, and travelling by night with all the expedition he could,
f at length arrived safe at *Era*, to the great joy and amazement of his countrymen. When this news was first blazed abroad, the *Spartans* would have had it pass for a fiction, but *Aristomenes* soon put the truth of it out of doubt, by falling upon the posts of the *Corinthians*, who, as the allies of the *Spartans*, had a considerable body of troops before *Era*. Most of their officers, with a multitude of private men he slew, pillaged their camp, and in short did so much mischief, that the *Spartans*, under a pretence of an approaching festival, agreed to a cessation of arms for forty days, that they might have time to bury their dead. On this occasion *Aristomenes* for the second time celebrated the *Hecatomphonia*, or the sacrifice appointed for those

[1] Pausan. in Messen.

who

who had killed a hundred of the enemy with their own hands; he had performed a
the same before and after his second battle, when he lost his shield; and he lived to do it
a third time, which must appear wonderful to the reader, when he is informed that
notwithstanding this truce, certain *Cretan* archers in the service of the *Spartans*, seized
*Aristomenes* as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away prisoner [x].
There were nine of them in all, two immediately ran away with the news to *Sparta*,
and seven remained to guard their prize, whom they bound, and conducted to a lone
cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. It so fell out that the
young woman dreamt the night before that she saw a lion without claws, bound and
dragged along by wolves, and that she having loosed his bonds and given him claws,
he immediately tore the wolves to pieces. As soon as *Aristomenes* came into the cottage, b
and her mother, who knew him, had told the daughter who he was, she instantly
concluded that her dream was fulfilled, and therefore plied the *Cretans* with drink,
and when they were asleep took a poinard from one of them, cut the thongs with
which *Aristomenes* was bound, and then put it into his hands; he presently verified
her vision by putting all his guards to death, and then carried her and her mother to
*Era*, where, as a reward for her service, he married the young woman to his son *Gorgus*,
then about eighteen years of age. When *Era* had held out near eleven years, it fell into
the hands of *Sparta* by an accident; the servant of one *Empiramus*, a *Spartan* com-
mander, driving his master's cattle to drink at the river *Neda*, met frequently with the
wife of a *Messenian*, whom he engaged in an amour; this woman gave him notice that c
her husband's house was without the wall, so that he could come to it without
danger when the good man was abroad, and she likewise gave him intelligence when
her husband was upon duty in the garison. The *Spartan* failed not to come at the
time appointed, but they had not been long in bed before the husband returned, which
put the house into great confusion; the woman however secured her gallant, and
then let in the good man, whom she received with the perfidious flattery peculiar to
her sex, inquiring again and again by what excess of good fortune she was blessed
with his return; the innocent *Messenian* told her, that *Aristomenes* being detained in
his bed by a wound, and the soldiers knowing that he could not walk the rounds, d
had a grant to retire to their houses, to avoid the bitter inclemency of the season.
The *Spartan* no sooner heard this than he crept softly out of doors and ran post-
haste to carry the news to his master; it so fell out that the kings were at this time ab-
sent from the camp, and *Empiramus* had the chief command of the army; as soon
as he received this information, he ordered his army to begin its march, though it
rained excessively, and there was no moon-light; the fellow guided them to the
ford, and managed matters so well, that they seized all the *Messenian* posts; yet
after all they were afraid to engage, darkness, a high wind, heavy rain, together
with the dread of *Aristomenes*, kept them quiet on the places they had seized. As soon e
as it was light the attack began, and *Era* had been quickly taken, if only the men
had defended it; but the women fought with such fury, and by their mingling in
the fray, brought such an accession of numbers, as made the business doubtful;
three days and two nights this desperate engagement lasted; at last all hopes of pre-
serving the city being lost, *Aristomenes* drew off his wearied troops. Early the fourth
morning he disposed the women and children in the centre, the *Messenian* youth in
the front and rear, the less able men in the main body, himself commanded the
van; the rear guard was brought up by *Gorgus* and *Manticlus*, the former the son
of *Aristomenes*, the latter of *Theocles*, a *Messenian* of great merit, who had fallen
with much glory in this attack, fighting valiantly in the cause of his country. When
all things were ready, *Aristomenes* caused the last barrier to be thrown open, and f
brandishing his spear, marched directly towards the *Spartan* troops in order to
force a passage. *Empiramus* perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the
right and left, and fairly give them a passage, so that *Aristomenes* marched off in
triumph as it were to *Arcadia*. It should seem that writing, as we do, the history
of the *Lacedæmonians*, we should here have done with the *Messenian* captain, the
war being now at an end; but it falls out otherwise, there is no keeping to the
story of *Sparta* without following this man to his last hour [z].

[x] Pausan. in Messen. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. ii. c. 31. sect. 2. Stephan. in voce *Αὐδανία*.
[z] Pausan. in Messen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.

The

*The end of the second* Messenian *war.*
*Year after the flood* 2331.
*Before Christ* 668.

a THE *Arcadians*, when they heard that *Era* was taken, were very desirous of succouring their old confederates in this their deep distress: they therefore intreated their king *Aristocrates* to lead them into *Messenia*; but he, corrupted by the *Lacedæmonians*, persuaded them that it was too late, that the *Messenians* were all cut off, and that such a step would only expose them to the fury of the conquerors; when the thing appeared to be otherwise, and it was known that *Aristomenes* was on the frontiers of *Arcadia*, they went in crouds to carry him provisions, and to testify their readiness to afford him and those under his command all the assistance in their power. *Aristomenes* desired to be heard before a general assembly, which being accordingly convoked, he there opened one of the boldest and best-laid schemes recorded b in history; he said that he had yet five hundred undaunted soldiers, who at his command would undertake any thing; that it was very probable most of the *Spartans* were employed in pillaging *Era*; and that therefore he was determined to march and surprize *Sparta*, which appeared so feasible, that all the assembly loudly commended his great capacity, and unshaken courage; *Aristocrates* however took care to betray him, having by various pretences retarded the execution of the project. The *Arcadians*, who began to suspect him, waited for and surprized his messengers as they came back; they took the letters from them, and read them openly in the assembly; the purport of them was, that they acknowledged his great kindness both now and in the battle, and promised that the *Lacedæmonians* would be grateful; as c soon as the letters were read, the *Arcadians* fell to stoning their king, frequently calling upon the *Messenians* to assist them, which however they did not, waiting for *Aristomenes*'s orders, who, far from triumphing in this spectacle, stood still with his eyes fixed on the ground, which he wet with his tears, his soul pierced with sorrow to see a crowned-head so shamefully and so deservedly put to death[7]. The *Arcadians* afterwards erected a monument over him, with an inscription to perpetuate his infamy. As for the *Messenians* under the command of *Gorgus* and *Manticlus*, they passed over into *Sicily*, where they founded the city of *Messene*, one of the most famous in the island. *Aristomenes* remained however in *Greece* where he married all his daughters, except the youngest, to persons of great rank. A prince of *Rhodes* d inquiring of the oracle at *Delphi* whom he should espouse, that his subjects might be happy under his posterity, was directed to marry the daughter of the most worthy of the *Greeks*, which answer was immediately understood to point at the virgin daughter of *Aristomenes*; her therefore he demanded and received, *Aristomenes* accompanying him back to his dominions, where he formed a scheme of uniting the *Lydians* and *Medes* against the *Spartans*, resolving with this view to go himself to *Media*, and to the court of *Sardis*; but while he meditated these great things, death surprized him, and thereby freed *Lacedæmon* from the most inveterate enemy she ever had. His son-in-law honoured his memory with a most magnificent tomb, and as for his fame, all historians have shewn the utmost regard in conserving it (E.)

e



*Messenia*

[7] PAUSAN. in Messen. POLYB. lib. iv. p. 501.

(E) The history of *Aristomenes*, as we have related it from the best authorities among the *Greeks*, though it contains a great many wonderful circumstances, hath not in it however any thing absurd or incredible; but it is not to be wondered, that such as prefer the marvellous to consistent history have laid hold of this great man's character to give colour to some of their strange stories. *Pliny* has one concerning him, which may perhaps vie with any legend ancient or modern; he says, that when he was a third time taken, they were resolved to see wherein he differed from other men; for they could not conceive that after so many accidents had befallen him, he could possibly keep up his spirits by the ordinary supplies of nature; they therefore cut open his bosom, and thereby discovered, as they conceived, the cause of this extraordinary courage; and what should this be, but that his heart was hairy, a mighty probable cause truly (20)! In the beginning of the last *Messenian* war, or rather when *Era* was first besieged, persons were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi* concerning the event; the answer was very disagreeable, being to this purpose:

Thy fate *Messene*, now is near at hand;
Nor can I longer the decree withstand,
Than till the he-goat from its banks shall try
To taste of *Neda*'s streams which swiftly fly.

In the *Greek* the word translated he-goat is *Tragos*, and from hence it came to pass that the *Messenians* were scrupulously careful that no he-goat should come near the river; but when the fate of *Era* really approached, it appeared that the oracle had been quite misunderstood; for *Theocles* the sooth-sayer observing certain wild fig-trees which grew by the river's side, no longer shoot their leaves upwards as they were wont to do, but bending them down towards the river, recollected that though the other *Greeks* called this tree *Olynthos*, yet the *Messenians* called it *Tragos*; he therefore gave notice of this to *Aristomenes*, and told him plainly, that he apprehended

(20) *Plin. hist. natur.* lib. xi. c. 37. *Stephen. Byzan. in voce* Ἀνδανία.

Messenia *divided by the* Lacedæmonians.

*Messenia* once more reduced, the *Spartans* treated the remaining inhabitants with a severity that became proverbial, making them all slaves, and dividing the whole country, excepting the district of *Methone*, which they gave to the *Argives* among their own citizens; whereby they became much more formidable than hitherto they had been, and began already to affect the sovereignty of *Greece*. We find nothing farther which deserves notice recorded of either of the *Lacedæmonian* kings, unless it be a saying of *Anaxander*; of whom it being demanded, *Why the* Lacedæmonians *kept no money in their exchequer*, he answered, *That the keepers thereof might not be tempted to be thieves*[a].

*The reigns of* Eurycrates *and* Archidamus.

*Eurycrates* succeeded his father *Anaxander*, as *Archidamus* did his father *Anaxidamus*; of their reigns we know nothing more than that they passed them in peace and quietness; for though various authors have recorded the names of these princes, remembrance of their actions we find none[a], unless it be the following wise saying of *Eurycrates*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Eucratides*; who, when it was asked him, *Why the ephori sate every day to determine causes about contracts*, answered, *That we may learn to keep our words even with enemies*[b]. *Archidamus* was also called *Agasicles*, which is the reason that *Herodotus*, making use of the *Ionic* dialect, writes his name *Hegisicles*.

*The reigns of* Leo *and* Aristo.

*Eurycrates* was succeeded by his son *Leo*, and *Archidamus* by his son *Aristo*, princes concerning whom historians are not so silent. *Leo* was a man of great capacity, and very solicitous for the strict execution of justice; for it being demanded of him, *Under what government a man might live safest*, he answered immediately, *Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor, where integrity is sure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none*. At the olympic games, when every body commended the victors, *How much better*, said he, *would it have been, if these men had laid out the pains they have taken to be swift in learning to be honest*[c]! *Aristo* his collegue is remarkable in history for some extraordinary things which fell out in his family; he had two wives, but was so unfortunate as to have children by neither of them, which put him upon taking a third, though the wife of his friend *Agetus*, the most beautiful woman in *Sparta*. In order to obtain her, he contrived this scheme: He took his friend *Agetus* one day in a gay humour, and having first sworn to give him whatever precious thing he chose belonging to himself, drew from him a like oath; and when *Agetus* had chosen, the king in consequence of that oath demanded his wife. *Agetus* protested that he did not comprehend his wife to be included in the promise that had passed between them; but *Aristo* insisted that an oath was to be understood in the sense he who received it took it; *Agetus* submitted, and the king accordingly took his wife. About seven months after he had taken her, as he sate with the ephori hearing causes, a servant came in great haste to tell him that the queen was brought to bed; upon which, telling the months upon his fingers, he dropped some expressions, as if he doubted whether the child was his; however he owned the boy, and called him *Damaratus*[d]. During the reigns of *Leo* and *Aristo* the *Lacedæmonians* were engaged in a war with the *Tegeatæ*, wherein they were successful, as it should seem from *Pausanias*'s account of the matter, though *Herodotus* tells it otherwise[e].

Anaxandrides *succeeds his father* Leo.

*Anaxandrides* succeeded his father *Leo* during the life-time of his collegue *Aristo*; in this time the body of *Orestes*, or rather his bones, were recovered and removed. He is reported also to have had two wives, which was a singular thing in *Sparta*, for whom he built separate houses; the reason of it was, that the ephori commanded him to divorce his first wife, because she bore him no children; but he not being able

[a] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. Pausan. in Lacon. [a] Herodot. lib. i. Pausan. ubi supra. [b] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon, & in Apophth. Reg. [c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [d] Pausan. in Lacon. Herodot. lib. vi. Plut. ubi supra. [e] lib. i.

hended the oracle was fulfilled thereby; whereupon *Aristomenes* took a certain sacred depositum, which *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* had foretold should be preserved till the *Messenians* were totally destroyed; this he interred in the most private part of the mountain *Ithome*, in doing which he hazarded his life by venturing without the walls of *Era* (21). There is nothing farther which deserves to be added to this note, unless it be the explanation we promised of the different dates assigned to the last *Messenian* war, which is however purely conjectural. It is this, that *Eusebius* did not say that the second *Messenian* war began eighty years after the first, but that it ended at that time; which is true, if we compute from the first disturbances on account of the death of *Teleclus* (22).

(21) *Pausan. in Messen.* (22) *Justin. lib.* iii. *c.* 4. *Eusb. Chron. Canon.*

to

a to bring himself up to this, contented himself with taking another wife, by whom he might have children; by her, not long after his marriage, he had *Cleomenes*; his first wife then also conceived and brought him a child, who was called *Dorieus*; the ephori pretending to make some scruple whether this was really her child or no, the business was quickly after effectually cleared up by her bearing *Leonidas* and *Cleombrotus*[f]. This king *Anaxandrides* was certainly a very wise man, and had very just notions of government, as, amongst others of his sayings recorded by *Plutarch*, appears from this: That it being demanded of him, *Why the* Spartans *were so cautious in passing capital judgments, and why, notwithstanding his acquittal, they still demanded a recognizance of a person accused*; he answered, *Because in capital cases*
b *execution can never be recalled; and in the other case they kept that recognizance, that if it so fell out, that the guilt of the person acquitted should afterwards appear, he might be liable to a juster judgment*[g]. *Aristo* was also a prince of great worth and probity, and in consequence thereof mightily beloved by his people. In the reigns of these princes, *Crœsus* king of *Lydia* was vanquished, taken prisoner, and an end put to his kingdom by *Cyrus*; he was during his prosperity a great lover of the *Greeks*, and particularly of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom he had frequent intercourse, and with whom he endeavoured to make a league in obedience to the command of the oracle, which directed him to ally himself to the chief among the *Greeks*, which he immediately understood of the *Spartans*[h].

c *Anaxandrides* was succeeded by his son *Cleomenes*, as *Aristo* was by his son *Damaratus*. It was strict regard to hereditary right which induced the *Lacedæmonians* to place *Cleomenes* on the throne, for he was known to be at certain times out of his senses, and when he had them, he was cunning, ambitious, and deceitful out of measure; whereas his brother *Dorieus* was remarkable for his prudence, the gentleness of his temper, and his skill in the art of war; he was so much disgusted however at his brother's being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony, whereby he obtained an honourable excuse for quitting his country[i]. In the very beginning of his reign *Cleomenes* engaged in a war with the *Argives*, whom he beat, and having driven a considerable body of them into a wood, he caused the *Helotes* to
d set that wood on fire, whereby numbers of them were destroyed; in all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce, untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he sought only victory, without inquiring whether the means by which he sought to obtain it were just or not; yet he had sometimes flights of fancy which had the appearance of a great genius; for example, he was wont to say, that Homer *was the poet of the* Lacedæmonians, Hesiod *of the* Helotes, because the former made war his subject, and the latter treated of husbandry[k]. He was early suspected of having views not much for the advantage or honour of the state; for at his return from the war with the *Argives*, he was accused of having let slip manifest opportunities of taking *Argos* itself; but the answers he gave, when the
e matter came to be heard before the ephori, were so satisfactory, that he was acquitted. He was a great friend to *Clisthenes* the *Athenian* and his party, at whose request he drove the *Pisistratidæ* out of *Athens*; afterwards he joined with *Isagoras*, whom the *Athenians* had banished, and endeavoured all he could to vest in him the sovereignty of that city, whereby he created great mischiefs to the *Greeks*. The *Corinthians*, who, as we have elsewhere seen, were the fast friends, and steady allies of the *Lacedæmonians*, disgusted at the haughty behaviour of *Cleomenes*, and at his wasting the territory of *Eleusina*, without regard either to the laws of God or men, deserted them; *Damaratus* his collegue also, who was a very worthy and excellent person, opposed him; and while he was gone into *Ægina*, where he pretended to seize the principal
f persons in the island under colour, that they were in the *Persian* interest; *Damaratus* accused him to the ephori and the senate of being an enemy to peace, a disturber of *Greece*, and one who would provoke all the neighbouring states to look with an evil eye on *Sparta*[l]. These discourses had at first their effect; but when *Cleomenes* returned, he found means not only to get himself acquitted, but to get his collegue deposed, which he wrought after the following manner: He suggested that *Damaratus*'s birth was liable to great suspicions, alledging the expression of his father beforementioned; the *Spartans* sent to the oracle at *Delphi*, in order to have

*The reigns of* Cleomenes *and* Damaratus.

[f] Pausan. in Lacon. Herod. lib. v. [g] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [h] Herod. lib. i. [i] Herod. lib. v. Pausan. ubi supra. [k] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [l] Herod. lib. v. Pausan. Lacon.

this intricate question decided; *Cleomenes* forsaw this, and therefore took care to a
corrupt the oracle, whereby he carried his point; for on the return of the deputies with the response, *Damaratus* was deposed, and *Leotychides* his cousin, the eighth in descent from *Theopompus*, was raised to the regal dignity. Such was the moderation of the deposed king, that instead of quitting his country, he still endeavoured to render it all the service he could, being content to execute inferior magistracies. But the intemperance of his successor vanquished at length his patience; for *Leotychides* being one day informed, that *Damaratus* was setting as inspector in the place of public exercise, sent a servant to insult him, by asking him this question, *How he liked his present office after executing that of king.* To which *Damaratus* fiercely answered, *That himself knew the weight of both, which he who sent him did not; but that* b
*this question should either prove the cause of great misery, or of great felicity to* Sparta. Then covering his head, he retired to his own house, where having first sacrificed to *Jupiter*, he then sent for his mother, and earnestly intreated her to tell him the truth as to his birth, whether, as he was reputed, he was the son of king *Aristo*, or whether, as his enemies suggested, *Agetus* was his father. She having in the most solemn terms assured him of his legitimacy, he pretended to take a journey to *Delphi*, but indeed resolved to quit *Sparta* for ever, and to retire where he might be absolutely safe; with this view he went first to *Elis*, from thence to *Zacynthus*, and at length into *Persia*, where he was received by king *Darius* with the utmost civility, had large revenues assigned him, and was in every respect used as a prince[m]. In his exile he c
behaved in a manner suitable to his dignity, and without shewing any rancour against his country; as an instance of the former, it is recorded of him, that when the *Persian* monarch would have punished a nobleman, who had revolted, and afterwards at *Damaratus*'s persuasion submitted himself to the king, the *Spartan* generously interposed, addressing the *Persian* king in these words; *It is dishonourable, O king, not to have had it in thy power to punish him when he was a rebel, and as dishonourable to exert a power of punishing now he is become thy friend*[n]. With respect to the latter, when he found that the *Persian* was determined to make war on *Greece*, we are told he sent the first advice thereof cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax. He was the only king of *Sparta*, who was victor in the olympic games. d
In a word, he was a person of such merit, that none of the *Persians* envied the honours and revenues which he acquired in their country, where his posterity flourished many ages after[o].

Leotychides *succeeds* Damaratus.

*Leotychides*, as he was raised to the kingdom by the craft of *Cleomenes*, so he was intirely governed by him in all that he did; he went with him to *Ægina*, from whence they brought away some of the principal inhabitants prisoners, and left them with the *Athenians*, their mortal enemies; for which he afterwards suffered, though he acted merely by the advice, and under the influence of *Cleomenes*. As for that prince, he continued to act as inconsistently as formerly, that is, sometimes with extraordinary virtue, and at other times without the least regard to justice. When *Aristagoras* the *Milesian* tyrant came to *Sparta* with an intent to persuade *Cleomenes* e
to make war upon the *Persian* king, he heard his proposals both as to the method of the war, and the private advantages which might accrue to himself; but he advised his country against the former, and absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the latter, wherein he acted with great penetration as well as integrity; for the same prince prevailing with the *Athenians*, thereby induced that war which had well-nigh brought on the total destruction of *Greece*. He likewise resisted all the solicitations of *Mæander*, the tyrant of *Samos*, who also would have tempted him with money; and not only so, but complained of him to the ephori, telling them that if they did not banish this man out of their territories, he would teach the *Lacedæmonians* to be f
knaves. When by degrees his contrivances against *Damaratus* came to light, and the *Spartans* began to shew some inclination to examine strictly into that matter, he thought it best to fly first into *Thessaly*, and then into *Arcadia*, where he immediately excited new troubles, drawing about him a multitude of *Arcadians*, and endeavouring by a solemn oath to bind him to his service. The *Spartans* knowing well his enterprizing genius, and being afraid lest he should excite the *Arcadians* to invade them, recalled him, and restored him to his dignity; but a short time after he returned, he fell mad, running people in the face with his sceptre as he met them in the streets;

[m] Herodot. lib. xvii. Pausan. Lacon. [n] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [o] Herodot. lib. vii. Pausan. Lacon.

upon

a upon which they were constrained to confine him, and to put on him fetters of wood[p]. In this condition he was attended by a *Helot*, who was his keeper, from whom partly by fair means, partly by threats, he obtained a sword, wherewith beginning at the calf of the leg, he ripped himself up, and having at length cut out his bowels, fell down dead. Many of the *Spartans* imputed this extraordinary fact to his corrupting the oracle of *Delphi*, and thereby procuring the deposition of *Damaratus*; the *Athenians* attributed it to his sacrilege at *Eleusina*; the *Argives* were as positive that it befel him for burning their sacred grove (F). As for those who were for ascribing his end to natural causes, they alledged that drinking immoderately with the *Scythian* embassadors, his drunkenness issued in madness[q]. He left behind b him a daughter named *Gorgo*, one of the most celebrated women of her time. The inhabitants of *Ægina* upon his death applied themselves to the *Spartans*, complaining loudly against *Leotychides*, for that he in conjunction with *Cleomenes* had been concerned in carrying off the principal men of their island, and putting them into the hands of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans*, who, as a nation, piqued themselves much upon their justice, disclaimed the whole of this proceeding, and offered the inhabitants of *Ægina* to deliver up *Leotychides* into their hands; but the deputies of that island wisely declined carrying the king of *Sparta* away; they contented themselves therefore with desiring he might go with them to *Athens*, there to use his utmost endeavours to rectify the mischief he had done them by procuring their hostages to c be delivered up, which accordingly he did; but his and their applications being fruitless, they suffered him to return again to *Sparta*, where he still retained the regal dignity, though he never reigned in the hearts of the people, who, as it is

[p] Pauson. Lacon. Herod. lib. vi.

[q] Pausan. ubi supra. Herodot. ubi supra.

(F) There is no part of *Cleomenes*'s character more unjustifiable than that which regards the *Argives*, against whom he made a war, without observing any laws of honour or justice. The accounts we have of his exploits against this nation are so dissonant, and the circumstances contained in them so incompatible, that it is far from being easy to judge whether the facts mentioned fell out in one and the same war, or in several; and if the latter be the truth, in what parts of his reign they happened. Without troubling our readers with a nice inquiry into these particulars, we will give them in few words a detail of the principal matters laid to the charge of *Cleomenes*. He is said to have been promised by an oracle, that he should take *Argos*; in confidence of which he marched with his army directly towards the city (23); but between him and it lay a considerable army of the *Argives*, who prepared to defend themselves in the best manner they might, though under great discouragements from certain responses which they had received, which gave them to apprehend that they should be overcome by fraud. In order to guard against this, in the most probable manner they could devise, they determined to govern their motions by the enemies signals, which they esteemed a certain preservative against being surprized (24). But this precaution served only to ruin them; for *Cleomenes*, having intelligence thereof, gave order to his forces to attack the *Argives*, when the signal was made for them to go to dinner. This being exactly followed, the army of *Argos* was intirely defeated; for they beholding the *Spartan* signal for dinner, went immediately to refresh themselves, but before they were well settled at their meal, the *Spartans* fell upon them, and slaughtered them almost without resistance. Their only refuge in this distress was a thick wood in their rear, into which they retired with all the expedition possible. *Cleomenes* instantly devised a new stratagem for destroying them there. He caused some who were well acquainted with the *Argives* to call them by name, and promise them quarter; yet as fast as they came out, he ordered them to be slain. Thus he cut off fifty, those in the grove, because of the thickness of the trees, perceiving nothing of what passed without. At length an *Argive*, getting upon an high tree, discovered from thence what was doing. The *Lacedæmonians* then called in vain, no more of the *Argives* ventured out, which put *Cleomenes* on a more cruel expedient; he caused his *Helotes* to surround the grove with brush-wood, and other combustible matter; and then setting it on fire, burned all the hapless wretches. He then enquired to whom the grove was dedicated? *To Argos*, replied a priest. Alas! cried *Cleomenes*, *This oracle has deceived me, this is all the* Argos *I shall take*. He afterwards sacrificed by force on the altar of *Diana*, and caused the priest who would have hindered him to be chastised. The sacrifices, as some say, proving unlucky, he desisted, and was accused at his return for not taking *Argos*, but on hearing his defence acquitted (25). The general opinion is, that he actually attacked the city with his collegue *Damaratus*, but was constrained to retire by the following means: There was in that city a lady named *Telessilla*, who being of a very weak constitution, was directed by the oracle to addict herself to the muses. In consequence of this response, she studied poetry with such success, that though on the approach of the *Lacedæmonians* there were none but women in the city, she inspired them with such resolution, that they shut the gates, took arms, and forced *Damaratus*, who was already in the suburbs, to retire; as also *Cleomenes* himself, and his army. In memory of this extraordinary event an anniversary solemnity grew into use at *Argos*, in which women went about in mens cloaths, and men put on womens habits (26). It is agreed by all the ancient writers that *Cleomenes* laughed at and despised oracles; the reason is clear, because he had corrupted them (27).

(23) *Herodot. Hist. lib.* vi. *Pausan. Argol.* (24) *Herodot. ubi supra.* (25) *Plut. Apophthog. Lacon.* (26) *Herodot. ubi supra. Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* viii. 33. *Plut. de virtut. Mulier.* (27) *Plut. Apophthog. Lacon.*

their custom, regretted their absent prince, and were angry with the work of their own hands; the consequences of all this we shall hereafter have occasion to explain, let us in the mean time pass to the story of his collegue [r]. a

Leonidas *succeeds* Cleomenes.

*Leonidas* the son of *Anaxandrides*, half brother to *Cleomenes*, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his daughter *Gorgo*; he was a prince of great moderation, and of a valour superior to most men of his age; some of the *Spartans* however, who disliked his family, could not help speaking disrespectfully to him; one of them particularly told him to his face, *That except being a king, he was no better than them*; to which, *Leonidas* smiling, answered, *If I had not been better than you, I had not been a king* [s]. When *Miltiades* the *Athenian* fought the famous battle of *Marathon*, the *Spartans* had promised an army, but had sent none; they arrived a little after the battle, went to the spot where it was fought, where having considered attentively the prodigious difficulties the *Athenians* had overcome, and after highly commending them, they returned home again to *Sparta*. When, as the wisest of the *Greeks* had foreseen, this battle at *Marathon* only excited the *Persian* to attempt again the conquest of *Greece*; the *Spartans*, with a resolution worthy of the disciples of *Lycurgus*, determined to oppose them; *Damaratus* their king was constrained to accompany *Xerxes* in this expedition, though in respect to his country he had sent early notice thereof to *Gorgo* the wife of *Leonidas*, and the daughter of his greatest enemy. When it was apparent that *Xerxes* would enter *Greece* in person with a prodigious army, a general assembly was held at the isthmus, the resolutions of which were these: *That the states of* Greece *should unanimously join in defending its liberty against the* Persians; *that for the present all their quarrels amongst themselves should be suspended*; *that the tenth of the spoil should be dedicated to* Apollo; *and that of those who deserted the common cause a decimation should be made, that is, a tenth part should be put to death without mercy* [t]. b c Warm and generous resolutions, if the same spirit had accompanied them in the execution; but, alas, when words were to be changed into deeds, of all the confederates, the *Spartans* and *Athenians* only seemed ready to do any thing. The *Thessalians* were the first who were to feel the weight of *Xerxes* and his myriads; they therefore sent to the *Greeks* to beseech them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they submitted to an enemy they could not resist. Upon this ten thousand men were sent by sea to *Thessaly* under the command of *Evenetus* a *Spartan*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*; but when they came thither, they were convinced that this measure would prove ineffectual; for in a plain country, as *Thessaly* is, there could be no hopes of opposing such multitudes of men with a few, especially when it was known that many of the *Thessalian* princes could not be depended on, and that many of the passages into *Thessaly* were in the power of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*; the army therefore returned without doing any thing. At the next general council however, it was resolved to defend the streights of *Thermopylæ*, in pursuance of which resolution six thousand foot were appointed for that service, and the command of them given to *Leonidas* [u]. Of these three hundred only were *Spartans*, according to the direction of the king; and when some principal persons demanded of him whether he had not a secret design in his head, he answered frankly, *I pretend to defend the streights of* Thermopylæ, *but in truth I go to die for my country*; and when they still wondered at the small number of men he took with him, he, turning to those to whom he had communicated his secret, said, *There are enow, considering the design we go upon.* When he took his leave of his wife, she asked him if he had nothing particular to say to her (G); *Marry some brave man*, said he, *and bring* d e

[r] Pausan. & Herodot. ubi supra. [s] Plut. in Apoph. [t] Herodot. lib. vii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. [u] Pausan. in Lacon. Herod. Hist. lib. vii.

(G) The character of *Gorgo* the daughter of *Cleomenes*, and wife of *Leonidas*, deserves to be particularly considered. *Plutarch*, who was so fond of the *Lacedæmonians*, that besides his institutes he wrote a book of their wise sayings, wrote also a particular treatise of the women, which was indeed extraordinary; and the reason of it was, because the *Spartan* dames were of a very masculine disposition, and spoke and acted with a freedom denied to their sex every-where else. *Gorgo*, who is to be the subject of this note, makes a very considerable figure in that treatise; but before we proceed to acquaint the reader with what *Plutarch* says of this lady, it will on many accounts be fit to give him a remarkable story recorded of her by *Herodotus*. That noble historian tells us, that when *Aristagoras*, tyrant of *Miletus*, attempted to engage *Cleomenes* in a design not only of freeing *Ionia*, but even of subverting the *Persian* empire; he brought with him a chart of the known world laid down on brass; after having shewn *Cleomenes* on this the situation of *Ionia*, and expatiated with great warmth on the glory

a *bring him brave children* *. When *Xerxes* came with his mighty army, he sent a spy to bring him advice of the posture in which *Leonidas* and his troops were; this spy reported that he found them exercising themselves in their usual games, and that they were putting garlands on their heads, as if they were about to celebrate some festival; the *Persian* thereupon asked *Damaratus* the meaning of it, *These men, Sir*, said he, *have devoted themselves to death for the service of their country*; at which *Xerxes* laughed, conceiving that he mightily over-rated the courage of his countrymen, whom himself doubted not to fright away with the very appearance of his army; but the event proved the contrary, though there were some among the confederates who were not a little terrified at the thoughts of an engagement. These b represented to *Leonidas*, *That a discharge of the* Persian *arrows would take away the light of the sun*; *Very well*, replied he, *then we shall fight in the shade*. When they approached, the same persons came to him again; *The* Persians, *Sir*, said they, *draw near*; *What of that*, said he, *Shall not we then be near them?* When *Xerxes* saw that he was mistaken, and that *Leonidas* really intended to fight, he wrote him a letter, wherein he told him, that the great superiority of his army might excuse his not opposing him, and that if he would embrace his interest, he should be lord of all *Greece*. To which *Leonidas* with great moderation answered, *If you knew wherein the happiness of life consisted, you would not covet what belongs to others*; *for my part, I had rather die for the liberty of* Greece, *than command over it*. *Xerxes* then ordered c the *Medes* who led the van in his army, to fall upon the *Greeks*, which they did with very great resolution, but were notwithstanding repulsed with prodigious

* Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

glory of an enterprize undertaken for the relief of the *Ionians*, pointing to his plate, he proceeded thus: "Next these the *Lydians* inhabit a fertil country "abounding in silver: And on the confines of "*Lydia*, these *Phrygians* are placed to the eastward, "more rich in cattle, and living in greater affluence "than any other people I know. Adjoining to "these are the *Cappadocians*, by us called *Syrians*, "and beyond them the *Cilicians*, whose country "extends to that sea in which the island of *Cyprus* "is situate, and pays an annual tribute of five hun-"dred talents to the king. Next to the *Cilicians* "are these *Armenians*, who possess great numbers "of cattle; and after them the *Matianians*, beyond "whose territories lies this province of *Cissia*, in "which *Susa* is built upon the river *Choaspes*. In "this place the great king resides, and his vast trea-"sures are here deposited. If you take this city, "you may boldly contend with *Jupiter* in wealth. "You will not find your account in fighting battles "to gain a country of small extent, narrow limits, "and indifferent soil, from the *Messenians*, who are "your equals in war, or from the *Arcadians* and "*Argians*: For none of these nations have either "gold or silver, the desire of which induces so "many men to hazard their lives. But when an "opportunity is offered to conquer all *Asia* with "facility, can you wish for any thing more?" To this discourse of *Aristagoras* *Cleomenes* answered, "*Milesian* friend, I defer to let you know my re-"solution till three days are passed." When that time was come, and they were both met at the appointed place, *Cleomenes* asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one might travel from the coast of *Ionia* to the place where the king was. But though *Aristagoras* was in other things a man of art, and much superior in ability to *Cleomenes*, yet he made a slip in this. For designing to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have abated something of the account: Whereas he told him plainly 'twas a journey of three months: Which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard, than interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he said, "*Milesian* "guest, depart out of *Sparta* before the setting of "the sun: For you have proposed nothing to the "advantage of the *Spartans*, in advising us to take "a march into *Asia*, not to be performed in less "than three months after our landing." When he had spoken these words, he withdrew; and *Aristagoras*, taking an olive branch in his hand, after the manner of a suppliant, went after *Cleomenes*, beseeching him to hear; and at the same time desired him to send away his little daughter *Gorgo*, who was then with him, being the only child he had, and about eight or nine years of age. But *Cleomenes* bid him say what he would, and not refrain for the sake of a child. So *Aristagoras* began with the promise of ten talents, in case *Cleomenes* would do as he desired; and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers, till he came to the sum of fifty talents; and then the girl cried, "Father, this "stranger will corrupt you, unless you go away "presently." *Cleomenes*, pleased with the admonition of the child, retired to another apartment: And *Aristagoras* was constrained to depart immediately from *Sparta* without obtaining leave to inform him farther concerning the way to the place of the king's residence (28). When the same young lady saw *Aristagoras* suffer his man to put on his shoes, she cried out in amazement, *Father! Father! see this stranger, has he no hands?* At another time when a soft and delicate stranger was about to have paid his compliments to her, she put him away with her hand, adding, *Stand by, poor creature; thou hast not as much of a man in thee as a woman* (29). As the last and most noble commendation recorded of her, let us remark that *Damaratus*, though she was the daughter of his deadly enemy, trusted her rather than any of the *Greeks* with the intelligence he sent concerning the motion of the *Barbarians*; or, if we take this as *Herodotus* does, it may be placed in a stronger light; for he says, that a slave from *Damaratus* brought a waxen tablet to *Sparta* with nothing written on it, and when the *Spartans* knew not what to make of this, *Gorgo* immediately bid them scrape off the wax, whereupon they found *Damaratus*'s letter cut on the wood underneath (30).

(28) *Herodot. lib.* vi. (29) *Plut. in Apophtheg. Mulier. Lacon.* (30) *Herodot. lib.* vi.

slaughter;

slaughter; he then commanded a choice corps of *Persians* to dislodge them, but it a
was in vain; the *Greeks* were not only superior in valour, but they better understood the art of war; they had also great advantage from the situation of the place, so that, after numbers were slain, the *Persians* were constrained to retreat [7]. *Xerxes* now began to be in pain for his whole army, and with reason; for the dead bodies having streightened the passages still more, it seemed doubtful whether the weight of numbers would force the pass or no. At length one *Ephialtes* a *Trachinian* offered to shew them a path round the mountain, whereby they might fall upon the *Grecians* in the rear; *Xerxes* thereupon detached *Hydarnes* with a great body of chosen troops, with directions to follow *Ephialtes*; they passed the river *Asopus* in the night, and having forced the *Phocian* guard, advanced apace towards *Leonidas* and his troops; b
that great commander, who is said to have been informed that the senate had received an oracle, purporting that either one of their kings, or the city itself must fall, as soon as he was informed of what had happened, gave leave to all the confederates to withdraw, that they might reserve themselves, as he phrased it, for better times, excepting only the *Thespians* and the *Thebans*; who with his *Spartans* made in all not above fourteen hundred men; with these he purposed not to wait the attack of the *Persians*, but to go and find them out, yet looking on his *Spartans*, and observing some stripplings, who had scarce attained the age of men, his heart relented; calling them therefore to him one by one, he pretended to send by each of them a billet to the ephori; he would have afterwards done the same thing in favour c
of some persons of extraordinary merit; but they penetrating his design, refused to obey him, one of them answering, *Sir, I came to serve you as a soldier, not as a courier.* Another, *Let us fight first, Sir, and then I will carry your account of the battle.* Having made the proper dispositions he passed the streights, and fell upon the enemy; he and all his *Spartans* were slain together with the *Thespians*, but the *Thebans* holding up their targets, cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and they were stigmatized. This victory, if we must call it so, cost the *Persians* twenty thousand men. The body of *Leonidas* being found, *Xerxes* ordered it to be nailed to a cross, an action which reflected dishonour upon himself, and could do no hurt to a dead body; as to the fame of *Leonidas*, it was out of the reach of *Xerxes*, d
and hath remained still fresh three thousand years after his decease (H). The *Persian* after

[7] Herodot. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pausan. Lacon. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. Justin. lib. ii.

(H) The action at *Thermopylæ* makes so great a figure in history, and so justly, at the same time that it so nearly concerns the *Lacedæmonian* history, that it would be unpardonable in us not to give such particulars thereof as may serve to set it in the clearest light, and do honour to that nation of whose affairs we are treating. In the first place let us remark, that *Leonidas* acted all along with great equality of mind, a philosophic courage, and the true spirit of a patriot. He went in the common cause of *Greece* to give a check to the *Persians* at their first entrance, that thereby the numerous army of *Xerxes* might receive a taste of the opposition it was to meet with, and the king, if he were not headstrong and irreprehensible, have an opportunity given him of retiring in time before multitudes of his men were cut off, and the strength of *Asia* wasted to no purpose. In fighting at *Thermopylæ Leonidas* made use at first of all the advantages of ground afforded him by his own situation, and that of the enemy. He drew up his troops in the narrowest part of the passage, and when he retired from the field of battle, he disposed his battalions in such a manner, that they readily wheeled about, and received the enemy, who attempted to harass them, in such a manner, that there were more slain in the retreat than in the fight; if *Ephialtes* had not led the *Barbarians* round the mountains, *Leonidas* would have carried his first point, that is, he would have constrained *Xerxes* to retire (31). But when the augur *Megistias*, upon inspecting the sacrifices, declared that all the *Grecians* were threatened with death; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence that the enemy were actually passing the mountains, *Leonidas* put in practice his second resolution, which was the devoting his *Spartans* and himself to death for the safety of *Greece* in general, and of *Sparta* in particular (32). This resolution was founded upon two reasons; the first, that the streights of *Thermopylæ* ought not absolutely to be abandoned, but sold to the enemy as dear as might be; the second, rested it upon this oracle which the *Lacedæmonians* had received.

Thy plains, O *Sparta*, *Persian* rage shall feel;
Thy sons shall slaughter'd fall by foreign steel,
Unless a king of the *Herculean* race,
In war, to save the rest, shall death embrace.

This prompted *Leonidas* to receive that death which he knew must some time or other happen to him, when it might avert evil from his country; it was to prevent an unnecessary carnage, that *Leonidas* dismissed the greatest part of the allies, and retained with him only fourteen hundred men, *viz.* three hundred *Spartans*, seven hundred *Thespians*, and four hundred *Thebans*; he then advanced without the narrow passage, because he no longer thought of defending his own party, but how he might most injure the enemy; and in that desperate attack he

(31) *Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* i. *c.* 32. *lib.* vii. *c.* 15. (32) *Justin. lib.* ii. *c.* 11.

a after this consulted *Damaratus* again, adjuring him by the kindness he had shewn him to give his sentiments sincerely as to the method in which it was proper to carry on the war. The *Spartan* thereupon proposed to him seizing the isle of *Cythera* which lay over-against *Laconia*, and from whence he might have made the *Spartans* so uneasy as would infallibly hinder their sending assistance to the *Athenians*; or impeding him in his design of penetrating into *Greece*; but *Achæmenes* the king's brother being quite of a different opinion, fearing that if the fleet parted from the land-army both might be ruined; *Xerxes* preferred his council, and thereby failed in his design *. The *Grecian* fleet in the mean time lay at *Artemisium* under the command of *Eurybiades* a *Spartan*, a man of great personal courage, but timorous b as a commander, and unexperienced in sea affairs. The *Persians* hoping to surprize and surround them, detached two hundred ships with orders to sail round *Eubœa*, and fall on the rear of the *Grecian* navy; but this being betrayed to the *Greeks*, they weighed anchor in the night, and stood directly to sea to meet these two hundred sail, so that instead of surprizing others, they were themselves surprized; thirty of them sunk, and the rest forced to betake themselves to flight, wherein they were no less unfortunate; for a storm arising, most of them were shipwrecked on the coast. The *Grecian* fleet some time after sailed to the coast of *Attica*, and at the desire of the *Athenians* anchored near *Salamis*. *Eurybiades* had still the command though of three hundred and fifty-eight ships, of which the fleet consisted, a hundred and eighty c belonged to the *Athenians*. As to the battle which happened there not long after, we have already given a full account of it in our *Athenian* history, and therefore shall not trouble the reader with needless repetitions here *. The first step that was taken afterwards was to prepare a great fleet to prosecute this victory, the command of which was given to *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*; but it soon after appeared, that the *Persians* had not totally abandoned their design, *Mardonius* remaining in *Greece* at the head of a very consideable army, with which he threatened in the spring to revisit *Attica*; the *Greeks* threfore found themselves under a necessity of raising a land-army also.

*Pausanias* the son of *Cleombrotus* took upon him the character of tutor or protector d to *Plistarchus* the son of *Leonidas*, and in right thereof was the first magistrate in *Sparta*, the other king, as we have said, being absent, having the command of the confederate fleet. In this situation of things the dilatorinesS of popular councils eminently appeared, for when the army ought to have been in the field, the *Athenian* embassadors found the *Lacedæmonians* celebrating the *Hyacinthia*; in vain these ministers represented that the common cause was neglected, and that the *Athenians* had reason to expect better things, since they had hazarded all for the service of *Greece*; the ephori and senate confiding mightily in the strong wall, which by this time was erected cross the isthmus, thought but little of raising troops, till *Chilæus* a *Tegetæan*, who had a great reputation amongst them, shewed them how foolish and dishonour- e able this conduct of theirs was, since it was plain, if the *Athenians* were ruined

Mardonius *attempts the conquest of* Greece.

* Herodot. ubi supra. Pausan. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. & in vit. Themist. * Universal History, Vol. II. p. 547.

he fell. *Xerxes* lost two brothers in this engagement, and an incredible number of troops. On the field of battle there were three monuments raised, one to perpetuate the memory of such of the troops as were slain before the confederates were dismissed, with this inscription:

Four thousand here from various nations brought,
For *Greece* against the *Medes* three millions fought.

The second was for the *Lacedæmonians* only, with this distich upon it:

Go, friend, and to our brother *Spartans* tell,
With what applause we in their service fell.

The third was for the augur *Megistias*, who, though pressed by *Leonidas* to retire, refused, contenting himself with sending away his only son:

Divine *Megistias* lies beneath this stone,
Who met without concern ill fortune's frown;
Nor would to save his life consent to fly,
When the brave *Spartans* had resolv'd to die.

It is alledged that *Eurytus* and *Aristodemus*, two of the three hundred *Spartans* being ill of sore eyes, retired to *Alpeni* with the permission of *Leonidas*, and were there in the time of the last battle, on the news of which *Eurytus* caused his armour to be put on, and ordered his servant to conduct him directly to the field, where running, blind as he was, into the midst of the enemy, he was suddenly covered with wounds, and fell down dead; but *Aristodemus* returned to *Sparta*, where he met with a very indifferent reception, being treated as a man who had not courage enough to die with his companions; to aggravate their ill usage, they surnamed him the *Fugitive*; he redeemed his credit however at the battle of *Platæa*, where having devoted himself to death, he performed such actions as are scarce credible (33).

(33) *Herodot. lib.* vii. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xi. *Plut. in Apophthg. Lacon. & in vit. Aristid.*



though

through their delay, the *Persians* being masters at sea, might land what forces they a
would in *Laconia*, and bring the war home to their doors; the wall cross the isthmus being in such a case useless [b]. Roused by this representation, they sent five thousand *Spartans*, and, which was an unusual thing with them, gave arms to seven thousand of their *Helotes*, *Pausanias* commanding in chief. This however did not hinder *Mardonius* from taking *Athens*, or from seeking the *Greek* army, and offering battle. *Pausanias* had the command in chief of the whole *Grecian* forces, which were no less than one hundred thousand men. The *Persians* were certainly double their number, nay, according to *Diodorus*'s account *Mardonius*'s army consisted of five hundred thousand men. When they came into the nighbourhood of *Platæa*, an engagement happened between a great body of *Persian* horse commanded b
by *Masistius*, and a corps of *Greeks*, wherein after a great effusion of blood the *Persians* were routed, and their commander killed [c]. A general battle being delayed, the *Greek* army suffered much by desertion, as on the other hand did the *Persians* for want of provisions. *Pausanias* at length thought fit to decamp, that he might procure his army fresh and more advantageous quarters, in which however he was opposed by *Amompharetus*, an old *Spartan* commander, who insisted that it was derogatory to the *Spartan* honour to retire in sight of an enemy. *Pausanias* like a wise man, and a great captain, answered, That marching this way or that was not dishonourable, when it proceeded from a right motive; but when he found all his intreaties were in vain, and that *Amompharetus* would not be persuaded, he gave c
the signal, and immediately the *Lacedæmonian* and *Tegeæan* foot began to move. *Amompharetus*, who was hitherto of opinion that *Pausanius* would not desert him, when he saw him actually on his march, ordered his standards to be taken up, and moved slowly after him. *Pausanias* kept the high ground, the *Athenians*, who very exactly obeyed his orders, marched in the plain; the rest of the confederates withdrew to the temple of *Juno*, where they were out of reach of the *Persian* cavalry. At the temple of *Ceres*, which was on the brow of the hill, *Pausanias* halted with all his forces to give *Amompharetus* and his battalion time to come up; but they had hardly rejoined the army before the van-guard of the *Persian* horse attacked them with great vigour [d]. *Mardonius* looked upon this decampment of the *Greek* troops d
in the same light that *Amompharetus* did, that is, as a plain flight, and therefore was eager not to fight them, but to fall upon the runaways; this eagerness, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, seems to have been the chief cause of his misfortune; for his *Persians* marching hastily, and without order, the rest of the corps of which his numerous army was composed did the like, which gave the *Greeks* great advantage. The troops under *Pausanias* did not much exceed 50, 000 men, and on this account it was that he sent to hasten the *Athenians* in their march. The *Athenians*, who on this occasion acted with the utmost generosity, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to fulfil his orders; but were unluckily stopped short by the *Bœotians*, and other *Greeks* in the service of the *Persian*, who on this occasion be- e
haved with amazing courage and intrepidity. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Tegeæans* were forced to engage *Mardonius*'s army without assistance. It is universally acknowledged, that the *Persians* behaved very well on this occasion; but being neither so well armed, nor so well disciplined as the *Greeks*, their valour was of no use but to bring them to slaughter; for, as *Herodotus* rightly observes, it was all the same whether one or ten *Persians* broke into the *Grecian* ranks, since the next line was ready to receive them without confusion or disorder, so that they were presently slain without effecting any thing, because they charged tumultuously; their commanders having no capacity to direct them, nor they to obey. Their number and their courage however kept the battle doubtful as long as *Mardonius* lived, who, f
mounted on a white horse, and fighting at the head of a thousand men, gave signal demonstrations of a courage deserving a better fate; but when he was slain, the *Persians* began to break, and to give way, which dispirited all the barbarous nations, who now followed the example of their flight, though they had not drawn their swords. The *Athenians* also defeated the *Greeks* who sided with and fought for the *Persians*, so that *Artabazus*, who was next in command to *Mardonius*, and against whose advice these measures were taken, judging all to be lost, retired with forty thou-

[a] Herodot. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. Pausan. in Lacon. [c] Herodot. lib. ix. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Pausan, ubi supra. [d] Herodot. lib. ix. Plut. in vit. Themist. & Arist. Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. Justin. lib. ii. c. 14. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pausan.

sand,

a sand, and marched with all the expedition he was able back to *Thrace*; the rest of the *Persian* army withdrew as speedily as they could into their camp, where they strengthened the works formerly thrown up, and resolved to defend to the utmost of their power these posts against the victorious *Greeks*. *Pausanias* coming up with his *Lacedæmonians*, attacked the camp without hesitation, but at the same time with little success; for the *Persians* fighting now not for victory or glory, but for their lives, made a most obstinate resistance; besides they had the same advantage over the *Lacedæmonians* here, which the *Lacedæmonians* had over them in the field; for, as we have heretofore observed, the *Spartans* were unaccustomed to such attacks, avoiding, in obedience to the laws of *Lycurgus*, all sieges as much as in them lay; yet this state b of things lasted but for a small time; for when the *Athenians* came up, who of all the *Greeks* best understood the art of defending or attacking fortifications, they quickly opened a passage to the *Lacedæmonians*, and when that was once done, a merciless slaughter ensued, since of three hundred thousand men, whom *Mardonius* brought into the field, scarce three thousand escaped [a]; of the *Greeks* however it is uncertain how many there fell; if we believe *Herodotus*, there died of the *Spartans* ninety-one; of the *Tegeteans* sixteen; and of the *Athenians* fifty-two [c]. *Plutarch* owns one thousand three hundred and sixty to have fallen [d]; but *Diodorus Siculus* is positive that there were very few less than ten thousand [b]. When this bloody engagement was over, the rest of the allies came up to be witnesses rather than c assistants in gaining the victory, by which behaviour they drew on themselves contempt and scorn. *Lampon* of *Ægina* proposed to *Pausanias*, that the body of *Mardonius* should be carefully searched for, that the indignity offered to his uncle *Leonidas* by the command of *Xerxes* might be revenged thereon. To which *Pausanias* answered, " Friend of *Ægina*, I very kindly accept of your good intention, and " the respect you express for me and my family; but I cannot help telling you, " that your zeal hath drawn you to make a very wrong judgment of this matter; " for whereas you have highly magnified my actions, the courage of my countrymen, " and the action we have this day atchieved, you throw all this down again by " importuning me to insult the dead, and persuading me that I shall heighten my d " glory, if I do that which is fitter for *Barbarians* to do, nay, which we have not " spared to reproach even in them; I cannot therefore assent to these notions of " the men of *Ægina*, nor to those of any other nation, who delight in such actions, " being content to be commended by the *Spartans*, for neither doing, nor speaking " an unbecoming thing. As for *Leonidas*, whose death you would have revenged, " I am of opinion, that the innumerable multitude we have slain, have sufficiently " repaired the loss of him, and those that fell with him at *Thermopylæ*. Come no " more therefore to me with such discourses; offer me no more such counsels, but look " upon it as a very great favour that you have escaped, even now, unpunished". When this great captain beheld the magnificent tent, and rich furniture belonging to *Mardo-* e *nius*, with the mighty magazines of luxury belonging thereto, he gave orders to the cooks and bakers to prepare him such a supper as they were wont to do for that general; which when they had done, he ordered some of his own servants to dress a *Spartan* meal; which being also done, he sent for the principal officers among the *Greeks*; thus pointing to both the suppers, he said with a smile, *See gentlemen, the folly of this king of the* Medes, *who living in this sumptuous manner at home, would needs come so far to spoil us who fare so hardly.* Part of the prodigious spoils that were taken in the *Persian* camp, the *Helotes*, who were intrusted to collect them, purloined; part were dedicated to the gods, a tenth of all sorts was given to *Pausanias*, and the rest distributed among the *Greeks*. Having thus put an end to the war, *Pausanias* thought f next of punishing such as had betrayed the common cause of *Greece*; with this view he marched immediately to *Thebes*, the citizens of which at first attempted to make a defence, but on mature deliberation they capitulated, and delivered up the chiefs of the *Median* faction which where in their hands; they vainly fancied that they might redeem themselves with money, but in this they were greatly mistaken; for *Pausanias* disdaining their proposal, hurried them away to *Corinth*, and caused them there to be put to death [i].

The same day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought, *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, with *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*, gained a glorious victory at *Mycale*, where the last remains of the *Persian* fleet, and of the *Persian* armies, which had been drawn *The Greeks victories at Mycale.*

[a] Herodot. ubi supra. [b] ubi supra. [c] ubi supra. [d] ubi supra. [e] Herodot. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos. ubi supra.

together for the destruction of *Greece*, were utterly defeated; the commanders of the *Persian* fleet greatly discouraged their men by the pusillanimity of their conduct; for notwithstanding they had a great number of ships, they ran them all on shore, and sought to shelter themselves under the protection of an army of sixty thousand men, which under the command of *Tigranes* had been left to defend *Ionia*. The *Greeks* seeing this, determined to attack them on shore, and *Leotychides* standing in towards the coast, ordered a herald to make proclamation, when he drew near enough to be heard, in the *Greek* tongue, in these words: "Men of *Ionia*, such "among you as my voice reaches, hearken with attention to what I say, the rather "because the *Persians* cannot understand me; when the battle begins, every one "of you ought in the first place to remember liberty, and in the next, that the "word in our army is *Hebe*; let such as hear me, inform those who hear me not". This proclamation had a double effect, for it inclined many of the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*, and it so frighted the *Persians*, that they knew not whom to trust (I). The *Persians*, before the battle began, disarmed the *Samians*, having some intelligence that they had been intriguing with the *Greeks*; but confiding greatly in the *Milesians*, they intrusted them with the custody of the passages through the mountains behind them; these dispositions made, they prepared to defend their fortifications the best they could; yet neither their conduct nor their valour availed much, for the *Greeks* landing, the *Athenians* marched strait forward along the shore, the *Lacedæmonians* took a compass by the hills. The former after an obstinate resistance forced the *Persian* camp about the same time that the latter attacked them in the rear; the *Samians* in the midst of the battle catching up whatever came to hand, fell upon the *Persians* in their very camp, and the *Milesians*, who were to have guarded the passes, as soon as the *Persians* fled, fell upon them, and either killed them, or made them prisoners[k]. A very odd circumstance, which according to the superstition of those times passed for miraculous, contributed much to the gaining of this victory; it was this; about the time the battle began a rumour was spread throughout the army, that the *Barbarians* were beaten at *Platæa*, though, as we have observed, that engagement happened in the morning of that day in the evening of which this happened at *Mycale*; but of this strange business, which some modern writers have treated very obscurely, the reader hath received a satisfactory account in the note I[l].

Pausanias *intrigues with* Artabazus. *Year after the Flood*, 2508. *Year before Christ*, 491.

*Pausanias* was afterwards sent to take the command of the fleet, with strict orders to free the *Grecian* cities from the *Persian* garisons; on this design he sailed with a great fleet to *Cyprus*, thence to *Byzantium*, which according to his instructions he set at liberty, and this seems to have been the last of his exploits; for immediately

[k] Herodot. [l] Wanley's History of Man. Beauchamp's Essays, c. 1. sect. vi.

(I) *Herodotus* is no mighty admirer of *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, for he expressly gives the preference to the *Athenians*, after them to the *Corinthians*, the *Trœzenians*, and the *Sicyonians* (34); yet the truth seems to be, that *Leotychides* behaved with great prudence upon this occasion, as we have said above in the text; and there is one instance of his abilities as a general, which has been little taken notice of, and which it is our duty therefore particularly to mention here: He it was who contrived that miracle, as some called it, of the victory won at *Platæa*, not in consequence of any intelligence, for that was impossible, but believing it the best way to incline the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*; he industriously spread the pretended news, and at the same time openly invited the *Ionians* to throw off the yoke, and assert their freedom; whence, as is evident from the account in the text, this victory in a great measure proceeded (35). This conduct of his is very reconcilable to one of his sayings recorded by *Plutarch*: A *Spartan* in good circumstances asked one day this prince, *How he might best preserve his happiness?* Leotychides answered, *By not trusting all to fortune* (36). It is certain that *Leotychides* was not a very adventurous admiral, but absolutely refused to accompany *Xanthippus* when he found the bridges removed which *Xerxes* had thrown cross the *Hellespont*; but this may be easily accounted for, without derogating at all from the courage and military capacity of the king of *Sparta*; the *Athenians* by nature, and by the constitution of their state, were inclined to maritime affairs, and enabled to obtain the empire of the sea, of which as yet *Sparta* had little ambition, though she possessed it; for, as *Herodotus* plainly says, the command was given her by the allies, who refused to follow any other than a *Spartan* admiral (37). *Leotychides* therefore did all in his power to serve the common cause, while the united fleet continued together in the *Hellespont*; but when slight descents were proposed, and the pillaging the enemies coasts and ships, he whose particular squadron was of no strength did not think fit to remain long at sea, because in all probability he conceived, that nothing could be further done worthy of the *Spartan* name and glory.

(34) *Herodot. Hist. lib.* ix. (35) *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* i. *c.* 33. *lib.* vii. *c.* 45. *Frontin. Stratagem. lib.* i. *c.* 2. (36) *Plutarch. Apophtheg. Lacon.* (37) *Herodot. lib.* vii.

upon

a upon this he fell into a scandalous treaty with the *Persians*, affecting by the assistance of the great king to make himself sovereign of *Greece*; that at this time he first entered into these practices appears from hence, he sent such *Persians* of great quality as he took in *Byzantium* to *Gongylus* of *Eretria*, telling the *Grecian* chiefs that he reserved them for punishment, whereas he had privately given directions that they should be sent back in safety to *Xerxes* [m]. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions in his head, he fell into the manners of the *Persians*, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond; another action happened at *Byzantium* extremely prejudicial to his character, and which some say disturbed him to his death; he fell violently in love b with a young lady named *Cleonice*, whom her parents fearing to deny him, forced to take part of his bed; but she in great modesty desiring that the lights might be put out when she came in his chamber, unfortunately stumbled on an extinguished lamp, whereupon he awakening, and fearing that some assassin had broke into his room, catched up his sword, and mortally wounded her. His affliction for this accident put him almost beside himself [n]; the allies in the mean time took great umbrage at his conduct, and privately sent to accuse him at *Sparta*; in the interim they deprived him of his command, and even besieged him in *Byzantium* [o]; escapeing however from thence, he fled to *Heraclea*, where he endavoured, according to the methods then in use, to pacify the ghost of *Cleonice*. In this place he met with c certain persons who had or pretended to have the power of raising the spirits of persons deceased, and who at his intreaty brought up that of his mistress, who to all his questions gave him this short answer: *When you come to* Sparta, *you will find an end to all your mi-fortunes* [p]. Accordingly, when he came home, the ephori caused him to be seized; but having no sufficient evidence, and not caring in all probability to proceed with rigour against so eminent a person on bare suspicions, he was for a time enlarged. These warnings did not deter him from carrying on the projects he had formed. *Artabazus* was the person he negotiated with, and between them they fixed this rule; that whoever brought any of *Pausanias*'s epistles should immediately be put to death, that there might be no possibility of producing witnesses against d him [q]. But growing impatient, and finding that *Themistocles*, notwithstanding the injuries done him by the *Athenians*, would not enter into his measures; *Pausanias* wrote in peremptory terms to *Artabazus*, and confided his letters to *Argilius* his particular favourite, and as some said his catamite. This man considering with himself that none of *Pausanias*'s messengers were come back again, determined to open his letters, and finding by their contents that he was to have met with no better treatment than his predecessors, he carried them directly to the ephori, who discovered much from them, but yet not enough to convict *Pausanias*; but *Argilius* soon helped this out, for retiring to *Tenarus*, and pretending there to pay his devotions to *Neptune*, he set up a double tent; in one part of which he concealed certain *Spartans*, and e in the other he entertained *Pausanias*, who came to expostulate with him for not carrying his letters; by these expostulations, those who overheard them became direct witnesses against him, so that at his return to *Sparta*, the ephori determined to imprison him, of which, having some intelligence, he retired to the temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*, and there took sanctuary, which gave occasion to one of the most extraordinary proceedings any where recorded in history; for the *Lacedæmonians* not caring to invade the sanctuary, were at a loss what to do, till the mother of *Pausanias* taking a tile in her hand came to the temple, and laid it down at the door, after which, without speaking a word, she retired to her own house; the *Spartans* having considered her conduct, following her example, blocked up the gate, and thus f preventing his going out, reduced him to the necessity of starving in the temple. When they were sure he was dead, they opened the gate again, and taking out his body, delivered it to his relations [r]. About this time *Leotychides* being sent with a great army to chastise the *Thessalians*, who had shewn themselves no friends to *Greece* in general, and expressed a particular enmity towards *Sparta*; instead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory, and reduced the enemy into very bad cir-

[m] Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pausan. [n] Plut. in vit. Cimonis. [o] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pausan. [p] Plut. in vit. Cimonis. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Justin. lib. ii. c. 15. [r] Plut. in Paralel. x. in vit. Themist. in Apophth. Mulier. Lacon. Thucyd. lib. i. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pausan. Polyæn. Strategm. lib. viii. c. 51. Diodor. ubi supra. Justin. ubi supra.



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cumstances, began to receive bribes, and informations being thereupon given in against him, was surprized in his tent with money in both hands. Returning to *Sparta*, and finding that the citizens were in no humour to dispense with his infidelity, he to avoid their fury fled to *Tegea*, and died there in exile, having survived his son *Zeuxidamus*, in whom he placed all his hopes [t]. a

*The reigns of* Plistarchus, Plistoanax, *and of* Archidamus.

*Plistarchus* the son of *Leonidas*, to whom *Pausanias* was tutor, did not live long; he was succeeded by *Plistoanax* the son of *Pausanias*, the next legal heir of the royal family, as *Leotychides* was by his grandson *Archidamus*; as for *Plistoanax*, he was a prince of a very mild and peaceable disposition, one who gave no umbrage to his fellow citizens, and who in their quarrels with the *Athenians* acted according to their directions, and did not endeavour to embroil them, that he might make himself the more necessary to them [t]. *Archidamus* was of a like disposition, and it may be truly said, that under the reigns of these princes the *Spartans* felt no mischiefs, but what they brought upon themselves, and had no good luck, but what was derived to them from their kings and their family; for in the nonage of *Plistoanax Nicomedes* the son of *Cleombrotus* acted as his tutor. At the end of the LXXVII olympiad a most dreadful earthquake happened at *Sparta*: *Diodorus* says, that twenty thousand persons lost their lives, and *Plutarch* affirms, that only five houses in the city escaped ruin; in the midst of this general confusion, *Archidamus* gave such an instance of his wisdom and firmness, as must render him everlastingly admired; considering with himself that his citizens were of far greater value than even their most valuable effects, and yet seeing that to save these they were ready to risque themselves, he caused an alarm to be sounded, as if an enemy had been just at hand, whereupon in haste they armed themselves, and repaired into the field, which wrought them double safety; for the *Helotes* now conceiving that they had a fit time to be revenged of their cruel masters, unanimously took up arms, and marched boldly to *Sparta*, expecting they should find none to withstand them; but they were greatly mistaken, for *Archidamus*, with his citizens completely armed, made such a stand, that they were constrained to retire. However, knowing they could now expect no favour from their lords, whom they had so ill treated in the time of their distress, they determined with themselves to persist in their revolt, and to trust for a pacification to their swords, rather than to their intreaties [u]. Many reasons contributed to strengthen the *Helotes* in this determination; the *Spartans* were already embroiled with the *Athenians*, who were inclined to dispute with them the sovereignty of *Greece*; the *Messenians* began to shew evident marks of their resentment of the indignities and oppressions which were thrown upon them; the rest of the *Peloponnesian* states were not a little dissatisfied, so that never were the *Lacedæmonians* less able to act vigorously against their rebellious subjects than at present. The first step they took after throwing off the yoke, was seizing a port in *Messenia*, from whence they made continual inroads into *Laconia*, burning and pillaging all the villages they came to; the *Spartans* in this distress applied themselves to *Athens* for assistance, which after some opposition was granted them, and sent under the command of *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*; they likewise solicited their other allies, who seeing the readiness of the *Athenians*, and considering the great services which all *Greece* had received from *Sparta*, they likewise sent their quota's, which enabled *Archidamus* to take the field, notwithstanding the *Messenians* had joined with the *Helotes*, and fortified *Ithome* [x]. It is not very clear whether there happened any general battle or not; but however it was, the *Helotes* and *Messenians* thought it better to retire to *Ithome*, than to abide the *Spartan* army in the field, whereby the latter, much against their wills, were constrained to make the siege of this city; for as we have more than once observed, this was a part of the military science, in which the *Lacedæmonians* were but indifferently skilled; it was chiefly on this account that they besought the aid of the *Athenians*, and yet when their troops came before the city, and behaved themselves more actively than the *Spartans* themselves, they grew jealous of them, and being fearful lest the strangers in their army might be corrupted, and being countenanced by the *Athenians*, go over to the enemy; they dismissed the latter, telling them they had no farther occasion for their service, which exceedingly incensed the people of *Athens*, and made them more ready to think of any method to reduce the *Spartan* greatness b c d e f

[t] Herod. lib. vi. Pausan. Lacon. [u] Idem, ibid. [x] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Pausan. in Messen. Justin. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Cimon. [x] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

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a than hitherto they had been[7]. While things were in this situation, the *Phocians* made war upon the *Dorians*, who inhabited mount *Parnassus*, and took from them several cities, and amongst the rest their capital. These *Dorians* being originally *Lacedæmonians*, the *Spartans* dispatched an army under the command of *Nicomedes*; he quickly reduced the *Phocians* to reason, and set all things right; but returning with his army, the *Athenians* joined the *Argives* and *Thessalians*, shut up the passages into *Peloponnesus*: *Nicomedes* upon this retired towards *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*, whither the *Athenians* followed him, and forced him to an engagement, wherein the *Thessalians* deserting them, they had much the worst[2]; the next year the *Lacedæmonians* assisted the *Thebans* against the *Athenians*, but were therein so unfortunate as to be b totally routed at *Tanagra* with great loss. The *Messenian* war was still carried on, and was not like to be terminated even in the tenth year, *Ithome* being naturally a strong place, and the oracle at *Delphi* having threatened the *Spartans*, if they injured the suppliants of *Jupiter Ithome*, wherefore they were forced to turn their siege into a blockade, and at last hearkened to terms of accommodation, whereby it was agreed, that the *Messenians* should depart *Peloponnesus*, never to return on pain of becoming slaves, if they did[3]; these poor people were thereupon received with their wives and children by the *Athenians*, rather out of splendor to *Sparta*, than any great desire to render service to the distressed. They granted them *Naupactus* for their residence, from whence they afterwards brought them to inhabit part of c their own country, of which in the course of the *Peloponnesian* war they dispossessed the *Lacedæmonians*[b]. The next war the *Lacedæmonians* undertook was, that stiled the sacred, by some the *Phocian* war; the end of it was to put the temple at *Delphi* into the hands of the inhabitants of the country, whereas it had before belonged to the *Phocians*, which the *Spartans* effected, and for which the *Delphians* by a decree conferred on the *Lacedæmonians* a right of first consulting the oracle, which decree they engraved on the forehead of a brazen wolf consecrated in the temple; the *Athenians* soon after restored the temple to the *Phocians*, and from them obtained the same privilege which the *Delphians* had granted to the *Spartans*, and this decree they caused to be engraven on the right side of the wolf; the *Lacedæmonians*[c] having induced the d *Bœotians*, to revolt from the *Athenians*, and *Tolmides*, who attempted to reduce them, being slain, and *Eubœa* at the same time revolting, they held this a fit season for giving a mortal blow to *Athens*; for which cause *Plistoanax* was ordered to invade the *Athenian* territories with a great army with him; being but young, *Cleondrides* was sent to direct him, but he proved an unlucky guardian; for being a lover of money, he accepted a bribe from *Pericles*, and persuaded the king to return home without effecting any thing, for which the *Spartans* punished him with death, and drove their king into banishment; not long after a peace was made between this nation and the *Athenians*, which though it lasted for some time, yet was it far from extinguishing that hatred which for some time had burnt in the bosoms of both[d]. e At first the *Athenians* had the stronger party among the *Greeks*, because the *Lacedæmonians* had behaved with haughtiness while they held the sovereignty; but the *Athenians* gaining power, and making as bad use of it, or worse, almost all *Greece* except the states immediately under her jurisdiction, and even some of them, also hated her, and applied themselves to the *Spartans*: In the fourteenth year of the truce, which was to have lasted thirty, a great assembly of deputies from the states of *Peloponnesus* and other parts of *Greece* was held at *Lacedæmon*, where they unanimously accused the *Athenians* of tyranny, oppression, injustice, plundering them of vast sums of money, and in fine of a multitude of other crimes, beseeching the *Lacedæmonians* to stir in the common cause of *Greece*, and not suffer the *Athenians* f to effect what the *Persian* king with all his power was not able to perform. Some embassadors of *Athens*, who were by chance in the city, defended the cause of their country stoutly. The *Spartans* however having heard both parties, were greatly inclined immediately to declare war against the *Athenians*[e]. But *Archidamus* like a wise and good prince, interposed, and advised them to weigh well the step they were about to take; he shewed them, that, comparing their own state with that of *Athens*, not only the aid of the *Greeks*, but of the *Barbarians* also was necessary;

[7] Plut. in vit. Cimon. Thucyd. lib. i. [2] Diod. ubi supra. Thucyd. ubi supra. [3] Pausan. Messen. [b] Thucyd. lib. iv. [c] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Plut. in vit. Periclis. [d] Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Thucyd. lib. i. [e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Plut. in vit. Periclis Justin. lib. iii. c. 7.

he demonstrated that the invasion of *Attica* would signify little, that if they went a slowly into this business, the *Athenians* might probably return to a proper temper, and make satisfaction to their allies, that at least they would preserve their own reputation, and would enable themselves to carry on the war with effect. But *Sthenelaides*, one of the ephori, declared himself of a different sentiment; he alledged, that it was a great happiness for *Sparta* that other states had taken umbrage at her rival, that if she was not quickly pulled down, their united strength would be too little, and that if they took not this opportunity, they might never have it in their power at all. At his motion therefore war was decreed immediately, after which deputies were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, whence they received a response suited to their wishes: Embassadors were likewise sent to all the allies to desire them b to prepare their quotas, and also to *Athens* to offer peace upon certain conditions, which at the motion of *Pericles* were rejected [f].

*The commencement of the* Peloponnesian *war.*

The first action of the *Peloponnesian* war was the attempt made upon *Platæa* by the *Thebans*; immediately after this both parties took the field, all the *Peloponnesians* except the *Argives* and *Achæans* sided with *Sparta*; without *Peloponnesus* the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambracots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anastorians*; the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Sycionians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambrosiots* and *Leucadians* furnished ships, the *Bœotians*, *Phocians* and *Locrians* sent cavalry, the rest of the states furnished their respective quotas in foot. *Archidamus* at the head of a mighty army marched to the frontiers of *Attica*, from whence he dispatched a messenger to c *Athens*, being very desirous even to the last of avoiding if possible this war; but the messenger was sent back unheard, and the enemies of *Archidamus* beginning to insinuate, that out of friendship to the *Athenians* he betrayed the common cause, he marched into *Attica*, and penetrated within a few miles of *Athens* itself, destroying the country, and wasting all things in a terrible manner, after which he returned through *Bœotia* into *Peloponnesus* [g]; in the mean time the *Athenian* fleet infested the coast of *Laconia*, and the troops on board it landing, besieged *Methone*, to the relief of which *Brasidas* the *Spartan* hasted with a hundred men, and breaking with much ado through the enemy, got safe into the town, where he made so vigorous d a resistance, that the *Athenians* were forced to retire; the same year the inhabitants of *Ægina* being expelled by the *Athenians*, fled into *Peloponnesus*, and had the district of *Thyræa* assigned them by the *Spartans*. In the spring of the second year *Archidamus* entered *Attica* again, but after remaining there forty days, hearing that *Pericles* with a great army wasted *Peloponnesus*, he returned to assist his countrymen, the rather because the plague raged violently in *Attica* [h]. In the third year *Archidamus* besieged *Platæa*, which making an obstinate defence, he was constrained to turn his siege into a blockade. In the fourth year he entered *Attica* the third time, and wasted all the ripe corn, whereby the *Athenians* were greatly distressed; the same year the *Mitylenians* revolted from the *Athenians*, and in the winter of that year e *Platæa* was reduced to such streights, that part of its garison forced their way through the *Peloponnesian* guards, and escaped to *Athens*; the rest were in the beginning of the next year forced to yield, and were all put to death, the city being razed to the ground, notwithstanding the general zeal she had expressed in the cause of *Greece*, in the memorable battle fought on her territories [i]; this year also *Archidamus* died in a good old age, and after a very long reign; he was one of the best kings that *Sparta* ever had, and this will in some measure appear from the following saying of his, being asked, *Who were governors at* Sparta, he answered, *The laws, and the magistrates according to these laws*; he left behind him two sons, *Agis* and *Agesilaus*, the eldest of which succeeded him [k].

*The reign of* Agis. *Year after the flood* 2331. *Before Christ* 668.

In the spring after his father's death *Agis* invaded *Attica*, and while he was employed there the *Athenians* seized *Pylus*, whither he was forced to hasten, but to little purpose, a hundred and twenty of the nobility of *Sparta* being taken and sent prisoners to *Athens*; not long after the *Athenians* seized the island of *Cythera*, and filled it with a colony of *Messenians*, who proved the bitterest enemies, as indeed they might well, to the *Lacedæmonians* [l]. *Thyræa* was also taken, and the poor inhabitants of *Ægina* who had settled there were massacred. To remove the war to a greater

[f] Thucyd. lib. i. [g] Diodor. Thucyd. Plut. in vit. Periclis. [h] Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xii. Justin. lib. iv. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Cimon. Plut. in vit. Periclis. [i] Thucyd. lib. iii Plut. ubi supra. [k] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [l] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diod. Sicul.

distance,

a distance, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Brasidas* their famous general into *Thrace*, where he effectually answered their expectations, and humbled the pride of the *Athenians*. When he was about to march with the army, proclamation was made by the command of the ephori, that such of the *Helotes* as were willing to enlist themselves as volunteers should be manumitted; which proposition being joyfully accepted by two thousand of them, they were accordingly set at liberty, but their liberty consisted only in being shewn a short road into another world; for they having pointed out to their jealous masters, who amongst them were most warlike; they were immediately dispatched privately, and seven hundred of the stoutest of the remaining *Helotes* were together with a thousand mercenary *Peloponnesians* sent with *Brasidas*[m]. *Thucydides*
b the historian commanded the *Athenian* forces at that time in *Thrace*, and performed there whatever could be expected from a wise man, and an experienced commander; but the fortune of *Brasidas*, the valour of his forces, and the proneness of the people of the country to side with him against the *Athenians*, gave such high advantages to the *Lacedæmonians* and their allies, that *Amphipolis* and several other cities were taken. The use made of this at *Sparta* was to set new negotiations on foot, partly because the war was very burthensom, and partly because *Brasidas* was greatly envied. With much ado a truce was concluded for a year, at the end of which *Brasidas* fell upon *Cleon*, who commanded the *Athenian* forces in the neighbourhood of *Amphipolis*, and gained a great victory, *Cleon* himself with six hundred *Athenians*
c being slain, with the loss only of seven *Spartans*; and yet this victory was too dear, *Brasidas* being mortally wounded. He was certainly one of the bravest and one of the modestest men of his age, admired of all men for his great exploits, while at the same time he behaved with as much humility as the meanest citizen at *Sparta*; he exactly made good the letter he sent the ephori, when he first arrived in *Thrace*, and which was conceived in these words; *What is for the honour of the state, I will perform, or die*[n]. *Plutarch* has preserved a saying of his, which both its good sense, and its being his, render worthy of being transcribed here. Looking one day among some dried figs, he catched a mouse, which immediately turned, and bit his fingers, whereupon he let it go; *You see*, said he, to some who stood
d near him, *That creatures that have but little strength can get rid of invaders, if they dare exert the little they have*[o]. The great mischiefs which this captain had wrought the *Athenians*, and the mighty loss which the *Spartans* conceived they had sustained by his death, determined both states to put an end to the war; *Plistoanax* laboured all he could to promote this disposition, persuading himself that in a time of peace he should be better able to deal with his mutinous subjects than while a war was carrying on, the various events of which put it in their power to find daily new matter of reproach against him. We have seen on what account he was banished, and we are assured that he lived in exile nineteen years; his return was wrought by a response from *Delphi*, concerning which the *Spartans* affected afterwards to have many
e doubts, whether it came really from the god, or from some of *Plistoanax*'s agents[p]. The king however getting the ephori for the time present to join with him, procured a peace to be concluded after the war had raged ten years. The peace was hardly made before new intrigues were set on foot in *Peloponnesus*; the *Corinthians*, and in general the allies of *Sparta* were greatly offended with the peace, because it did not exactly answer their private purposes; besides they were apprehensive lest *Sparta* and *Athens* should enter into a close union, whereby the dominion of *Peloponnesus* might be left to the former, and the sovereignty of the islands with the *Grecian* colonies in *Asia* transferred to the latter. To defeat this scheme, if any such there was or should be, several of the *Peloponnesian* states leagued themselves with *Argos*, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendship for *Sparta*,
f and which at this time seemed to threaten her; this league made the *Lacedæmonians* very uneasy, and the more when they found that the *Argives*, and those who were allied with them were negotiating at *Athens*. Thither therefore the *Lacedæmonians* sent their embassadors, who in all probability would have carried their point, if they had depended upon *Nicias* their old and constant friend; but suffering themselves to be deceived by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who acting on his uncle *Pericles*'s maxims sought to revive the war, they themselves were drawn to give the *Athenians*

[m] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. [n] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [o] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. [p] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. Plut. in vit Nic.

great suspicion [q]. The next year the new ephori grew likewise fond of war, and a
though *Nicias* strongly laboured to compose all differences, yet all he could obtain was no more than the swearing to the peace anew, which he well enough understood would not content his citizens [r]. In the summer when the XCth olympiad was celebrated, the *Lacedæmonians* received an high affront. The *Eleans* refused to let them sacrifice, or in any manner partake of the sacred rites, placing a strong guard on the temple in order to prevent it; the reason assigned for this was, that the *Lacedæmonians*, while former olympics were held, had seized the castle of *Phoricus*, for which they were fined two hundred drachmæ, which fine they not having paid, they insisted on excluding them. The *Lacedæmonians* would have excused themselves by their embassadors, but their excuses were not accepted, and so they were forced b
to sacrifice at home, which highly incensed them [s] (K). A quarrel happened in the winter between the *Heracleans* of *Trachinia*, and the *Thessalians*, wherein *Penares* a *Lacedæmonian* general was slain; however the *Corinthians* were with-held from joining with the *Argives*, which gave some hopes that the power of that republic might be weakened [t]. The next year the *Argives* attempted to surprize *Epidaurus*, in hopes of securing themselves on that side against the *Corinthians*, and also open an easy passage to their allies the *Athenians*; in the winter the *Lacedæmonians* put a garison of three hundred men into *Epidaurus*. The next summer *Sparta* resolved to exert herself, and to crush at once the *Argives* and their allies. With this view the ephori and senate sent to exhort all their confederates to be in readiness to take the c
field early, as they themselves would be; they accordingly appeared, and king *Agis* at the head of the *Spartans*, *Arcadians*, *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliasians* and *Megarians*, entered the territory of *Argos* with such an army as had not been seen since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war. The *Argives* were very ill prepared, the succours they expected from *Athens* not being arrived; however they resolved to fight, though with inferior forces; but at the very instant the engagement should have begun, two of the *Argive* captains cried out to king *Agis*, that their citizens were willing to do whatever was just, and to make peace with the *Lacedæmonians*; which made such an impression on the king, who was a prince of a mild and benevolent disposition, that he immediately consented to a truce of four months; d
which exceedingly provoked the allies of *Sparta*, who could not bear after all their

[q] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. [r] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit Nic. [s] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Pausan. in Eleis. [t] Diodor. & Thucyd. ubi supra.

(K) Of the *Olympic* games we have elsewhere spoken somewhat, but not enough to make either this and many other passages, which will hereafter follow, perfectly clear; and therefore we will take this opportunity of supplying these deficiencies here (38). The olympiads were not, as some imagine, celebrated every fifth year, nor were they, strictly speaking celebrated every fourth year. They were held in the second month of the fifth year, or, if it be possible to express it clearer, after the completion of four full years (39). They began on the eleventh day of the lunar month, and lasted till the fifteenth, when the moon was full; there are various accounts of the institutions of these games, but the most satisfactory is that given by *Strabo*, who in his description of *Elis* says, that an *Ætolian* colony, together with some of *Hercules*'s posterity, after having subdued many of the *Pisæan* towns, and amongst them *Olympia*, there instituted these solemnities (40). The care and management of these games belonged originally to the *Pisæans*, but afterwards to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Pisæans* were destroyed, and their very name extinguished; for the most part this nation enjoyed a profound tranquillity, the *Greeks* out of a religious respect to their superintendancy of these games, not suffering the sound of war to be heard amongst them; which will be the less wondered at, if we consider that during the celebration of these games there was a general truce, that all the inhabitants of *Greece* might be at liberty to assist at them; and in consequence of a breach of this truce, the *Eleans* proceeded in the manner above described against the *Spartans* (41). The security which for the generality these people enjoyed, made them addict themselves more to husbandry than any other people of *Greece*, because they were under no sort of restraint nor apprehension in their fields, but were considered as servants of the *Olympian Jupiter*. At first they appointed one judge only: At the fifteenth olympiad they assigned two, and by degrees these swelled to no less than twelve, one being chosen out of each of the *Elean* tribes (42). When the *Arcadians* became too powerful for the *Eleans*, the number decreased again; yet even in the reign of the *Roman* emperor *Adrian* there were no fewer of them than ten. All the persons who sought to contend in these games were obliged to appear ten months before at *Elis*, where from that time till the games were over they were obliged to reside, and to prepare themselves after a certain settled method for their exercise. At the solemnity the *Hellanodicæ*, that is, the *Elean* judges sat naked, having the *victoral crown* before them, which, when the games were over, they presented to him whose due they conceived it to be (43).

(38) *Universal History, Vol. II. p.* 487. (39) *Johan. Tzetz. Chiliad.* 1. *Hist.* 21. (40) *Geogr. lib.* viii. (41) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xi. (42) *Pausan. in Eliac.* (43) *Cælius Rhodiginus Antiq. Lect. lib.* xxii. *c.* 17. *Alex. ab Alexand. Genial. Dier. lib.* v. *c.* 8.

a preparations to see nothing effected. On the return therefore of *Agis* to *Sparta*, his citizens condemned him to pay a great fine, and would have rased his house, if he had not promised them to redeem his honour by some great exploit, when he should be next employed, with which however they were hardly to be pacified; but what seems more extraordinary is, that the *Argives* were so unreasonable as to punish their captains for having preserved them from ruin, nay they carried their rage so far, that they had certainly knocked them in the head with stones, if they had not retired into sanctuary [a]. The true reason why the *Argives* were so warm was, because the *Athenians* had sent them a supply of one thousand foot, and three hundred horse under the command of *Alcibiades*, at whose instigation they solemnly renounced b the truce made with *Agis*. When the *Spartans*, where informed of this, they prepared to take the field; but they would not intrust their king with the command of the army, without assigning him ten counsellors or field-deputies, without whose approbation he was to attempt nothing. At *Mantinæa* the armies fronted each other, being the greatest that the *Greeks* had ever brought into the field against each other; but the *Argives* and their allies were more numerous than the *Spartans*; some therefore advised king *Agis* not to fight, to which he answered coolly, *If we would rule many, we must fight many* [b]. He disposed his troops in excellent order, and gave directions suitable to the occasion; but the generals under him did not behave so well, so that while the right wing which was under his command carried all before c it, the left was routed, which when *Agis* beheld, he notwithstanding continued his pursuit; and when the enemy was entirely broken in their left and centre, he turned short, and charged their right in flank and rear, and after an obstinate resistance defeated them also, and gained a complete victory. King *Plistoanax* with a body of reserve which had been left at *Sparta*, hearing of the great assistance which the *Argives* had received, marched to the reinforcement of *Agis* and his countrymen; but arrived not till the victory was gained, so that his presence being no longer necessary, he returned presently after with his troops to *Lacedæmon*. The *Argives* and their allies lost eleven hundred men in this battle, in which there fell three hundred *Spartans*; as for the allies of *Sparta*, as they did little, so they suffered little [c]. After this things d continued in *Greece* in great confusion, the faction in *Argos* who were for oligarchy siding with *Sparta*, those who affected democracy with the *Athenians*, great stirs there were, and little peace; the *Athenians* at last ventured to break the league by attacking the isle of *Melos*, of which however the *Spartans* would take no notice, only they caused proclamation to be made, that since the *Athenians* prey'd upon their subjects without regard to laws, their subjects might if they pleased prey upon the *Athenians*. The miseries which her ambition had brought upon her were so evident in this state, that she began now to act with more wisdom and mildness than hitherto she had done; the *Helotes* were treated with lenity, a thousand of them were actually set at liberty for the service they had performed under *Brasidas*; their allies were e used with mildness and respect, and the consequences of these measures were, that matters began to take another aspect; the *Athenians* grasping too many things, and acting haughtily, were despised, while *Sparta* gained the command, and the hearts of most of the *Peloponnesians* [d]. In the last year of the XCIId olympaid *Plistoanax* died; the last act of his life which was memorable was resettling the affairs of the *Parrhasians*, who were torn with intestine wars; during the time of his exile his son *Pausanias* had the regal title, his uncle *Cleomenes* acting as his tutor; but when *Plistoanax* was recalled, he again assumed the regal dignity, in which the same *Pausanias* succeeded him at his death [e].

*Agis* king of *Sparta* was sent with an army against the *Eleans* to revenge the f dishonour done the republic by forbidding them to be present at the *Olympian* games. This war was of some continuance, the first year the king penetrated as far almost as the mount *Olympus*; but an earthquake happening while he was in the field, his forces would needs return home. The next year *Agis* invaded *Elis* again, and did a great deal of mischief; whereupon *Xenias* an *Elean* put himself at the head of a party, and declared for the *Lacedæmonians*, seeking in truth to establish an oligarchy; but *Thrasydrus*, who was at the head of the other faction, prevailed, and drove him out of the city; the third year *Agis* entered *Elis* again, and after

*Agis enters the territories of* Elis. *Year after the Flood*, 2276. *Before Christ* 723.

[a] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Pausan. in Argol. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. [b] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [c] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. [d] Pausan. Lacon. Thucyd. ubi supra. [e] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

remaining

remaining there some time, he left a part of his army under the command of *Lysistratus* a *Spartan*, with orders to support *Xenias* and his friends. *Thrasyarus* seeing plainly that his country would be ruined, came to a composition with *Xenias*, and by his means treated with the *Spartans*, whereupon a peace ensued [b]. The *Peloponnesian* war now broke out again: The *Athenians* had sent a great army into *Sicily*, the consequence of which being considered, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Gylippus* to assist the *Syracusians* with a small force, but with promise of farther supply, which was likewise performed [c]. About the same time *Alcibiades* repaired to *Sparta*, being expelled his own country by a prevailing faction; he fell immediately into the *Spartan* manner of living, which equally endeared him to the men and to the women; to the former he promised that he would put them in a short train of ending the war, and to the latter he pretended that there were no women comparable to those of *Sparta*. *Agis* was at first so charmed with him, that he took him home to his house; but he made him a very ill return for that favour by debauching his wife. As to the promises he had made the senate, he performed them tolerably well; for when he went with *Agis* to invade *Attica*, he advised him to fortify the castle of *Decelea*, which had never been thought of before, and which proved such a thorn to the *Athenians*, as distressed them more than all that happened to them besides; for now the *Spartans* did not come, as formerly, once a year into their neighbourhood, but were there continually, so that either they could not plough or sow at all, or, if they did, their enemies bore away the crop [d]. The *Spartans* were so well pleased at this counsel of *Alcibiades*, that they cried him up as a captain far superior to any of their own chiefs, which brought on him the envy of the nobility, which with the jealousy of *Agis* made him glad to quit *Laconia* to seek among the *Barbarians* a place of safety. *Timæa* the wife of *Agis* brought forth about this time a son, who was called *Leotychides*, concerning whom *Agis* said publickly that *Alcibiades* was his father; *Timæa* increased the suspicion as to her son's birth by her own foolish behaviour, for she was ever telling her maids, that the boy's name ought to be *Alcibiades* instead of *Leotychides*; and thus, while the child's birth was canvassed at home, *Alcibiades* confirmed all the suspicions abroad, by saying openly that he did not debauch *Timæa* out of lust, but from the ambition he had of having some of his posterity reign over the *Spartans* [e]; but his folly defeated his wickedness, as we shall see hereafter, and deprived the unhappy *Leotychides* of his succession. *Gylippus* all this while managed their affairs in *Sicily* with great reputation; at first he was little set by even among the *Syracusians*, whom he came to assist, because of the plainness of his garb, and of his speech; but when by degrees they came to know him better, when they saw that the soldiers confided in him, and that great succours were sent him from *Peloponnesus*, they treated him with greater respect, and at last run into the other extreme, and would have put all things into his hands; but he was far from making an ill use of his power, he knew he was sent to relieve the *Sicilians*, and not to oppress them; he was however covetous, and we shall see hereafter how that vice not only tarnished all his good qualities, but destroyed his fortune, and ruined his reputation [f]. The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* filled the *Spartans* with great hopes; they neglected not therefore any means that could be thought of, either to depress their rival's affairs, or to raise their own; *Astyochus* was sent to command the foreign troops which were raised with *Persian* money: King *Agis* managed the war in the heart of *Attica*, where he had all the summer a good army, besides the garison in *Decelia* [g]. *Lysander* was now employed in maritime affairs, who as he proved the great hero of *Sparta*, and the finisher of the *Peloponnesian* war; it is fit that we should in this place give the reader his character. *Plutarch* says, that though it is not certain that he was of either of the royal families, yet it was generally agreed, that he was of the *Herculean* race. His education was truly *Spartan*, that is, he passed his younger years under all the restrictions of the *Lycurgic* institutes, which rendered him bold, hardy, patient, and capable of great things; he was naturally ambitious, had an extensive genius, was affable, in his behaviour modest, vigilant, and indefatigable; but with these great qualities he had some

[b] Pausan. in Eleis. [c] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Nic. Justin. l. iv. [d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Alcibiad. [e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. & Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Alcibiad. Justin. lib. v. c. 2. [f] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Nic. Justin. iv. 4. [g] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii.

a mean ones, he could to serve his own purposes be very supple and complaisant, which was highly repugnant to the *Spartan* customs; he was not much affected with the love of *Greece*, but conversed freely with all sorts of people, and sought above all things to raise his own credit and authority; the worst of all was, that he was absolutely dishonest, and, which is not a little strange, sought not to conceal it, it being a common saying of his, *That children were cheated with play things, and men with oaths*; for which reason he never denied his when it made for his interest, or stuck at breaking it when to keep it would serve his purposes no longer. He found the *Athenians* greatly superior at sea, when he entered upon command, and yet in a very few years he left them without any power at all [h]. The first thing of b importance that he did, was restoring the state of affairs at *Ephesus*; he found that city very convenient, he therefore engaged the principal men in it to side with *Sparta*, and above all things to attach themselves to him; he shewed them how conveniently they were seated for trade, he brought his ships to be refitted in their port, and when once he had gained the confidence of the *Ephesians* he took equal care to promote their interests, and to make theirs subservient to his. *Astyochus* having managed foolishly, and given *Alcibiades* an opportunity of instilling into *Tissaphernes* notions prejudicial to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Lysander*, who saw clearly that without the *Barbarian* gold *Sparta* could not carry on the war, determined with himself to counterplot both *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades*, by applying himself to *Cyrus*, who then resi- c ded at *Sardis*; thither therefore he went, and fully opened to the young prince the treachery of his father's lieutenant; *Cyrus* readily heard him, and by degrees the *Spartan* won so much upon him, that he made him a promise in few words to grant him whatever he should request; *Lysander* modestly required that a small addition might be made to the soldiers pay, which disinterestedness so much charmed *Cyrus*, that he gave him ten thousand pieces of silver, which he made use of to support his soldiers, and refit his fleet. *Agis* in the mean time being informed of great stirs in *Athens*, attempted to surprize it, but without effect; for the citizens on his approach united among themselves, and sallied with such unexpected fury, that they killed a considerable number of his men [i]. They afterwards offered to make peace, d but the *Spartans* considering the unsettledness of their government, refused so much as to hear their propositions; some short time after *Hegesandrides* a *Spartan* reduced *Eubœa*, and if he had prosecuted his success with ardor, might have taken *Athens* itself; but this opportunity being neglected, *Alcibiades* in a very short space so restored their affairs by defeating and killing *Mindarus*, who had succeeded *Astyochus*, that the *Spartans* in their turn were forced to sue to the *Athenians*, who with great haughtiness rejected the propositions they offered, though highly reasonable in themselves. When *Alcibiades* sailed again into the *Hellespont*, after he had been at *Athens*, *Lysander* finding himself too weak to engage so numerous a fleet under so fortunate a general, kept in the port of *Ephesus*, where he carefully refitted his ships, and kept his soldiers e and his mariners to their exercise. At length it so happened, that *Alcibiades* had occasion to go from *Samos* to *Phocea*, whereupon he committed the care of his fleet to *Antiochus* a favourite of his, who proud of his command, quickly forgot the instructions which had been given him, and sailing out of port with two gallies only, went with them to the mouth of the haven of *Ephesus*, where he insulted *Lysander*; this inconsiderate action produced in the end a general engagement, wherein the *Athenians* were defeated, though with no very considerable loss, and yet this accident destroyed all their affairs; for upon the first news of it they dismissed *Alcibiades*, and with him their good fortune. *Lysander* while he lay at *Ephesus* projected a scheme for making himself in a manner sovereign of *Greece*; f he picked up enterprizing men of various cities, and engaging them to settle at *Ephesus*, advised them to live in strict friendship among themselves, and to study political affairs, for that he would suddenly find employment for them [k]. All this, and indeed the whole tenor of his behaviour, made him extremely grateful to the *Ephesians*, and the rest of the cities in that part of the world, so that when *Callicratidas* was sent him for a successor, all the Asiatick *Greeks* were extremely uneasy; this uneasiness increased at the presence of the new admiral, who was the very reverse of *Lysander*, a man of great parts, great courage, but withal of great virtue, and un-

[h] Plut. in vit. Lysand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Justin. lib. v. c. 6. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lysand. Thucyd. lib. vi. [i] Diodor. lib. xiii. Thucyd. lib. vi. [k] Plut. in vit. Lysander. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii.

biassed integrity [l]. *Lysander* dealt with him very basely, he sent back what money remained in his hands to *Cyrus*, and said to his successor at parting, with a sneer, Let us see now, *Callicraditas*, how you can support the charges of this army. The noble *Spartan* found it indeed very difficult, the people were quite drained, treasure there was none, so he was forced to go to the court of *Cyrus*, where being two or three times refused admittance, being sometimes told that the king was busy, at other times that he was drinking, he at last said, *I must not be so eager for money, as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta:* Whereupon he set sail for *Ephesus*. *Cyrus* considering better of the matter, sent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and some presents for himself; the first he took, but the latter he sent back again with this memorable message, *That there needed no private friendship between* Cyrus *and him, because if the king kept up to the terms of his league with the* Lacedæmonians, *he shou'd think himself included therein* [m]. He defeated *Conon* the *Athenian* Admiral, and besieged him in *Mytelene*; he likewise beat a small fleet that was sent to his assistance; but hearing afterwards that the enemy's grand fleet was at *Arginusæ* over-against *Lesbos*, where he was stationed, he resolved to engage; when he sacrificed in the morning, the priest who consulted the intrails, told him, that the fleet should in the end prosper, but that the admiral would certainly be slain: To which he answered without any concern, *Very well then, let us fight*, Sparta *will not lose much in losing me; but she would lose her honour, if I retired in the sight of the enemy; when I fall, let* Cleander *be your admiral.* He was accordingly slain, and by that means the *Spartan* affairs were put into much disorder [n]. After this mishap both *Cyrus* and the allies of *Lacedæmon* demanded that *Lysander* should be sent admiral again, a request directly opposite to the laws of *Sparta*; however to gratify their request, they gave the title of admiral to one *Aracus*, but lodged the power with *Lysander*, who immediately sailed to the *Hellespont*, where after receiving great supplies from *Cyrus*, he drew together his fleet; but finding the *Athenians* much superior to him in numbers, he wisely avoided an engagement, and afterwards giving them the slip, appeared suddenly in the neighbourhood of *Greece*, and made descents on the islands of *Ægina* and *Salamis*; he sailed over to the coast of *Attica* to shew *Agis*, who was come thither with a land army, what a noble navy was under his power [o]. Yet having intelligence that the *Athenian* fleet was approaching, he stood away for the *Hellespont*, where he besieged and took *Lampsacus* [p]. *Conon* with the grand fleet of *Athens* bearing down upon him thither, he retired to the river *Egos*, there the *Athenians* insulting him for many days together, which *Lysander* bore with wonderful patience, keeping his soldiers and mariners continually on duty, till on a sudden when the *Athenians* had debarqued their forces, he unawares attacked them both by land and sea. *Conon* the admiral saw clearly that all things were lost, so he with eight gallies, and a very considerable body of men, fled away to *Cyprus*; the rest fell intirely into the hands of *Lysander*, who in a single hour put an end to the *Peloponnesian* war, and to the maritime power of *Athens* [q].

*The* Athenians *entirely defeated by* Lysander. *Year after the flood* 2593. *Before Christ* 406.

This mighty victory having put all things into the power of *Lysander*, he acted rather as a universal monarch, than as a general from *Sparta*; he immediately visited all the neighbouring cities, and changed whether they would or not their government, placing in each of them a *Spartan* as chief magistrate, and with him ten of his friends from *Ephesus*, where, as we have before observed, he erected a kind of political university. These men as they came in by force, so they kept no measures with those over whom they ruled, they treated them with the utmost haughtiness and severity, so that from the very beginning the *Lacedæmonian* government was rendered ungrateful, and the people universally disposed to shake it off as soon as they could [r]. As he was no hoarder of money, he collected all the mass of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and destined it to be sent to *Sparta*, whither he had before dispatched a messenger with news of his victory, and with an assurance that he would be shortly with a fleet of two hundred sail before the city of *Athens*; in confidence of this the *Spartans* sent both their kings *Agis* and *Pausanias* with a very great army into *Attica*, on the coasts of which in due time *Lysander*

[l] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Lysander. [m] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. in vit. Lysander. [n] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [o] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. [p] Plut. in vit. Lysander. Xenoph. Hell. lib. ii. [q] Xenophon, ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Lysander. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusd. Justin. lib. v. c. 6. [r] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

arrived.

a arrived. As to what happened remarkable in the siege of *Athens*, we have already insisted thereon in its proper place. Here it is enough that we insert the *Spartan* decree contained in the articles granted to the dejected inhabitants of that once famous place, which decree is preserved by *Plutarch*, and runs thus: *Know this is the decree of the* Lacedæmonians. *Pull ye down the Pyræum, and the long walls, quit all the towns you are now possessed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upon these conditions, provided you yield also to what shall be further thought reasonable, and receive again your exiles. As for the number of ships you may keep, observe the orders we shall hereafter give on that head. Lysander* deprived them of all their vessels except twelve, and having their fortifications delivered into his hands, he entered *Athens* in triumph b on the anniversary of the great victory at *Salamis*; he caused the walls to be demolished to the sound of music, which likewise played while the *Athenian* ships were burning, himself and his commanders having garlands on their heads; he also altered the government, established the thirty tyrants, and left a *Spartan* garison in the citadel commanded by one of his own creatures [a]. The next thing he did was to send the immense treasure he had collected to *Sparta* under the care of *Gylippus*, who had so eminently distinguished himself in *Sicily*, and who found a way to distinguish himself no less eminently on this occasion, though less honourably; for he, little regarding the seals upon the money bags, ript them open at the bottom, and having taken out what money he thought proper, sewed them up again. When he arrived c at *Lacedæmon*, he delivered the money as he had been directed, and desired that particular notice might be taken of the fairness of the seals; but, unluckily for him, *Lysander* had put in each bag a ticket, expressing the sum of money contained therein; upon comparing these notes with the sums contained, a deficiency was discovered, but still the ephori and senate were at a loss where to fix it; at last the servant of *Gylippus* impeached him; and his crime, with all its circumstances, being detected, he was forced to leave his native country, and to go into exile with the scandalous imputation of being a cheat and a thief [b] (L). The coming of this huge mass of wealth created great disputes at *Sparta*, many celebrated *Lysander*'s praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better d acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of quite another opinion; they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the laws of *Lycurgus*, and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that in process of time they might by a change in their manners pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth; at last a compromise was proposed and agreed to, whereby it was

[a] Plutarch. in vit. Lysander. Xenoph. Hellan. lib. ii. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lysander. [b] Plut. in vit. Lysander. Diodor. ubi supra.

(L) *Gylippus* the *Spartan* had this vice of covetousness hereditary in his family; his father *Clearchus* having, as we have before shewn, suffered banishment for accepting a bribe from *Pericles*, when he entered *Attica* with an army (42). Authors are pretty much divided as to the character of this man. *Plutarch* every where represents him as a person of courage, integrity and humanity, till this last act (43); but *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* gives him quite another character; he introduces him making two long speeches at *Syracuse* to influence the *Sicilians* to shew the *Athenians* no mercy; this is directly contrary to what other historians have written, and on what authority he reports those orations we know not (44). It is true, the favour he was in with *Lysander* seems to throw a shade on his character; for we do not find that this ambitious general either loved or trusted men of strict honour, and from the beginning *Gylippus* was one of his creatures; it was he who preferred him to the command in *Sicily*, and in the present case, as a signal mark of his confidence, sent him with the treasure he had collected in the war, to *Sparta*; so that to speak the truth, this was not only a publick theft, but an act of private ingratitude, and therefore we need not wonder that his patron, who in other respects was ready enough to protect his friends, even in ill things, abandoned him. How *Gylippus* came to trust his servant we are not acquainted; but the manner in which that servant of his betrayed him, *Plutarch* tells us pleasantly enough. "The magistrates, says he, "finding the money in the bags less than what was "expressed in the notes contained in them, were "surprized, but did not in the least suspect him "who had the care of the money, till *Gylippus*'s "servant betrayed the secret; and told them by "way of riddle, *That he had observed a great many* "*owls to roost in the Ceramicus*. The ephori soon "found out that by owls pieces of money were to "be understood, because most of the coin then "bore the impression of an owl in respect to the "*Athenians*; and that the *Ceramicus*, a place in "*Athens* so called, because of a tile-kiln that had "been there, signified likewise the roof of an house "by reason of the tiles called *Ceramoi*; thus the "mystery came to be understood, and *Gylippus* having stained his former reputation with this mean "action, was ashamed to appear any more at *Lacedæmon* (45)."

(42) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xi. (43) *In vit. Niciæ & in vit. Lysand.* (44) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xii. (45) *In vit. Lysander.*

enacted, *That the state might make use of gold and silver, but that private men should possess neither on pain of capital punishments*, which resolution of theirs, as *Plutarch* observes, was shallow, superficial, and ineffectual, because declaring money to be useful to the state, evidently justified the inclination of private men to be possessed of it, while at the same time the law made the gratification of that inclination penal [u]. *Lysander* in the mean time returning to the *Hellespont*, returned also to his old practices there, changing governments, new-modelling cities, liberally and even profusely rewarding his friends, and at the same time pursuing to death and utter destruction such as he suspected to be his enemies. While he remained in *Greece*, he had done some very extraordinary things, which sufficiently betrayed the height of an imperious disposition; he set up his own statue, and the statues of such of his commanders who were in his good graces, in brass; he dedicated two stars in honour of the deities *Castor* and *Pollux*, in order to keep up an opinion which his sycophants had taken care to propagate, that these stars were seen in the rigging of his ship at the battle of *Egos* [x]. But if he acted thus in *Greece*, he set less bounds to his ambition in *Asia*, where he made not only the *Greek* cities dependent on him, but struck terror into the *Persian* governors, and particularly maltreated *Pharnabazus*. This *Persian* grandee was a man of profound capacity, and a master in *Lysander*'s science of dissimulation: He saw that little was to be expected from any representations he could make to this haughty general, surrounded by a number of powerful persons, made so merely by his favour; he cast about therefore to find out surer protectors, though at a greater distance, and with this view dispatched some of his emissaries to *Sparta*. There they began to open, without apprehension of danger, the iniquity of *Lysander*'s conduct, they set his ambitious designs in their proper light, they charged him with an intention to render himself a general for life, and independent of his constituents; and they alledged such probable reasons for what they said, that the ephori and senate immediately dispatched a *Scytale* to recall this terror of *Asia*. They began likewise to inspect narrowly the conduct of his friends in *Greece*, put some of them to death, and among the rest *Thorax* one of his principal commanders, in whose house, in contravention of the late law, they found a large quantity of silver. The surprize of *Lysander* was inexpressible, when the messenger of the state presented the *Scytale* which recalled him (M): He had no previous intelligence of it, nor could he immediately guess by whom it was obtained, but on recollection, he determined in himself that it must have been by the procurement of *Pharnabazus*; this discovery made him more solicitous, especially when he heard what had happened at home, he therefore resolved, according to his stated maxim, *to eke out the lion's with the fox's skin* [y]; in consequence of this he demanded a conference, to which *Pharnabazus* readily yielded. At this meeting *Lysander* made use of all his art to soften the *Persian*, and

[u] Plut. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. [x] Plut. ubi supra. [y] Plut in Apophthegm.

(M) In this note we intend to explain the *Scytale* of the *Lacedæmonians*; but first, let us hear what *Plutarch* says of them: "The nature and use, says "he, of this was; when the magistrates gave their "commission to any admiral or general, they took "two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal "in breadth and thickness; one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer, "so that when they had any thing of moment "which they would secretly convey to him, they "cut a long narrow scrowl of parchment, and "rowling it about their own staff, one fold close "upon another, they wrote their business on it; "when they had wrote what they had to say, they "took off the parchment and sent it to the general, "he applied it to his own staff, which being just "like that of the magistrates, the folds fell in with "each other, exactly as they did at the writing; "and the characters which before it was wrapped "up, were confusedly disjoined, and altogether unintelligible, appeared then very plainly (46)". There are many things omitted in this account which we shall endeavour to supply from other authors. *Tzetzes* calls them wands, which the ephori delivered to the general or admiral when he set out to take upon him the command; he says they were very short and very slender, the parchment being also narrow, which they made use of to fold round them (47). It is very probable, that our author conjectured this from the usual shortness of the *Spartan* epistles; for *Demetrius Trichinus* tells us expressly, that the *Scytale* was between three and four cubits long; he does indeed suggest that there was but one of them which was split in two, and one half being given to the general, the other half remained at home (48); but *Aulus Gellius* (49), and the scholiast on *Aristophanes* say expressly there were two (50); *Thucydides* says, the *Scytale* was round, smooth, and long, (51); the scholiast on *Pindar*, that it was made of a black wood (52). It should seem that besides this state-*Scytale*, private men made use of a contrivance of the like nature to prevent deceits in contracts, but then these were exactly like our tallies.

(46) *Plut. in vit. Lysander.* (47) *Joan. Tzetzes. var. Hist Chil.* ix. *c.* 258. (48) *Ad. Pindar. Olymp. Od.* vi. (49) *Noct. Attic. lib.* xvii. *cap.* 9. (50) *Ad. Aves Aristoph.* (51) *Bell. Pelop. lib.* i. (52) *Olymp.* vi.

a to engage him by a letter under his hand to deny what might have been suggested in his name to the ephori and senate, to which with some difficulty *Pharnabazus* agreed; he wrote this letter in *Lysander*'s presence, and in terms suitable to his wish; but he had before prepared a letter of quite a different nature, and substituted it while he pretended to fold the other, so that here the deceiver was deceived, and *Lysander* with all his skill outwitted[a]. Receiving this letter, he set out immediately for *Sparta*, but when he was informed of its contents, he was mightily disturbed, and fearing lest he should be called to an account, pretended that he had seen a vision, wherein *Jupiter Ammon* had commanded him to come immediately and consult his oracle. The ephori and senate shewed a good deal of reluctance in granting his b request, but as soon as he was gone, the kings of *Sparta* began to contrive the destruction of his friends, that he might no longer have such an interest in *Asia* as at this time he had. The *Athenians* at this time taking arms against their tyrants, *Lysander* hearing thereof, returned suddenly to *Sparta*, where he vehemently pressed the government to support those he had established at *Athens*, and that they would make use of him as commander in chief in that expedition. This greatly alarmed the kings, wherefore they determined to make use of all their interest to prevent it. *Pausanias* therefore procured the command of the army to be vested in him, and marched, as it was generally understood, to support the tyrants against the people of *Athens*; but in truth his design was to reconcile the *Athenians*, and to compro- c mise their differences with *Sparta*, that *Lysander* might not have the honour of conquering this city twice, which he also effected, and which *Lysander* highly resented. Not long after he had an opportunity of venting his spleen, and of reconciling himself to the people; for the *Athenians* according to the fickleness of their temper flying out again, the *Spartans* were highly incensed against *Pausanias*, and cried up *Lysander* for a man of integrity, and true public spirit[a]. While things were in this situation, king *Agis* died, he was taken ill at *Heræa* in *Arcadia*, and being conveyed to *Sparta*, died there; in his last moments he owned *Leotychides*, moved thereto by his tears, and earnest intreaties; and at the same time that he did this, he besought the *Lacedæmonians* who where present to bear witness of the sincerity of his declara- d tion, and that he from his heart retracted what at any time he might have rashly said of his suspecting the legitimacy of *Leotychides*; but this late recognition of his son was, as we shall presently shew, altogether ineffectual, *Leotychides* losing not only his pretensions to the crown, but to his paternal estate[b].

*Agis* left behind him a younger brother, whose name was *Agesilaus*, and who became not only an honour to *Sparta*, but to *Greece* itself. This *Agesilaus* set up for the crown against *Leotychides*, and as he was a man of exemplary virtues, and of great capacity, he on his first declaration had many friends, and on *Lysander*'s espousing his interest acquired many more: for both these it is proper that we should account. *Agesilaus* was born a younger brother, and though the laws of *Lacedæmon*, which e began now to be greatly relaxed, did not compel the heirs apparent to the crown to endure the sharp discipline of the *Lycurgic* education; yet the younger children of kings were no less severely bred than the meanest *Lacedæmonian*, which proved a great happiness to the prince of whom we are speaking, who for the glory of a long and happy reign, was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education; his temper was compounded of those qualities which very rarely meet, that is, of such as render men ambitious and aspiring, and of such as make them amiable and beloved. He was brave, active, and of a high spirit; but with all this wonderfully good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country perhaps beyond comparison; for he preferred her interest not only to his own, to his peace, f and to his safety, but to his honour and his reputation; he thought all things fit, which she commanded, and placed his utmost happiness in his capacity of serving her, not only on such occasions as were attended with lustre and eclat, but in those which had neither profit nor honour to recommend them[c]. Such were the means whereby *Agesilaus* gained to himself friends; as for the regard which *Lysander* had for him, it sprung thus: When *Agesilaus* was a youth, *Lysander* was his lover, and this friendship of his continued when *Agesilaus* was grown up, and mightily facilitated his mounting the throne. There was but one thing which gave this prince and his

Agesilaus *succeeds* Agis, *and sets aside* Leotychides.

[a] Plut. in vit. Lysander. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [a] Plut. ubi supra. [b] Plut. in vit. Agesil. Pausan. Lacon. [c] Plutarch. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Agesil.

friends any trouble, and it was this; one *Diopithes*, a man reputed to have great skill a
in oracles, produced one to the following effect:

Tho' great thy empire, *Sparta*, yet refrain
From a *lame reign*, which come, thou shalt sustain;
Ills unendur'd before! and feel the rage
Of *war*, no *force* can quell, or skill assuage (N).

This was thought to point at *Agesilaus*, who had one leg shorter than the other, but *Lysander* outdid the interpreter even in his own science; *The oracle*, said he, *cannot possibly point at a lameness in the king's leg, that is a thing which the gods cannot hate, because they have caused it; the lameness must be in the title; beware therefore*, O Lacedæmonians, *of placing an illegitimate king on the throne, nay even one whose birth* b
*is suspected, for that is most likely to be the lame reign hinted at by the oracle*[4]. *Lysander*'s explanation, backed by his authority, had the desired effect; the senate and people excluded *Leotychides* alike from the kingdom, and from the private estate of his father; half of this estate of *Agis*, *Agesilaus* bestowed on that prince's relations by the mother's side, who, though they were persons of great merit, were till this time in very low circumstances, which gained the new king the hearts of the people. Instead of opposing either the ephori or the senate, he treated them with the utmost civility, and not only so, but with the greatest confidence and affection; those who were of the opposite party at the time of his election, he was ever studious to oblige; he preferred them, whenever their merit gave them a reasonable pretence c
thereto; he relieved them when under misfortunes; in fine, he acted so prudently and so benignly, that at last the ephori, seeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took

[4] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Lysand. Justin. lib. vi. c. 4. Corn. Nepos in vit. Agesil. & Lysand.

(N) It was the custom of the *Greeks*, as we have shewn in this and in the *Athenian* history, never to undertake any act of importance without consulting an oracle, of which there were many in *Greece*; but that of *Delphi* was the most remarkable. Many learned men seem to be of opinion, that the responses from thence were frequently supernatural, and sometimes plain and direct, justified also by the event: However that matter be, yet certain it is, that even in the most early times they were frequently corrupted, of which we have given many instances, and in the prosecution of our history shall have occasion to give many more. If *public oracles* were liable to such inconveniences in spite of all the care that could be taken of them, it is easy to conceive, that the collections of oracles in private hands were much more liable to alterations and interpolations. To say the truth, where-ever a superstitious humour of believing such sort of things prevails, experience shews us, that there will be always knaves equally capable and willing to impose on fools. These keepers of oracles were stiled divine or sacred persons by the *Greeks*, and from the instance before us, we see what mighty things they were able to effect. *Plutarch* speaks very respectfully of *Diopithes*, who produced the oracle which gave occasion to this note; and to do justice, we must acknowledge that the oracle was fulfilled in two senses; yet with us, this is no indubitable argument that it was genuine, since it is almost impossible to contrive an oracle in relation to a momentous event, which some time or other will not be accomplished. It is very remarkable that *Diopithes*, who by his profession was an interpreter of these sort of pieces, departed from the letter of the oracle in his solution, and that *Lysander* should have address enough to conquer the prophet in his own profession (53); for, as *Xenophon* justly observes, the oracle speaks not of a lame king, but a lame reign, as appears from the words thereof twice cited by *Plutarch* (54). By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that in all our versions of *Plutarch* into *English*, these oracles are constantly rendered wrong, the word *heir* being substituted instead of kingdom (55), which is of mighty consequence; first, because it misrepresents the sense of the oracle; and secondly, because it leaves no room for *Lysander's* interpretation, though *Plutarch* himself acknowledges it was well received, and *Xenophon* ascribes *Agesilaus*'s carrying his cause to the seeming aptitude of this explanation. After all, if there was any thing supernatural in this oracle, it was never rightly understood, till very lately *M. le Fevre* declared its true meaning to be, that *Sparta* should take care to preserve both her kings, or, if we may be for once allowed to make use of technical terms, to guard against the changing her *duarchy* into a *monarchy*; and in this sense the oracle was most signally accomplished, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew (56). In the mean time, let us observe, that *Plutarch* approved *Diopithes*'s interpretation; he conceived that *Leotychides* was most outragiously injured, and that the great evils which befel *Sparta* during the reign of *Agesilaus* were the punishments threatened by the oracle, in case she suffered herself to be governed by a lame king. *Xenophon* on the contrary affirms, that *Agesilaus* destroyed *Leotychides*'s claim by three invincible arguments; the first was the repeated declarations of his supposed father *Agis*; secondly his mother, who ought to know best, averred the same thing; lastly, that *Neptune* having by an earthquake forced *Agis* out of bed from his wife, who thereupon abstained from her ten months, after the expiration of which term *Leotychides* was born (57). To close this account, let us observe that there is no reason in the world to doubt the impartiality of *Plutarch*, and that the history of *Xenophon* is an open panegyric on *Agesilaus*, whose friend and confident he was.

(53) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. & in vit. Agesil.* (54) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib.* iii. (55) *See the lives of Lysander and Agesilaus in Plutarch's lives both of the old and new translation.* (56) *Fabr. in Justin. lib.* vi. (57) *ubi supra.*

a umbrage at his good ones, and laid a mulct on him for a very extraordinary crime, viz. *Monopolizing the affections of the people*; which however was consonant enough to the constitution of *Sparta*[e]. Before *Agesilaus* was well settled on the throne, his country found itself exceedingly distressed; the *Persian* king, to whom in the course of the war they owed such mighty obligations, declared himself at once their open enemy, and began to make mighty preparations for dispossessing them of their maritime empire. To have a just notion of this business, we must ascend a little higher: *Lysander* while he commanded in *Asia* had paid all his court to *Cyrus* the younger brother of *Artaxerxes*, who on the death of his father ascended the *Persian* throne; in consequence of this friendship between *Lysander* and *Cyrus*, *Clearchus*
b the *Lacedæmonian* general received orders from the ephori and senate to assist that prince to the utmost of his power in the rebellion he had raised against his brother. It was in these troops that *Xenophon* had a command, and it was at the head of them, after *Clearchus* and the other captains were taken, that he made that retreat called the *Retreat of the ten thousand*; this behaviour of the *Lacedæmonians* drew upon them the hate of the king, who ever after spoke of them in terms of disrespect, and sought as much as in him lay to destroy their power[f]. It is very probable that some of the wisest of the *Persian* statesmen managed this disposition of the king for the effecting what they rightly conceived to be the interest of his empire; this is rendered probable from the method that was immediately taken, *viz.* of sending relief to
c *Athens*, and money into *Bœotia*; at the same time he determined to reduce all the *Greek* cities absolutely to his obedience, which was wounding *Sparta* in the tenderest part, she having over and over declared herself the protectress of the *Grecian* liberties; on this account it was that they sent *Thimbro* with an army consisting of a thousand *Laconian* foot, four thousand *Peloponnesian* infantry, and three hundred horse from *Athens*; this man managed the war but indifferently, suffering his troops, since he could make no impression on the enemy, to plunder the allies of *Lacedæmon*. The ephori therefore sent *Dercyllidas* to succeed him; this man was a great engineer, and likewise a great politician; he found his force too small to prevail against *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, the king's lieutenants; he resolved to remedy this evil by
d making them destroy one another, in which he succeeded so well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. When at the command of their masters these governors of provinces became friends, the *Spartan* was left to deal with them both, which he did without any loss, though his army did not exceed seven thousand men, and the *Persians* had twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse in the field, besides great garisons. *Pharnabazus* was indeed for fighting, but *Tissaphernes*, who was a better officer, and who knew well what these *Greek* troops were capable of, was of quite a different opinion; wherefore having entered into negotiations with *Dercyllidas*, he at length concluded with him a treaty of accommodation on these terms; *That the*
e Greek *cities should remain free; that his army should retire out of his province; that the* Lacedæmonian *governors should remove out of the cities; and that this treaty should subsist, till it was either ratified or disavowed by the king of* Persia, *and the state of* Sparta. The *Persian* king however within a short time after began to fit out three hundred sail of ships of war, which greatly alarmed the *Greek* cities, and occasioned an application to *Sparta*; where, as we shall soon see, *Agesilaus* offered himself by the advice of *Lysander*, and was declared general of *Greece*[g]. But before any resolution was taken, the king sacrificing for his country according to custom, the augur, from the bowels of three several victims, declared there was some very great conspiracy on foot against him and all the magistrates of *Sparta*; a little of this conspiracy was discovered to the
f bottom by the information of one of the persons concerned, whereupon the senate took such quick measures, though with some little injury to the laws, that all the conspirators were suddenly taken out of the way[h] (O). Things were in this situation, when

[e] Xenophon. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Agesil. [f] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. i, ii, iii. Diodor. lib. xii. xiii. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Artaxerx. Justin. lib. v. c. 11. [g] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Justin. lib. vi. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Lysand. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. vi. [h] Plut. in vit. Agesil. . . .

(O) It is a great misfortune to such as endeavour to collect the *Greek* history from the lives of *Plutarch*, that they find it impracticable to distinguish any method in his productions, whereby they may be able to reduce the facts by him related to the just order of time in which they happened. In the

when *Lysander*, burning with an impatient desire of returning again into *Asia*, which a had been the scene of his triumphs, procured such an army to be decreed *Agesilaus*, and thereby, as he conceived to himself, as would, if no cross accidents had intervened, have left in all probability no room for *Alexander*'s conquests, as *Plutarch* hath very rightly remarked. Besides the forces already in *Asia* under the command of *Dercylidas* the *Spartans* voted two thousand manumitted *Helotes*, and six thousand *Peloponnesian* foot; but the king after all would not accept the command, till he had a council of thirty assigned him, of whom *Lysander* was in all respects the chief. While the army was drawing together about *Geraestus*, *Agesilaus* went with some friends to *Aulis*, where the thoughts of his expedition in all probability suggested to his mind b a dream, wherein he was admonished to imitate *Agamemnon* in sacrificing, inasmuch as he was become his successor, and was on the point of going general in chief of the *Greek* forces against the *Barbarians*, an office which had never been borne but by *Agamemnon* and himself; *Agesilaus*, in compliance with this vision, resolved to sacrifice; but reflecting on the barbarity which *Agamemnon* had been guilty of, he substituted a hind instead of a virgin, and having caused it to be crowned with garlands, he directed his own augur to solemnize the sacrifice. The *Bœotians* hearing of this, and being extremely provoked, that in their territories he should employ one of his attendants instead of the sacrificer appointed by them, they sent deputies to forbid him to sacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws; which deputies having delivered to him their message in the temple of *Aulis*, and perceiving that he did c not give much heed thereto, they went directly to the altar, and threw the sacrifice off it on the ground. This may seem a circumstance too trivial for a history of this nature; but the reader will find hereafter, that it proved the occasion of a war which subverted the *Spartan* empire over *Greece*, and had well nigh destroyed her state. At this time *Agesilaus* was so much discomposed, that he immediately hoisted sail, and bore away for *Asia*, without staying for any other rites, or offering any other sacrifice[1]. On his arrival he found things in a situation he neither expected nor could foresee; at *Sparta* he was a king, but here *Lysander* was treated as if he had been somewhat more; all respect, all application was paid to him, and he d received it rather with the haughtiness of a deity, than with that complaisance which

[1] Xenophon. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Agesilai. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusdem. Justin. lib. vi. c. 2.

the present case, he relates this story of a conspiracy, as if it had happened in the latter part of his reign (58): Whereas it is certain from *Xenophon*, who could not be mistaken in points of fact, that it fell out in the first year of his reign: the same author hath also recorded the several circumstances attending it, and as some of them are extraordinary, the reader will doubtless be pleased to find them here. On the discovery of the plot, it appeared that one *Cinado* was at the head of the conspiracy; this *Cinado* was a young man, very conspicuous for his valour, though not for his family; the informer likewise declared, that this *Cinado* had once reckoned up forty *Spartans*, including the *kings*, the *senate*, and *ephori*; and that on his demanding what he meant by that calculation, *Cinado* replied, *These are they who are against us, the rest in town and country are of our party*. The ephori then demanded of what number the conspirators consisted; the informer replied, they were not many; but that they reckoned upon the assistance of all the *Helotes*, the new-made citizens, and the lower sort of people, who, as often as they spoke of the *Spartans*, intimated as much as if they would be glad to eat them alive. They then demanded if the conspirators had arms; the informer replied they had, and that *Cinado* had told him, that in the first commotion, workmens tools, or those that belonged to husbandry, would serve their associates well enough, since it was not to be supposed that they should find their enemies very well armed; being questioned to the time, he replied, that he could not tell exactly, but that *Cinado* had ordered him to hold himself ready whenever he should be called upon; whence he conjectured, the point of execution was not far off. On the consideration of these things, the ephori were so much alarmed on taking this examination, that they were equally afraid to assist at the sessions of the senate, or to assemble the people; at length they bethought themselves of a method of extricating themselves from the danger: they sent for *Cinado*, and told him that they discovered at a town or small distance from *Sparta*, contrivances carried on against the state, in which a lady of singular beauty, and admirable accomplishments, was deeply concerned; they therefore directed him to take a small party of youth, such as he could best trust, and to bring the lady and such others as they gave him a list of prisoners to *Sparta*; the better to colour this business, they assigned him three waggons for his prisoners, and a troop of horse to escort him, if he should have occasion; this troop of horse, as soon as they were at a convenient distance from the city, surprized him and his companions, and one of them having discovered the names of all concerned in the plot, a trooper was sent back with this information; whereupon the conspirators were all apprehended, and *Cinado* upon examination having confessed that he had no other cause for being discontented, than that he disdained to see in a city where he lived any man greater than himself; upon which he and his companions were without farther process put to death (59).

(58) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand.* (59) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib.* iii. *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* ii. *c.* 14.

a is natural to man; the rest of the commanders first stomached it, they grew uneasy at finding themselves degraded from being counsellors to *Agesilaus* into officers or rather ministers of one of their collegues, they therefore complained to the king, who immediately applied a very quick remedy, which was this; he denied every suit that *Lysander* made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply to him; which in part had, and in part had not the design he intended; for as soon as the *Greeks* settled in *Asia*, perceived it, they no longer moved their suits by *Lysander*, but continued notwithstanding to pay him as much respect as before; this nettled the king, though he was not naturally envious, whereupon he appointed this great man overseer of his provisions, and to insult the *Ionians*, said openly, *Let them now go* b *and pay court to my butcher*. *Lysander* quickly took an opportunity of coming to an eclaircisment; for the first time they were alone, he addressed the king thus: *In truth*, Agesilaus, *you know very well how to lessen your friends*. *Yes*, answered the king, *When they affect to be greater than I; nor can it be thought unjust that they should have power with me, who most concern themselves in promoting my power*. *Sir*, replied *Lysander* very modestly, *You are pleased to exercise a greater liberty in speaking than I ever did in acting; but I beseech you, Sir, for the sake of those strangers, who have their eyes upon us, to assign me that post, wherein I may be least suspected by you, and have it most in my power to render you service*[k]. The king thereupon appointed him embassador to the allies of *Sparta* near the *Hellespont*, which office he executed with great diligence c and integrity; he persuaded one *Mithridates* a *Persian*, who was at variance with *Pharnabazus*, to revolt with a great body of troops, and to join *Agesilaus*; however, finding the king irreconcileable, he determined with himself to return to *Greece*, highly dissatisfied with his treatment, and not only so, but with the government of his country, which he resolved to overturn, if it was in his power; in order to effect these purposes, he set on foot such schemes as are scarce to be parallelled in story; but inasmuch as they were never carried into act, through the cowardice of one of his associates, when they were on the very point of execution, we conceive that entering into a detail of them here would too much interrupt the current of our history; wherefore we have digested what is most material in them into a note[l] (P). After his depar-

[k] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. & Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lysand. [l] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra.

(P) During the whole continuance of the *Spartan* state, there never arose therein a greater man, whether we regard his abilities or his fortunes; than *Lysander*; how he came to turn those vast abilities from the service to the disservice of his country, we have explained in the text; the manner in which he conducted his conspiracy; and with what mighty art he brought it to the very point of execution, will best appear from the following account of *Plutarch*, taken, as he professes, from *Ephorus*, an author in great esteem with *Strabo* and *Polybius*. "Things had been a great while ripe for changes, "and people were ready to break into rebellion; "he resolved therefore not to miss the opportunity, "but set it on foot as soon as possible. His stratagem was this: some of the *Heraclidæ*, who "came into *Peloponnesus*, and mixed with the *Dorians*, were now grown very numerous and powerful in *Sparta*. Of these, two families only could "claim any right to succession in the kingdom, "those were the *Eurytiontidæ*, and the *Agiadæ*; "the rest, notwithstanding their high extraction, "had no greater share in the government than what "was common to the meanest citizen. For they "only who could plead most merit had the best "titles to the common reward of virtue. *Lysander* "was one of these, and when he had gained so "great a reputation by his actions, had many friends, "and much power; he was uneasy to see that city "which owed its increase chiefly to him, ruled by "others no better descended than himself. So he "contrived to alter the settlement which confined "the government to two families only, and give "all the *Heraclidæ* an equal right to it; nay, some "say not to the *Heraclidæ* only, but to all the *Spartans*; and make it a reward not so much of "*Hercules*'s posterity, as of those who bravely imitated that valour which gave him a place among "the gods. He had great hopes that when the "kingdom was thus to be disposed of, no *Spartan* "could appear with those advantages that he could: "Upon which prospect, first he endeavoured to "insinuate the reasonableness of this change into "private people, and learned by heart a fine oration "which *Cleon* of *Halicarnassus* had made for him "upon that subject. But when he came to reflect "on the difficulties of this undertaking, which "was not to be effected by ordinary means, he had "recourse to extraordinary. For as in tragedies, "when any thing of great importance is to be effected, the assistance of some god is made use "of, so he, to promote his designs with colour of "authority, had recourse to oracles, presuming he "should prevail upon more citizens by the terror "of those, than he could persuade by *Cleon*'s eloquence. *Ephorus* says, that after he had in vain "endeavoured to corrupt the *Pythian* oracle, and "as unsuccessfully sent *Pericles* to corrupt *Dodona*, he "went himself to *Ammon*, and proferred the priests "prodigious sums of gold, who with great indignation rejected his bribes, and sent people to accuse him at *Sparta*, where he met with such "favourable judges, that he was easily cleared from "their impeachments; upon which the *Libyans* "took their leave of the *Spartans* in this manner; "*When you come to live among us in* Africa, *you'll* "*find us more impartial judges*. Now there was "an ancient prophecy, which foretold that the *Lacedæmonians*

departure, *Agesilaus* carried on the war with great success and reputation; *Tissaphernes*, a
the implacable enemy of the *Greeks*, by the intrigues of his enemies, was brought into disgrace with his master, and soon after beheaded; *Tithraustes* succeeded him, he, as soon as he entered on his office, sent deputies to treat with *Agesilaus*, to whom he proposed, that the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should pay the king a certain tribute only, and in all other respects enjoy their liberty, offering him at the same time large sums of money, if he would condescend to make a peace, which *Agesilaus* refused, alledging that he had not power so to do; however he removed out of his province, and carried the war into that of *Pharnabazus*. *Tithraustes*, who was a man of great parts, when he found the king of *Sparta* could not be corrupted in *Asia*, dispatched *Timocrates* the *Rhodian* with fifty talents into *Greece*, to see if any b
of the captains or statesmen there were less honest than *Agesilaus*; this agent of his found several such sort of people as he looked for in *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and *Argos*; to them he imparted such sums as he thought proper, and thereby excited a war in the heart of *Greece*, which no longer left the *Spartans* at liberty to think of extending their empire beyond it [m]. The *Thebans*, who of all others came most heartily into this business, saw plainly, that the *Lacedæmonians* of their own accord would not break with any of the states of *Greece*; they did not care to act offensively themselves, because the chiefs of the *Persian* faction were afraid of becoming accountable to the people for the success of the war; they persuaded therefore the *Locrians* to make an incursion into a small district, which lay in dispute between c
the *Phocians* and themselves; upon this, as they rightly judged, the *Phocians* without more ado invaded *Locris*; the *Locrians* applied to their allies the *Thebans* for assistance, which was readily granted them, and upon this the *Phocians* addressed themselves to *Sparta*, setting forth that they had not been the aggressors, but that they had been forced to take arms in defence of their own territories; the *Spartans* were on their side glad of an opportunity of breaking with the *Thebans*, against whom they had long had a grudge; and thus the *Persian* talents disturbed the tranquillity

[m] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon.

" *cedæmonians* should some time or other inhabit " *Africa*. *Lysander*'s design in this matter was very " subtle and intricate, and managed by very great " politicians; so in order to clear the whole in- " trigue, we must trace it as we do mathematical " demonstrations up to its first principles; I shall " therefore at large explain it as it is related by " *Ephorus*, a great historian as well as philosopher.

" There was a woman in *Pontus*, who being " with child, pretended *Apollo* was the father. " Many, with a great deal of reason, suspected it, " others were so credulous as to believe it. Where- " fore when she came to be delivered of a son, " several of the greatest quality in the country " took peculiar care of its education, and for some " reason or other gave it the name of *Silenus*. " *Lysander* taking hold of this occurrence, made it " the ground of his whole stratagem, and chose " such confidents to assist him in it, whose cha- " racter might bring the story into reputation with- " out the least suspicion of forgery. To make the " best advantage of this story, they spread abroad " another story, *That there were very ancient oracles* " *closely concealed in the custody of the priests at* Delphi; " *and it was upon record that they were not to be pro-* " *faned by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for* " *any man to read them, till in some future age one* " *should arise, who could manifestly prove himself the* " *son of* Apollo, *and challenge to himself the inter-* " *pretation of these mysteries*. When the credit of " this report was well established among the peo- " ple, *Silenus* was to come and demand the pre- " rogative of his birth. The priests who were con- " federates in this plot, were strictly to examine " into every circumstance and particular of his na- " tivity, and afterwards being fully convinced that " he was the true son of *Apollo*, were to deliver " up their charge to him, and then the son of the " god was to unfold in public all those oracles, " especially, that for the sake of which the whole " plot had been contrived relating to the govern- " ment of *Sparta*, wherein it was to be declared, " *That it would be more for the honour and interest of* " Sparta *to break the present succession, and for the* " *future chuse their kings out of the most deserving* " *men in the common-wealth*. But when *Silenus* was " grown up, and every thing ready for action, the " whole business miscarried by the cowardice of " one that was an agent in it, whose heart failed " him just at the time of execution (60)". Nothing of these intrigues were discovered during the life-time of *Lysander*; but after his demise, *Agesilaus* being directed to search his papers on account of some disputes with the *Argives*, he found among them the oration made by *Cleon* beforementioned, which at first he designed to publish in order to convince the *Spartans*, who still revered the memory of *Lysander*, that they had quite mistaken the temper of the man; but *Lacratides*, one of the king's friends, gave a noble testimony of his wisdom, by advising *Agesilaus* to let it alone; he said it would be dishonourable to disturb the ashes of *Lysander*, and that with respect to the oration, it would be better to bury it with him, than to trust it abroad in the world; where, considering the force with which it was penned, it might raise a spirit not easy to be laid. *Agesilaus* on the other hand showed his wisdom in taking the advice of his friend, and passing by in silence this business which must have produced great mischiefs had it ever become the subject of debate (61).

(60) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. Vid. etiam Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos, vit. Lysand.* (61) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. & Agesil.*

a of *Greece*, and put her in a new ferment. *Lysander*, though a very old man, grew extremely uneasy at lying idle, he had besides a private hatred to the *Thebans* on account of the assistance they had given to *Athens*, at such time as she shook off the yoke of the thirty tyrants whom he had established; he therefore gladly laid hold of this occasion to persuade the ephori and senate once more to intrust him with an army. As soon as he prevailed in his request, he began to dispose all things for the war; an army was quickly raised, at the head of which he put himself; another was raising, which was to be commanded by king *Pausanias*. *Lysander* marched with the forces under his command directly into *Phocis*, desiring *Pausanias* to lead his army round by *Cytheron*, in order to invade *Bœotia* on that side; the eagerness b of *Lysander* prompted him to quick marches, and vigorous measures, wherefore finding *Pausanias* loiter, he sent an express to him, who was then encamped at *Platæa*, with letters, informing him of the time when himself expected to arrive at *Haliartus*, conjuring him to meet him there; these letters *Plutarch* says were intercepted by the enemy, and sent to *Thebes*, where the *Thebans* resolved to intrust their city with the *Athenians*, who were come to their assistance, and to march directly to *Haliartus*. *Lysander* arrived in the neighbourhood of that city in the night, but when day began to dawn, and he had still no news of *Pausanias*, he resolved at all events to attempt the surprisal of the place; when he drew near the walls, and perceived all things quiet, he conceived great hopes; but of a sudden c the gates being thrown open, the *Thebans* and *Haliartans* issued out in exact order, and charged the *Lacedæmonians* so briskly, that *Lysander* was killed on the spot, with a priest who stood by him; before the forces commanded by him could recover themselves, another body of *Thebans* charged them in the rear, whereby they were totally broken with the loss of no less than a thousand men, the *Thebans* on their side lost three hundred [a]. The news of this defeat being brought to *Pausanias*, he immediately marched with all possible diligence to *Haliartus*, where he sought by all means to gain the dead body of *Lysander*; some of the ancient *Spartan* commanders were for attacking the enemy, and recovering it by force; but he considering that they were already flushed with victory, that their troops were more numerous than d his, and that *Thrasybulus* the *Athenian* had now joined them, refused to do it; but on the contrary concluded a treaty, whereby the body of *Lysander* was delivered to him on condition that he retired out of *Bœotia*, which he accordingly performed, and in his retreat buried the corps of the deceased general in the territories of the *Panopæans*. On his return to *Sparta*, such a spirit of resentment appeared against him, that he was afraid to stand his tryal, for which reason he retired to *Tegæa*, where he led a private life. As for *Lysander*, his memory was grately revered in *Sparta* on account of the mighty services he had rendered his country, and because after all the opportunities he had had of enriching himself, he died miserably poor, having always preserved that generous contempt of money inherent to great minds. In e his latter years, he is said to have been extremely melancholy, and even peevish, which some have ascribed to his natural temper; though that seems to be not a little unjust, if we consider that he was now old, and had been extremely ill treated by *Agesilaus*, on whose friendship he had reckoned so much. After his death, some *Spartans* of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refused to espouse them, finding they had no money, for which the ephori fined them, and that very severely, assigning this reason, that such men must be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy family than a virtuous one [c]. *Agesilaus* having subjected the greatest part of the coast, determined with himself to march into the heart of *Persia*, and to revenge the cruelties perpetrated by *Xerxes* when he invaded *Greece*. In the midst of his projects, and when he was on the very point of carrying them f into execution, a messenger from *Sparta* brought him a scytale, whereby he was commanded to return in order to fight his country's battles at home. *Agesilaus* hesitated not a moment, he relinquished all his victories, and all his hopes, preferring obedience to the constitution of *Sparta* to the prospect of subduing the whole *Persian* empire, a conduct which might warrant a long panegyric, if its excellence did not deter us from attempting a theme, which may well be supposed inexhaustible, since the action of *Agesilaus* has hitherto appeared inimitable [d]. The year before

[a] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Lysand. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusdem. [c] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos, ubi supra. [d] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusd. Justin. lib. vi. c. 2.

the

the *Spartans* had declared him admiral as well as generalissimo of their forces, which a charge he now bestowed on his wife's brother *Pisander*, leaving four thousand men to secure his conquests, and with the rest of his army taking the same rout which *Xerxes* had done when he entered *Greece*. In his passage he never demanded any leave from the barbarous nations, but only sent to inquire of them whether they would have him pass as an enemy, or as a friend; meeting with some opposition, he engaged the enemy, routed them, and continued his march [q].

Agesipolis *succeeds his father* Pausanias.

After the flight of *Pausanias*, who left behind him his two sons, *Agesipolis* and *Cleombrotus*; the former of them was declared king, but being too young to govern by himself, his uncle *Aristodemus*, to whom the *Spartans* gave the command of a very great army, which they raised as well to revenge the death of *Lysander*, as to b quell in its infancy this dangerous league which was formed against them, held the office of protector. This army, when it took the field, consisted of fifteen thousand men; the confederates immediately opposed it with another of twenty thousand, of which thirteen thousand were heavy armed troops: Near *Corinth* a battle ensued, wherein the *Spartans* were victorious with the loss only of eight men, if we may believe *Xenophon*, that is, eight of the *Spartans*; for of their confederates, he acknowledges that a great number fell [r]. News was immediately dispatched of this victory to *Agesilaus*, who, far from being pleased therewith, cried out, O Greece, *what a number of brave men are slain in thy private quarrels, when with a less waste of blood thou mightest have reduced all* Persia [s]! Though these were his private senti- c ments, yet on his return he obeyed the directions sent him by the ephori, and immediately invaded *Bœotia* contrary to his judgment of things: On the very day he executed this order the sun was eclipsed, and he received the news of the defeat of the *Persian* fleet, and the death of his wife's brother *Pisander*; being afraid this ill news might discourage his soldiers, he gave out that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother, on account of which he sacrificed to the gods, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends wearing a garland on his head, and using other testimonies of joy, though he acknowledged that *Pisander* had fallen in the engagement [t]. Not long after an engagement happened in the neighbourhood of *Cheronæa*, the sharpest which happened in his time, as *Xenophon* relates; d and of this he must have been a very good judge, because he was present. In this *Agesilaus* was the victor, where he fought, and the *Thebans* on the other hand prevailed against that wing whereon they charged; *Agesilaus* was constrained to return to try his fortune anew against these: It is generally agreed, that on this occasion he was guilty of a great oversight in attacking the *Thebans* in front, when if he had waited a little he might have charged them in flank and rear. *Xenophon* indeed gives another turn to this matter, for with him *Agesilaus* was never wrong, yet it is certain that the mistake had like to have been fatal; the *Thebans* behaving with great resolution, killing many, and wounding more, among whom was *Agesilaus* himself. At length they marched slowly from the field, leaving to the *Lacedæ-* e *monians* the honour of a victory, of which however they could collect no fruits [u]. *Agesilaus* went to *Delphi*, where he consecrated the tenth of his spoils, and in the mean time *Gylus* his lieutenant led the army in *Locris*, where they were so busy in plundering, that the people suddenly rose upon them, and making a good use of their disorder, killed *Gylus* and many others. *Corinth* was the head quarters of the confederates, as *Sicyon* was of the *Lacedæmonians* and their allies. At *Corinth* there were great seditions, many of the citizens conceiving that they were idly engaged in this war, which tended to bring them under the dominion of the *Argives*, resolved, if possible, to free themselves by bringing in a *Lacedæmonian* garison, which in some measure they effected. The other party in *Corinth* sent for aid from *Athens*, f which was readily accorded, and between both parties the city was in the utmost danger of being totally ruined [x]. The *Spartans* had possession only of a fort, their enemies had the city, *Agesilaus* to put an end to the dispute, invaded the territory of *Argos* with a great army, and having passed through it, besieged *Corinth* by land, while his brother *Teleutias* blocked it up by sea; yet did not their enterprize suc-

[q] Xenophon. Hellan. lib. iv. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Agesil. [r] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [s] Plut. in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusdem. [t] Xenophon. ubi supra. [u] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusdem. [x] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Iphicrat. Polyæn. lib. iii. c. 9.

ceed, *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian* captain preserving *Corinth* and its territories from feeling the effects of his resentment[y]. After his return from this expedition, the *Achæans* demanded aid of *Sparta* against the *Acarnanians*, and according to their request, *Agesilaus* was sent to help them with a great army; he so effectually quelled their enemies, that the next year they were glad to make peace[z]. This war over, *Agesipolis* at the head of another army entered the country of the *Argives*, though much against his will; for as this people had desired a truce, he conceived this severity to be a kind of injustice, and therefore would not put himself at the head of the troops, till he had consulted the *Olympian Jupiter*, and the *Delphian Apollo* on this scruple of conscience. Satisfied with the answers returned by these oracles, he undertook the
b war, but meeting or fancying he met in the course thereof many prodigies, he returned without effecting much. In the mean time *Conon* the *Athenian* threatened the *Spartans* with the loss of their sovereignty by sea, wherefore to soften the *Persian* king, it was resolved at *Sparta* to send *Antalcidas* into *Persia* to endeavour the withdrawing the great king from the interest of their rivals, though in the mean time preparations were made for carrying on the war in *Asia*, in case the proposals he was enabled to offer were refused; this was a new method of proceeding unknown in former times to *Sparta*, and this embassador was a person who differed much from his fellow citizens, being extremely affable in his manner, eloquent, and in short every way well accomplished to execute a commission at the *Persian* court[a] (Q).
c The *Athenians* however took such measures as hindered his succeeding immediately. *Thimbro*, who commanded the *Lacedæmonian* troops in *Asia*, for a time did good service, but at last he was defeated and slain; *Talutias* however gained some advantages at sea, and having extremely frighted the city of *Athens* by an attempt on the *Pyræum*, inclined that city to a peace, to which indeed hardly any of the *Grecian* states were now averse. As for *Sparta*, notwithstanding her late victories, she found the expence of the war so heavy, that it forced her both to wish and to seek for peace; the *Athenians*, terrified with their late losses, recollected the fatal issue of the *Peloponnesian* war, and desired to be rid of this, lest its end should prove no better; the *Argives* finding that all their artifices would avail no longer, but that
d the war would find a place in their country as well as elsewhere, wished a general pacification might take place, for their own particular interest. The *Persian* king had also his own profit in view, he stood in need of *Greek* mercenaries for the carrying on his wars, and these were not to be had at a time when *Greece* stood in

[y] Xenophon. Diodor. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos, & Polyæn. ubi supra. [z] Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. [a] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi supra.

(Q) *Antalcidas* the son of *Leon*, was a man of great parts, though of no great probity. To gain the confidence of the *Persians*, he not only fell into their customs, but derided and despised those of his own country; nay, he carried this matter so far, if we may believe *Plutarch*, that he had the assurance in a wanton dance to mimick *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, two of the most worthy men in *Sparta*; this behaviour of his won so much on *Artaxerxes*, who otherwise had a violent antipathy to the *Spartans*, and used to call them the most impudent men living; that he sent him from the table where he was sitting, a garland dipped in an ointment, which for the extraordinary richness of its composition was used only by the king (62). All which was very agreeable to his own maxim, *That the sole means of influencing men is to speak what may delight, and to do what may profit them* (63). But though he diverted himself at the expence of his country's customs, he could answer others very tartly who reflected on them; for being asked in a contemptuous manner about the bigness of *Sparta*, and the extent of its dominions, he answered smartly, *The walls of* Sparta *are her youth, and the points of their spears the limits of her territories.* An *Athenian* once bragging in his presence, *That his countrymen have often repulsed the* Spartans *from* Cephisius; *Very true*, replied Antalcidas; *but we had never any occasion to drive you from* Eurotas. Being desirous to gain admission to the *Samothracian* mysteries, the priest asked him, *Whether he had never done any great crime? If I have*, said he, *the gods know that already* (64). This peace of his was very ill received in *Greece* by such as piqued themselves in the love of their country; nay, there were many at *Sparta* itself, who could not forbear expressing their resentment at the abandoning their allies to the mercy of the *Barbarians*, insomuch that a person of condition said in the hearing of king *Agesilaus*, that *Greece* was now in a lamentable state, since *the* Spartans *themselves began to turn* Medes: *Say rather*, replied the king sharply, *That the* Medes *begin to turn* Spartans (65). How little soever *Agesilaus* approved this peace, he supported it with all his might, and constrained both the *Thebans* and *Argives* to accept it much against their wills. On the whole it must be acknowledged, that *Antalcidas* by his art secured the sovereignty to *Sparta*, and that she lost it by gratifying her own haughtiness, and her king *Agesilaus*'s inveterate hatred against the *Thebans* (66). As to the fate of *Antalcidas* we shall have occasion to mention it in the text, and shall therefore put an end to this note here.

(62) *Plutarch. in vit. Artaxerx.* (63) *Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon.* (64) *Idem. ibid.* (65) *Plut. in vit. Agesil.* (66) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xv.

need of all her subjects: He therefore signified to *Teribazus*, who immediately com- a
municated the dispatches to the *Greeks*, the terms whereon the king desired the peace should be made; they were these: *That the cities in* Asia, *with the islands of* Clazomene *and* Cyprus, *should remain to him*; *that all the other states small and great should be left free, excepting only* Lemnos, Imbros, *and* Scyros, *which having been time immemorial subject to the* Athenians, *should remain so*; *that such as refused to embrace this peace, should be compelled to accept it by force of arms.* At first the *Thebans* absolutely refused to comply, because the government of *Bœotia* was taken from them; but *Agesilaus* making great preparations to invade them, they in the end were forced to accede; the *Argives* too quitted *Corinth*, to which the exiles returned, and every thing else was done which the *Spartans* desired. Such was the b
peace which from its author was stiled the peace of *Antalcidas*, whereby the sovereignty of *Greece* indeed was in a manner guarantied to *Sparta*, but upon very dishonourable terms; the *Greek* cities in *Asia* being intirely abandoned to the *Persian*, notwithstanding all the promises which had been made them, and that *Agesilaus* himself had fought in their quarrel [b]. This flow of success made the *Lacedæmonians* lose all temper, insomuch that on the conclusion of the peace, they began to think of punishing with severity such as had injured them, or such as they had suspected during the war, as if the dominion of *Greece* had been a small thing, if their new subjects did not feel the pressure of their government [c]. The first who experienced the weight of their resentment were the *Mantineans*, though they had been their confe- c
derates, and had done them great services. The *Spartans*, to have a pretence for making war, very modestly directed them to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages which had served their forefathers, where they might be sure to enjoy peace themselves, and not give any umbrage to their neighbours; this being refused, *Agesipolis* was sent with an army against them, for *Agesilaus* did not care to command against his old friends and acquaintance; *Agesipolis* besieged the city all the summer, but when winter drew on the *Lacedæmonians* dammed up the current of the river, which thereupon rose to such a height in the city, as either to overflow, or throw down their houses, and this compelled the *Mantineans* to submit to the conditions prescribed to them by *Sparta*, and to retire to their old villages from that noble city d
which they had so long enjoyed. The *Phliasians* were the next, it was objected to them that they had exiled some of their own citizens who were in the interest of *Sparta*, these therefore they were constrained to receive again, and to do whatever else the *Spartans* required of them [d]. The *Olynthians* were in the third place to be chastised, because they were become powerful; to say the truth, there never was a commonwealth which imitated *Sparta* so nearly, as did this of *Olynthus*; for under pretence of freeing the *Macedonian* cities from the tyranny of *Amyntas*, they conquered most of them, and kept them to themselves; the *Acanthians* and *Apollonians* signified to the government of *Sparta*, that in a very short space they must be constrained either to take arms against *Olynthus*, or submit to her, and fight under her e
banners; *Eudamidas* was sent to assist them with two thousand men, he marched into *Thrace*, where he did great service, expecting his brother *Phœbidas*, who was raising a great army, and had orders to follow him; but he passing through *Thebes*, in his march had it betrayed to him by *Archias* and *Leontidas*, whereupon he seized the citadel called *Cadmæa*, and put a strong garison into it; this was an open violation of the peace, and an act in its nature most flagrantly unjust; yet *Agesilaus* protected its author, either from an over-weening passion for his own country, or out of an implacable aversion to the *Thebans*. On his motion therefore *Sparta* abetted *Phœbidas*, and transferred the government of *Thebes* to *Archias* and *Leontidas*, who had put it into his hands, an act highly displeasing to the *Greeks*, and made them very f
apprehensive of the power of *Sparta* [e]. *Teleutias* was sent to command in *Thrace*, with strict orders to reduce the *Olynthians* at all events, which he set about so eagerly, that going in person to the assistance of some of his troops, who were repulsed by the *Olynthians*, he exposed his whole army to a great loss, and was himself slain upon the spot. *Agesipolis* as soon as the news reached *Lacedæmon*, was dispatched to supply

[b] Xenophon. lib. v. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Artaxerx. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Agesil. [c] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Xenophon. Hellen. lib. v. Plutarch. in vit. Agesil. Justin. lib. vi. c. 6. [d] Diodor. ubi supra. Xenophon. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Pausan. in Lacon. [e] Diodor. ubi supra. Xenophon. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in vit. Pelop. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pelop.

a his place; he fought with great success, reduced *Torone*, a strong city in those parts, and brought the *Olynthians* into great streights; but in the midst of his conquests a fever attacked him, and carried him off in a few days. He was a prince of great worth, but of a very mild temper, which gave *Agesilaus* room to grow upon him; and to make him subservient to his purposes, so that he made no great figure in the state; yet he died not unregretted, the people sorrowing for the loss of one who always treated them with kindness, and *Agesilaus* expressing great concern for a collegue with whom he had lived long, and without any difference [f].

*Agesipolis* having no children was succeeded by his brother *Cleombrotus*, but he did not succeed him in the command of the army, which was intrusted with one *Polybiades*, who in a short time reduced the *Olynthians* to such distress, that they were b compelled to make a treaty with the *Spartans*, whereby they undertook to have the same friends and enemies with them, and to follow them as associates whithersoever they should lead them in their wars [g]. The *Phliasians* having given some new offence by not treating the exiles whom the *Spartans* had restored with the respect which it was thought they deserved, *Agesilaus* marched against them with a great army, at which however they were not so much terrified, but that they made a very vigorous resistance, and defended their city for a very long time; at last war and famine brought them so low, that they were constrained to yield at discretion, whereupon commissioners were named, part *Spartans*, part of their own exiles, to determine c which of the citizens should have mercy, and which should be put to death. Thus did *Sparta* govern with pride and cruelty those whom she had most unjustly brought under her dominion; for by the peace of *Antalcidas*, she had engaged that all the cities should be left to their freedom. Such *Thebans* as could not endure to see their country in slavery, had privately fled to *Athens*; but entertaining a correspondence in their native country, they found means to be admitted secretly, and having stabbed the chief men of the opposite party, assumed the administration to themselves. The *Spartans* upon this sent *Cleombrotus* their new king at the head of a great army to restore things to their former condition, in which however he had no great success [h]. At his return he left a garison under the command of *Sphodrias* d at *Thespe*, as well to encourage the *Thebans* in the *Spartan* interest, as to awe the adjacent country, and lay it under contribution; this *Sphodrias*, either of his own accord, or as some say prompted thereto by the artifice of the *Thebans*, attempted to seize the *Pyræum*, which drew the *Athenians* into the quarrel. *Sparta* might easily have ridded herself of this new enemy, if she had acted justly, and punished *Sphodrias* as he deserved. But here again, king *Agesilaus*, being prevailed on by his son, interposed, and protected the criminal; this effectually induced the *Athenians* to engage in the league formed against *Sparta*: upon which *Agesilaus* was forced to undertake the command again, though he was now at that age, when the law excused him; he invaded *Bœotia*, but with little success, *Chabrias* the *Athenian* having taught e the *Thebans* to fight in much better order than they had heretofore done. Towards the end of the campaign, *Phœbidas*, who had been the author of this war, was killed with three hundred horse; the next year *Cleombrotus* marched against the *Bœotians*, but the *Athenians* and *Thebans* disputing his passage, he was constrained to return. At sea the *Spartans* were beaten by *Timotheus* the son of *Conon*, and in short all things began to decline, notwithstanding the utmost care of *Agesilaus*, on whom *Antalcidas* revenged himself, for some smart things he had said of him, when he negotiated the peace in *Persia*; for the king returning home, wounded by the *Thebans*, the statesmen cried out, *You are properly rewarded*, Agesilaus, *for teaching these* Thebans *to fight whether they would or no* [i]. In the beginning of the hundred f and first olympiad, *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* laboured exceedingly in making peace among the *Greeks*, because having the reduction of *Egypt* in his eye, he stood in need of their assistance; in little more than a year he accomplished it, if that can be said to be accomplished which was of so short continuance. The *Thebans* would never accept the peace, and the rest of the cities had very little regard to it, such seeds of discord being now sown as could not be rooted out. The *Lacedæmonians* had every-where established while they were in power an oligarchical govern-

Cleombrotus succeeds Agesipolis.

[f] Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in Agid. Xenophon. ubi supra. Pausan. in Lacon. [g] Diodor. & Xenophon. ubi supra. [h] Diodor. ubi supra. Xenophon ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Pelopid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusd. [i] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Xenophon. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in Agophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Agesil.

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ment, which in consequence of this peace being in many places overthrown, the a people, as it was natural for them, began to tyrannize over their late masters, and to treat them with as little justice now they were degraded, as they had used towards them when in power. The *Persian* king still wrought for the bringing about a settled tranquillity, which in the beginning of the hundred and second olympiad, seemed to be nearly effected; the *Athenians* concurring heartily with the *Lacedæmonians*, and shewing no sort of countenance towards the *Thebans*, who still refused to hear of peace, because the *Spartans* insisted they should set the cities of *Bœotia* at liberty. In this opposition they were chiefly encouraged by *Epaminondas*, who demanded that before the *Lacedæmonians* gave laws to others, they should shew a proper regard to these maxims of equity themselves, by giving up *Messenia* to its ancient pro- b prietors, and setting *Laconia* free [k]. This violently incensed *Sparta*, and at the same time did not a little offend *Athens*, who could not bear to see the *Thebans* act independently, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or those of *Sparta*. *Cleombrotus* with an army of twelve thousand men was sent into *Bœotia*, *Epaminondas* seized the passages through which he intended to have entered, and forced him to march round, which he did, and at length penetrated into *Bœotia* from the side next *Phocis*, advancing towards *Leuctra*, encamping his army in the plains in that neighbourhood. The *Thebans* were greatly dispirited at the sight of his numerous army, and the rather, because many evil omens had happened at their marching from home; yet *Epaminondas* prevailed in a council of war, and carried the question c to fight the enemy; in the interim, *Jason*, a powerful prince of *Thessaly*, arrived with a thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, which he brought to assist the *Thebans*, though on his arrival he strove to make peace, and by his endeavours procured a truce to be actually concluded. As *Cleombrotus* was about to retire out of *Bœotia*, he met *Archidamus* son of *Agesilaus*, coming with a great reinforcement from *Sparta*; these princes, without any regard to the truce, resolved to march back to *Leuctra* in order to fall on the *Bœotians*, where they found *Epaminondas* and his troops ready to receive them; that great general, though he knew himself to be inferior to the enemy, resolved to have none serve under him in the day of battle, who were not thoroughly inclined to conquer; he therefore made proclama- d tion, that all who desired to depart, might do so, which permission the *Thespians* and some others embraced; this done, he disposed his army in battalia, placing all his chosen troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other; the former he commanded in person, to the latter he gave directions, that when they found the enemies charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. *Cleombrotus* and *Archidamus* advanced to the charge with great vigour, but as they pressed on the *Theban* wing which retired, they gave *Epaminondas* an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front, which he did with such vigour, that the *Spartans* began to give way, especially after *Cleombrotus* was slain, whose dead body however they recovered; at length they were totally defeated, e chiefly by the skill and conduct of the *Theban* general, who did mighty execution upon them, four thousand being killed on the field of battle, whereas the *Thebans* did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of *Leuctra*, wherein the *Spartans* lost the empire of *Greece*, which they had held now near five hundred years [l].

Agesipolis *succeeds* Cleombrotus. *Year after the flood* 2628. *Before Christ* 371.

When the ephori had the news of this dreadful and unexpected defeat, they were superintending the *Gymnic* solemnities, and though they evidently saw what the consequences would be of this mighty loss, yet they did not interrupt or adjourn the festival, contenting themselves with sending advice to their relations of the names of those who had fallen in the battle. It was at this time that the *Spartan* f virtue shone with greatest lustre; the fathers, mothers, and those who were nearest of kin to such as were killed, assembled the next morning, shook each other by the hand, applauding the courage of their children, while the relations of those who had escaped from the battle hid themselves among the women; or if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloaths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground. Common people cried out, that now the oracle was

[k] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin. [l] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Pelopid. & in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epaminond. Justin. lib. vi. c. 6. Pausan. Lacon.

a accomplished, which forbid them to admit of a lame king, since under the sovereignty of *Agesilaus* this direful misfortune had overtaken them. However, in regard to his great abilities, and the little hopes they had of *Agesipolis* the son of *Cleombrotus*, who was a person but of very mean parts, they appointed *Agesilaus* dictator, or rather legislator, giving him a power over the laws, for this reason; such as fled from battle were by them degraded from their honours, constrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half shaved, half unshaved, and to suffer any to beat them who pleased without resistance; to execute this at present was absolutely inexpedient, power was therefore given to *Agesilaus* to new-mold the constitution as he thought fit. But that great prince gave on this occasion b such a proof of his wisdom, as shewed he was worthy of the trust reposed in him, such a proof as *Plutarch* confesses hath set him above comparison, and which indeed can never be sufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public assembly, and by one short sentence restored the public peace, preserved such as were under apprehensions, and at the same time saved the *Lycurgic* institutes; this sentence runs thus; *Let the laws sleep this day, but to morrow let them resume their full vigour* [m]. Then, old and lame as he was, he assembled an army which he led out into the territories of the *Arcadians* and purposely voiding an engagement, after ravaging the country, and taking a town or two, he returned home, being content to shew his countrymen that the fortune of *Sparta* was not entirely lost. Some time c after this a peace was concluded, the *Mantinæans* took this opportunity of rebuilding their city, which exceedingly vexed the *Lacedæmonians*, who at length not able to contain themselves, invaded them; but the *Mantinæans* shutting themselves up in their new city, refused to hazard their safety by a pitched battle. The *Arcadians* about the same time built the great city of *Megalopolis*, to which from all their villages they repaired; this too offended the *Lacedæmonians*, who thereupon invaded *Arcadia*, and slew *Lycomedes* the *Mantinæan* general of *Arcadia* with two hundred men; this broke the spirit of the *Arcadians*, who thereupon sent to *Athens* for relief; but being denied there, they made their application to *Thebes*, from whence *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* were sent with a great army to their assistance; when they were d come into *Arcadia*, and found themselves at the head of fifty thousand men, they knew not what to do, the enemy being retired; at last it was resolved to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted, which accordingly they did, and under e the auspice of *Epaminondas* appeared before *Sparta* itself, which till then had never heard of war in its neighbourhood; in this desperate situation of things, *Agesilaus* took the command upon himself, disposing the citizens with such skill, and opposing the enemy where-ever they attempted to enter with such numbers, that *Epaminondas*, notwithstanding he greatly desired it, found it impossible to attack the place, but was constrained to retire, wasting the country as he marched off [n]. In the midst of these misfortunes a very dangerous conspiracy broke out, two hundred of the rebels e seizing the temple of *Diana* at *Issorion*. The *Spartans* would have immediately attacked them, and put them to the sword, but *Agesilaus* not knowing how far the contagion might reach, prevented them; and having only one servant near him, went in person to the place, to which, when he drew near, he called out, *Sirs, you mistook my orders, I did not direct you to go all to one place, but that some of you should go there, and some there.* The conspirators hearing this, believed they were not discovered, and therefore separating immediately went to the posts which he assigned them; thus separated, they were easily seized, and being conducted to examination, were afterwards put to death the same night without any respect had to the ordinary forms of law. *Epaminondas*, when he quitted the territories of f *Sparta*, left behind him such a mark of his virtue and magnanimity as is scarce to be parallelled in history; he rebuilt the city of *Messene*, and recalling the ancient inhabitants of *Messenia* from the several countries where they had taken refuge, he restored them to the possession of their ancient patrimony after they had lost it three hundred years. It is remarkable that these *Messenians*, notwithstanding their dispersion, preserved the old *Doric* dialect, which continued to be spoke amongst them to the times of *Pausanias*, the geographer and historian; when *Epaminondas* had accomplished

[m] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusd.
[n] Xenophon. ubi supra. & in orat. de laud. Agesil. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Agesil. & Epaminond. Pausan. in Lacon. Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. ii. c. 3

this, he offered the *Lacedæmonians* peace, on condition that they quitted all preten- a
sions to *Messenia* and left *Laconia* free, which terms were rejected with scorn[a]. The present distress of *Sparta* obliged her to sue for assistance to her rival *Athens*, which, whether from a principle of generosity or vain glory is uncertain, were readily sent them under the command of *Iphicrates*, who in this expedition was so unlucky as to lose a great part of his reputation; the military prudence of *Epaminondas* putting it out of his power to effect any thing to the prejudice of the army under his command. The next year the war continued with as great warmth as ever, *Epaminondas* being sent with a great army to join the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans*, who were in arms in *Peloponnesus*; the *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time applied themselves assiduously to all the methods that could be devised for restoring their affairs. They b
solicited their allies, they manumitted such of the *Helotes* as were willing to take arms, they sought the assistance of the *Athenians*, and even of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, who ordered two thousand *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to hold themselves in readiness to be transported into *Greece* as soon as the season would permit. In the interim, the *Lacedæmonian* army consisting of twenty thousand men, fortified the passes at the isthmus, and having strongly retrenched themselves, determined to abide there, in order to hinder *Epaminondas* and his *Thebans* from entering *Peloponnesus*. But this hope was vain, for though the *Theban* army was far inferior in number, yet *Epaminondas* having considered the extent of their works, and that they were apparently weakest, where the *Spartans* were posted, determined at all events to attack them c
there, which he did with such vigour, that he forced their lines, and broke into *Peloponnesus*, where he wasted the country, reduced *Sicyon* and some other cities, and afterwards marched to *Corinth*, which he had also taken, if it had not been for *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who being cordially in the interest of *Sparta*, defended the place so well, that *Epaminondas* was forced to retire. Here the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who were by this time come from *Sicily*, did great service, and in the end of the summer, being bountifully rewarded, returned home[b].

*The* Arcadians *routed by* Archidamus. *Year after the flood* 2631. *Before Christ* 367.

The *Lacedæmonians*, though they were still desirous of peace, continued to make as great preparations as possible for supporting the war. *Agesilaus* assisted them with his counsels; *Cleomenes*, who succeeded his brother *Agesipolis*, after a year's d
reign, discharged the functions of first magistrate, *Archidamus* the son of *Agesilaus* having the chief command of their armies. In the first year of the hundred and e
third olympiad, this prince having drawn together a considerable body of *Spartans*, and their allies, and being assisted by *Cissidas*, general in chief of *Dionysius*'s forces, he marched into *Arcadia* in order to revenge his country for the many inroads which within a few years before they had suffered from the *Arcadians*. Having taking *Carye*, and put those he took therein to the sword, he projected still greater conquests, till on a sudden all his attempts were checked by a declaration of *Cissidas*, that his commission being expired, he could act offensively no longer; in consequence of which declaration, he immediately withdrew. But in his retreat, finding himself f
in danger of being surrounded by the *Messenians*, he sent to *Archidamus* to beseech his assistance; the *Spartan* immediately marched with all his forces to the relief of his ally, and on his arrival fell with such vigour on the *Arcadians*, and their allies, that he utterly defeated them with the slaughter of no less than ten thousand men, without so much as one *Spartan*'s being slain; whereby the prediction of the priests at *Dodona* is said to have been fulfilled, they having declared, when *Archidamus* marched, that this war would end without any mourning of the *Lacedæmonians*[c]. Some time after this *Epaminondas* broke in again, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, into *Peloponnesus*, yet without doing any great mischief; the endeavours of the *Persian* king having disposed almost all *Greece* to think of peace, which f
with much ado was effected, after the *Laconian* or *Bœotic* war had lasted about five years, in which, if *Agesilaus* was to blame, for having through his hatred of the *Thebans* been a principal author thereof; yet the great services he did his country therein, and his preserving the city of *Sparta* from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy; were such reparations, that we may justly commend the *Spartans* for overlooking the failings of their prince, and making use of those high qualities

[a] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in vit. Pelop. Justin. lib. vi. c. 7. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin. Pausan. in Messen. & Lacon. [b] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vii. Diodor. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin. [c] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Pausan. in Lacon. Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Agesil.

which

a which were alone capable of preserving them. We have been led to this observation from the nature of this history, which shews how soon the haughtiness of any state can raise up enemies enough to pull it down, and how far the wisdom of a single person may be capable of conserving and restoring a dejected and defeated nation both to spirits and power [r]. In the second year of the hundred and fourth olympiad, there broke out new commotions in *Peloponnesus*, the *Tegetæans* and *Mantinæans* making war on each other; the former requesting the aid of the *Thebans*, the latter of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, gave occasion thereby to a new and fatal controversy; for *Epaminondas*, at the head of a great army, marching to the assistance of his allies, had notice that *Agesilaus*, with the whole power of *Sparta*, was in full b march to join the enemy; whereupon conceiving in himself that *Sparta* must be left naked, he directed his march thither with the utmost diligence. *Xenophon* himself acknowledges that this measure was so well taken, and so briskly pursued, that nothing could have prevented his surprising the place; but by accident a person gave notice of his march to *Agesilaus*, who thereupon dispatched a courier to *Sparta* to desire the citizens to be on their guard; *Archidamus* no sooner received his father's dispatch, than he made all proper dispositions for the defence of the place; the old men and boys he placed on the tops of houses, that they might incommode the *Thebans* by throwing tiles and stones; such as were capable of bearing arms, he posted in all the avenues of the city, so that when *Epaminondas* came, he had c the mortification to see that his design was discovered, and that it was impossible for him to think of entering without great effusion of blood; notwithstanding all this, he attacked the place, but was received so warmly, that he was obliged to retire; yet *Archidamus* following him, gave an opportunity to the *Thebans* to revenge the death of their countrymen, which they did by cutting off a great number of *Spartans*, who had thus needlessly exposed themselves by an unwary pursuit. *Epaminondas*, to make himself amends for this successless attempt, marched directly to surprize *Mantinæa*, which he rightly conjectured would be left naked by *Agesilaus*'s march to the relief of *Sparta*. Yet here again an accident defeated all his wisdom; six thousand *Athenian* succours were just landed in *Peloponnesus*, and entered *Man-* d *tinæa* the very day that he attacked it. These being fresh, and full of spirits, had the better of his horse, and forced him to abandon his design [s]. These miscarriages sunk deep into the bosom of this great general, who reflecting that his commission was about to expire, and that if he retired out of *Peloponnesus* without effecting any thing, he should not only lose his own glory, but that authority also to which he had raised his country; he determined for the preservation of both these to risque a battle at all events. When therefore he understood that *Agesilaus* at the head of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Arcadians*, with the rest of the allies, being no less than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, were arrived in the neighbourhood of *Mantinæa*, he led forth his army, and having drawn it up in battalia, e marched off towards the hills of *Tegæa*, as if he intended to encamp there; but on a sudden altering the disposition of his line to give it the form of a wedge, he marched suddenly back and fell upon the allies, when they expected no such matter; the confusion was so great, that the *Thebans* would have acquired a very easy victory, if *Epaminondas*, charging the *Lacedæmonians*, had not exposed his person too much; for they knowing well that the whole power of *Thebes* was centered in this single man, covered him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his flesh, and returned upon those who discharged them; at last one *Anticiates* a *Spartan* struck him into the breast with a javelin with such force, that it broke, and left the iron sticking therein, whereupon he fell down, which occasioned a new contest for his f body, and in this with much ado his countrymen were victorious, though with the loss of their best officers. All *Greece* looked with concern on the issue of this business, which was this; that the contending parties fearing the continuance of so bloody a war, unanimously struck up a general peace, excepting only the *Lacedæmonians*, who, at the instance of *Agesilaus*, refused to become parties thereto, because the *Messenians* were comprehended therein [t]; for which he is justly censured by *Plutarch*, who was likewise no less displeased at the last actions of his life, which

[r] Xenophon. ubi supra, & in orat. de laud. Agesil. Polyæn. Stratagem. lib ii. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Agesil. [s] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Pausan. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin. [t] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Justin. lib. vi. c. 7. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin.

were

were these. Finding that the *Persian* was no longer inclined to *Sparta*, he consented a for the sake of a large subsidy given to his country by *Tachos* king of *Egypt* to go in person to command the *Greek* mercenaries he had in his service; there for a time he was of great use to the prince, at whose request he went into *Egypt*; but at length, either to gratify his own resentment, or because he thought it more advantageous to his country, he deserted him, and sided with his competitor; from whom having received a large sum of money for his good services, he imbarqued in order to return into *Peloponnesus*; but being by contrary winds forced on the *African* shore, he died after a short illness, rather of age and fatigue, than of any other distempers, when he had attained the eighty-fourth year of his life, and had reigned forty-one years, leaving behind him the character of a wise prince, a great captain, and a b passionate lover of his country[a] (R).

*Archidamus*

[a] Xenophon. ubi supra, & in Orat. de laud. Agesil. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil.

(R) If it may be justly esteemed a happiness to a great king to have his actions recorded by writers of eminent abilities, no prince of *Greece* ever was happier in this respect than *Agesilaus*: *Xenophon*, the best historian of his age, and the companion of *Agesilaus*'s labours, was likewise the compiler of them. His *Grecian* history contains a very particular narration of the king's exploits, and his oration in praise of *Agesilaus* is a panegyric worthy of the character of that prince, and of its writer. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* hath also a very copious account of the transactions of this king of *Sparta*; besides which, and the transcripts that have been made from ancient *Greek* writers by translators and epitomizers, we have his life written by *Plutarch*, and again by *Cornelius Nepos*. His expedition into *Egypt* when he was eighty years old and upwards is to be the subject of this note; this let us take from *Plutarch*, who hath given us the detail of this expedition with peculiar exactness. "As soon as he arrived in *Egypt* "all the great officers of the kingdom came to pay "their compliments to him at his landing; his reputation being so great had raised the expectation "of the whole country which did flock in to see "him; but when they found, instead of the great "prince whom they looked for, a little old man of "contemptible presence, without all ceremony lying "down upon the grass, his hair uncombed, and his "cloaths thread-bare, they fell into a laughter and "scorn of him, crying out that the old proverb was "now made good, *The mountain had brought forth* "*a mouse*. They were much scandalized at his insensibility and rudeness (as they thought it) who "when the presents usually offered to strangers of "distinction were made him of all manner of provisions, took only the meal, the calves, and the "geese, but rejected the sweet-meats, the confections, and perfumes; and when they did urge him "to the acceptance of them, he said, *They might* "*carry them to his slaves the* Helotes. *Theophrastus* "saith that he was taken with nothing he saw in "*Egypt*, so much as with the *papyrus*, so proper "for garlands by reason of the smoothness and pliantness of its rind; and when he left *Egypt*, he "desired the king to let him carry some of it home "with him. When he joined with *Tachos*, he found "his expectation of being generalissimo frustrated; "*Tachos* reserved that place for himself, making "*Agesilaus* only captain of the band of mercenaries, and *Chabrias*, the *Athenian* admiral. This "was the first occasion of his discontent; but there "followed others: He, being daily tired with the "insolency and vanity of this *Egyptian*, was at "length forced to attend on him into *Phœnicia* in "a condition much below his spirit and dignity, "which notwithstanding he was obliged to digest "for a while, till he had an opportunity of shewing "his resentment. It was soon afforded him by "*Nectanabis*, *Tachos*'s own nephew, and a great captain under him, who took an occasion to fall off "from his uncle, and was proclaimed king by the "*Egyptians*. This man invited *Agesilaus* to his "party, and the like he did to *Chabrias*, offering "great rewards to both. *Tachos* had quickly intelligence of this, and had then recourse to all the "submissive methods he could think of, in order "to engage both *Agesilaus* and *Chabrias* to his interest; the latter readily yielded to his entreaties, "and endeavoured all he could to persuade *Agesilaus*, "but he pretended to depend wholly on the orders "which should be sent him from *Sparta*, whither "both the *Egyptian* princes had dispatched embassadors. The *Lacedæmonians* left the whole matter "to *Agesilaus*, directing him to do what was most "for the profit of the commonwealth; whereupon "he immediately changed sides, and carried off all "the mercenaries with him. He had not been "long in the service of *Nectanabis* before a certain "*Mendesian* set up his claim to the *Egyptian* kingdom, and brought a hundred thousand men at his "heels to support it. He attempted to tamper with "*Agesilaus*, of which *Nectanabis* having notice began "to suspect him, and his suspicion increased when "*Agesilaus* advised him to fight this multitude immediately; he took quite a different method, retiring into a strong city, and shutting up himself "and his troops therein, the *Mendesian* advancing "invested the place immediately, and began to sink "a ditch, and throw up intrenchments all round "the place. *Nectanabis* all on a sudden talked of "fighting being afraid of being cooped up, and "starved out; but *Agesilaus* opposed it, for which "the *Greeks* blamed him, and the *Egyptians* called "him traitor; but he bore all with patience being "ashamed of changing sides a second time. At last "when the enemy had almost perfected their works, "and only a narrow aperture was left, *Agesilaus* "went to *Nectanabis* and addressed him thus. Now, "young man, you have an opportunity of saving "your self; your enemies have been all this time "working for you; if you issue out with your "forces, you will easily beat those who guard the "gap which is yet open; and as for the rest, "their own works will hinder them from surrounding us. *Nectanabis* admiring his wisdom, "exactly followed his advice, by which means he "routed his competitor, and leaving the conduct of "the war for the future to *Agesilaus*, he quickly subdued all his enemies, and settled him firmly on the "throne. After this being eagerly desirous of "doing still something more for the service of his "country, the king of *Sparta* imbarqued in order "to return to *Greece*, carrying with him among "other rich presents a gratuity of two hundred and "thirty talents as a free gift from *Nectanabis* to "the state of *Sparta*. In this voyage he died, and "for

a *Archidamus* succeeded to his father *Agesilaus*, he was become the darling of the people for the glorious victory he had obtained over the *Arcadians*, and which because no *Spartan* fell therein, they transmitted to posterity by the name of the *tearless battle*. In his reign broke out the *Phocian* or sacred war, wherein he sided with the *Phocians* at the persuasion, as some writers say, of his wife *Dinicha*. Others affirm, that not only his wife and himself were wrought on by the bribes of the *Phocians*, but even the ephori, the senate, and the whole republic of *Sparta*; but though he espoused their quarrel, yet he was far from countenancing their cruelty, which on the contrary he openly condemned and opposed. When *Philip* king of *Macedon* began to interest himself much in the affairs of *Greece*, and to take highly upon him b for the many victories he had gained, *Archidamus* is said to have sent him this message; *Sir, If you will be pleased to measure your shadow you won't find it a whit longer than it was before*. He was by no means pleased with the customs of his country, but on the contrary thought them burdensome and rigorous, affecting to live freely, and without restraint, supposing that it did not at all affect a man's honesty, if he eat a good dinner: For this reason he was glad of an opportunity to leave *Sparta*, and of residing in a foreign country, where he might live as he would without offending the laws, or giving scandal to his subjects; the *Tarentines* therefore requesting aid of the *Lacedæmonians* for their support against their neighbours, *Archidamus* very readily offered to command the forces that were decreed them, and passing on this c occasion over into *Italy*, he was there slain near the city of *Mandonium* after having reigned fifteen years; his statue was erected at the temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, an honour which none of the *Spartan* kings had done them except himself, which *Pausanias* supposes was conceded to him, because he died fighting against the *Barbarians*, and did not receive those sepulchral honours which had been given to all his predecessors [x].

Archidamus *succeeds* Agesipolis. *Year after the Flood*, 2637. *Year before Christ*, 362.

*Agis* the son of *Archidamus* succeeded his father; he was a prince of great virtue and magnanimity; he in his youth had been sent embassador to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who seeing him alone, whereas all other cities sent many deputies, said with an air of contempt, *What! from* Sparta *but one? Why, Sir*, said Agis, *I was sent but to* d *one* [y]. When afterwards one of the creatures of that prince told him, *Philip will not suffer you to set your foot in any other part of* Greece. *It is a mercy*, said he, *that we have a good deal of room at home* [z]. During the reign of *Alexander*, though he hated the *Macedonians*; yet he did not think fit to expose his country to ruin by opposing them; but when after the battle of *Issus* abundance of mercenaries fled out of *Persia*, he listed them to the number of eight thousand, and openly declared for *Darius*; from whom receiving money to pay his troops, and a fleet, he sailed over into *Crete*, part of which he subdued. After the battle of *Arbela*, he stirred up all *Greece* to revolt, by shewing them that when *Alexander* had subdued *Persia*, they must become a province of his empire, which would be no less grievous to them, than if they had been e subdued by any of the former kings of *Persia*; for, as he rightly observed, a *Grecian* king reigning in *Persia* would be a *Persian* to them; besides, having been always free, he encouraged them to defend their freedom, while their capital enemy was yet afar off, and would be constrained to manage the war by his lieutenants. The *Greeks*, roused by these remonstrances, raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, of which when *Antipater* had notice, he composed on any terms the disturbances in *Thrace*, and marched strait into *Greece* with forty thousand men. *Agis* however did not retire or shun an engagement, so that a decisive battle was quickly fought, wherein after a glorious resistance, the *Spartans* and their confederates were routed with the loss of five thousand three hundred men, *Antipater* losing three thou- f sand five hundred also. *Agis* himself fell, but in a manner greatly to his honour; for being covered with wounds, he was borne by his soldiers out of the battle, till seeing them on the point of being surrounded, he commanded them to set him down,

Agis *succeeds* Archidamus. *Year after the flood* 2653. *Before Christ* 346.

[x] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. Pausan. Lacon. & Messen. Julian. Orat. ii. [y] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [z] Idem, ibid.

" for want of honey, which the *Spartans* were " wont to use in embalming, his servants wrapped " his body in wax, and brought it safe to *Sparta*." *Xenophon* has taken much pains to vindicate even his deserting *Tachos*, which *Plutarch* justly treats as an act of treachery, proceeding, as he tells us plainly, from the *Spartan* maxim, that all things are just that are profitable to one's country (67).

(67) *Plutarch. in vit. Agesil.*

and preserve themselves for the future service of their country; remaining then alone a with his sword in his hand, he fought it out upon his knees, killing several of the *Macedonians*, till at last he was shot through the body with a dart [a]. Such was the glorious death of this most virtuous king, who died in defence of liberty and his country after a reign of nine years. Yet when *Alexander* heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to say, *While we are fighting* Darius *in* Asia, *there has been it seems a battle of mice in* Arcadia [b].

Eudamidas *succeeds* Agis. *Year after the flood* 2669. *Before Christ* 330.

*Agis* was succeeded by his son *Eudamidas*, a prince of great wisdom, moderation and gentleness; he governed all his days in peace, and we have of consequence nothing of him on record except certain instances of his good sense, and great capacity for governing in those troublesome times wherein he lived. The death of *Agis* b had so much provoked the *Lacedæmonians*, that they were for carrying on a war against *Macedon* at all events, which *Eudamidas* opposed; and when a certain *Spartan* addressed him thus, *Why, Sir, when all your citizens are for a war, do you alone advise them to continue in peace? Because*, answered the king, *I would convince them of their mistake.* Another magnifying the victories which had been obtained by their ancestors against the *Persians*, and encouraging them from thence to undertake a war against *Macedon*, *You think, Sir*, said Eudamidas, *that it is the same thing to make war against a thousand sheep, and against fifty wolves.* Coming into the school of *Xenocrates* the philosopher, and observing that he was very old, he asked what was his profession, and some body answering that he was a wise man, who sought after virtue, c *Alas!* said he, *Is he seeking it at these years? When then will he make use of it?* When *Alexander* caused it to be proclaimed throughout *Greece*, that all the exiles should return in safety to their own cities, excepting those of *Thebes*; *This is a hard case, O ye* Thebans, said Eudamidas, *but at the same time very honourable; for it is evident that* Alexander *fears you only of all the* Greeks [c]. All these kings had for their collegue *Cleomenes* the son of *Cleombrotus*, who reigned very long, but without doing any thing that was remarkable.

Archidamus *and* Areus *kings of* Sparta.

*Archidamus* succeeded his father *Eudamidas*, as *Areus* the son of *Acrotatus* did his grandfather *Cleomenes*, but not without some dispute; his uncle *Cleonymus* setting up a title to the throne, though the people preferred the son of the elder brother to the d younger. *Cleonymus* however retired to *Pyrrhus*, whom he brought with an army into his country to abet his cause, notwithstanding that the ephori and senate would have granted him any reasonable terms he could have asked. The *Spartans* sent *Dercyllidas* to meet him on the frontiers, and to expostulate with him on the injustice of his invasion; but *Pyrrhus* by one of his courtiers bid him carry this message to *Sparta*, that they should receive their king *Cleonymus*, or he would make them know that they were no better than other men. *Sir*, answered Dercyllidas, *If your master is a god we do not fear him, because we have done no wrong; and if he is a man we do not fear him, because we are as good as he* [d]. This expedition had well nigh accomplished the ruin of *Sparta*, occasioning much more loss thereto than either of the e attempts of *Epaminondas*. It is our duty therefore to enter into a distinct detail thereof. *Pyrrhus* had with him twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. *Areus* was at this time in *Crete*, and the city was chiefly intrusted to the care of his son *Acrotatus*, whose amours had in a great measure occasioned this war; for he had debauched *Chelidonis* the wife of *Cleonymus* his uncle, which was one great reason of his flying to *Pyrrhus*, whom he accompanied in this expedition. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sparta*, which was very unexpected, the citizens flattering themselves that their embassadors would have obtained peace, certain intelligence was brought to the king, that the city was so meanly provided, and the people so much amazed, that without question it would f fall almost without trouble into his hands; when this news came, it was almost evening, yet *Cleonymus* pressed hard for their marching thither that night; but the king fearing that the darkness would afford an opportunity to the soldiers of possessing themselves of all the riches of *Sparta*, he refused to attack it till day-light; a thing so little expected even by the *Spartans* themselves, that in *Cleonymus*'s house the *Helotes* were busy in providing a supper, not doubting but *Pyrrhus* would take up his lodgings there. But when it was known that his soldiers had pitched their

[a] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Curt. lib. vi. Justin. lib. xii. Strab. lib. viii. Pausan. Attic.
[b] Diodor. lib. xviii. [c] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. Pausan. Lacon. [d] Plut. in Apophthegm.

a camp near the walls, the senate assembled to consider if any thing could be done for their preservation; and the first resolution they came to was to send the women immediately over into *Crete*, which resolution some way taking wind, the *Spartan* ladies assembled together, and having deputed *Archidamia* to carry their sentiments to the senate, she entered the room with a sword in her hand, addressing the assembly in these words: *Do not, my lords, entertain so mean an opinion of the* Spartan *women, as to fancy that they will ever out live* Sparta; *instead of considering whither we are to fly, consider what we are to do, and be assured we will undertake any thing for the service of our country*[e]. Upon this it was resolved to sink a trench directly opposite to the enemies camp, and to defend the extremities thereof by burying wag-
b gons to their axle-trees, crossing each other, in order thereby to prevent the passages of the elephants. When this work was begun, the women came out many of them in their shifts to assist the men in years, who were employed in digging; for they would not allow any of the young men to fatigue themselves, lest they should be unable to sustain the enemies charge in the morning. The dimensions of the trench, once settled, which some tells us, were these, *viz.* the breadth six cubits, the depth four, and the length eight hundred feet; the women took a third part of it, and engaged to finish it by morning[f]. When day began to break, and the troops of *Pyrrhus* were in motion, the *Lacedæmonian* ladies armed their men for the fight, representing to them as they were buckling their armour, and putting their
c spears into their hands, how glorious an opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country in the sight of their mothers, wives and daughters, or of falling in its cause. As for *Chelidonis*, she retired to her own house with a halter about her neck, to shew that if things went amiss, she would rather end her own life, than live again with her husband. *Pyrrhus* saw with amazement the labour his troops were to undergo; however, he led them in person to the assault, where they fought with the utmost fury against the *Spartans*, who considering for what they fought, made a most desperate resistance; in the mean time *Ptolemy* the son of *Pyrrhus* drew off two thousand *Gauls*, and other choice men from the attack, and marching to one of the extremities of the ditch, employed them in dragging
d out the waggons, which at last with much ado they effected, and began to draw them off towards a neighbouring river. *Acrotatus* was the first who perceived this desperate mischief, which he immediately sought to remedy; for rushing through the city with three hundred men, he passed round by the sides of the hills, and charged *Ptolemy*'s troops in the rear, who thinking of nothing less, and being in no posture of defence, he forced numbers of them into the ditch, and drove the waggons they had removed over the rest to the great joy of the *Spartans*; where *Pyrrhus* charged in person, the attack was sustained with greatest vigour, and one *Phyllius* a *Spartan* gave such a demonstration of invincible courage as is scarce any where to be recorded; he fought in the front of his countrymen's ranks, till he found himself so exhausted
e through the many wounds he had received, that he was no longer able to stand; when he called to the commanding officer, and having resigned to him his post, retired as far back as he could, that his body might be out of the reach of the enemy when he fell. The battle, as it began with the day, so it ended therewith, and *Pyrrhus* being extremely fatigued, retired to his tent, where he slept very soundly, till towards morning, when he had the following dream: He thought he saw himself throwing lightning on *Sparta*, which set it all on fire, with the joy of which he awaked; he immediately ran to his council of officers, and communicated to them
f his vision; but *Lysimachus* his favourite did not understand the vision in the same light with the king; *Thou knowest* Pyrrhus, said he, *that with us places stricken with lightning are accounted sacred; I am therefore of opinion, that the gods have hereby signified to thee, that* Sparta *is as sacred and inviolable as any place stricken with lightning; Well,* replied Pyrrhus, *I am ready to own, my friend, that nothing can be more uncertain than our conjectures concerning these things; yet this remains certain still that we ought to do our duty; and therefore without thinking more of my dream, let us prepare for the attack*[g]. The assault was no less vigorous than the day before, nor did the *Lacedæmonians* defend themselves with less vigour, the women remaining all day at the trench supplying the soldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever else they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying them off in case they were disabled;

[e] Plutarch. in vit. Pyrrh. [f] Justin. lib. xxv. c. 4. [g] Plutarch. in vit. Pyrrh.

at

at last however *Pyrrhus* prevailed in the very attempt his son had miscarried in the a day before, and of a sudden appeared within the waggons, charging at the head of a great number of horse with mighty resolution. In vain the *Lacedæmonians* crowded from all sides to impede his passage; they were trodden down by his horse, and *Pyrrhus* was on the very point of entering the city when an arrow struck his steed to the heart; the beast flouncing in the agonies of death, threw him off, and his soldiers in the first confusion, not knowing whether he as well as his horse was not slain, gave back; upon which the *Spartans* pressed on them so eagerly and distributed their darts with such success, that when *Pyrrhus* had remounted, he thought it best to retire, supposing that the third day would put an end to this contest, when after the heat of the action, the *Spartans* had leisure to feel their wounds; nor would he b in all probability have been mistaken, if he had dealt the next day with none but those whom he engaged before. The good fortune of *Sparta* prevented this; for one of *Antigonus*'s captains having intelligence of their distress; and of the noble stand they had made, adventured with a body of troops under his command to throw himself into the place, where he was scarce arrived before king *Areus* himself entered with two thousand fresh men. *Pyrrhus* notwithstanding assaulted the place the third time, but with little success; whereupon he embraced an invitation given him to march to *Argos*, and endeavoured to rid himself of this unlucky business as well as he could; yet here again he found himself distressed, for king *Areus* being once come did not care to part with him so, but sent a choice body of horse to infest c his rear. The king, vexed at this insult, ordered his son *Ptolemy* with some squadrons under his command to march to the assistance of the troops attacked, where the young prince, more ambitious of glory, than careful of life, exposing himself too much was slain. *Pyrrhus* when he heard the news immediately jumped on horseback, and charging with unwonted fury on the *Lacedæmonians*, slew many of them, and particularly their commander in chief, with his own hand; he afterwards quitted his horse, and fought on foot, and when he had satiated himself with destroying numbers of the *Spartans*, he continued his march to *Argos*[h]. *Areus* is very much blamed for his conduct on this occasion: It is said that when *Pyrrhus* was retired, pursuing him was needless, and served only to throw away the lives of many brave men; but d it seems the *Spartan* king was of opinion that no safety could be hoped for till *Pyrrhus* was out of *Greece*; for this reason he posted away in person to *Argos* with a thousand choice foot, and yet he scarce arrived time enough there to save the city, a gate of which had been perfidiously opened to *Pyrrhus* in the night, he entered it before the citizens were aware; however they stood to their arms, and while they were hotly engaged with the enemy, *Areus* came to their aid; *Pyrrhus* at last perceiving that he fought under great disadvantages would have retreated; but his orders being mistaken, and his forces and elephants still continuing to enter the city, he was at last beat from his horse by a woman, who standing on the top of her house, and perceiving him about to push his horse upon her son, discharged a thick e tile at his head, which struck him on his temple, took from him his senses, and before he could recover them, an officer of *Antigonus*'s army struck off his head[i]. Concerning this *Areus* we know nothing of him farther than that he was a zealous defender of the liberties of *Greece*, as far as the broken and distressed state of his country would give him leave; for when he understood that *Athens* was in danger of being oppressed by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, he generously armed in its defence, and was slain valiantly fighting at the battle of *Corinth*[k]. To this prince the best critics have referred that letter to *Onias* the high priest, which we find recorded in the book of *Maccabees*[l] (S). He was succeeded in his throne by his son *Acrotatus*, who had so valiantly defended *Sparta* when attacked by *Pyrrhus*. f

Or

[h] Justin. lib. xxv. c. 5. [i] Justin. Hist. lib. xxv. c. 5. Pausan. in Argol. Plut. in vit. Pyrrh.
[k] Plut. in vit. Demetr. [l] 1 Maccab. xii. 20. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. xii. c. 5.

(S) The letter above referred to runs thus:

*Areus* king of the *Lacedæmonians* to *Onias* the high priest, greeting;

*It is found in writing, that the* Lacedæmonians *and* Jews *are brethren, and that they are of the stock of* Abraham: *Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge you shall do well to write to us of your peace* (69). This letter is exactly in the *Laconic* style, and deserves therefore to be preferred to that which we find in *Josephus*, wherein *Demoteles* is named as embassador from *Sparta*; the form of the letter is said to be square, and the common seal of *Lacedæmon*

(69) 1 *Maccab.* xii. 20.

a Of the other house *Archidamus* the fourth of that name, the son of *Eudamidas*; governed with great reputation; he was a prince of the true *Spartan* race, who was desirous to maintain all *Greece* in freedom, and to repress, if it had been possible, the mighty power of the *Macedonian* kings, which like a torrent swept all before them; and though for a time they might be restrained from doing much mischief by their being obliged to turn their arms elsewhere; yet whenever they had leisure they were sure to seek such an authority in *Greece* as suited not with her liberty. *Archidamus* had struggled against the stream when it was most rapid, that is, when *Demetrius Poliorcetes* after subduing *Athens* sought to make himself master of *Sparta*; twice *Archidamus* opposed him in the field, but was so unfortunate as to be as often defeated, b nor could any thing have saved the virgin city of *Sparta* from the rage of the victor, if the declension of his affairs in *Asia* had not constrained him for a time to abandon all thoughts of *Greece* [m]. He was succeeded by his son, but how long he reigned, or at what age he died, is uncertain.

*The 17th of* Archidamus IV *king of* Sparta.

*Eudamidas* the son of *Archidamus* was the collegue of *Acrotatus*, he married *Agistrata* by whom he had two sons, *Agis* and *Archidamus* [n]. As to his acts, we find no mention of them in history: It is probable, that being a man of small parts, the government rested chiefly in *Acrotatus*, who could not but be highly beloved by the people on account of his great valour, and many virtues. *Aristodemus*, who had made himself prince of *Megalopolis*, was the capital enemy of the c *Lacedæmonians*, seeking by all means to abase a nation who were always ready to take arms for liberty, and who alike hated the oppression of tyrants themselves, or to see their neighbours oppressed by them. *Acrotatus* at the head of the *Lacedæmonian* army endeavoured to make head against this prince, who was grown formidable to all *Peloponnesus*; but his fortune being no way equal to his merit, his forces were routed, and himself slain, leaving the kingdom to his young son *Areus*, to whom *Leonidas* the son of *Cleonymus* was tutor or protector, and he dying after a very short reign, *Leonidas* stept into the throne in his own right [o].

Eudamidas *succeeds his father* Archidamus.

*Leonidas* had been bred up, or at least had long lived in the court of *Seleucus*, which made him extremely fond of that pomp and grandeur which he saw affected there; d at *Sparta* he had a great opportunity of indulging his ambition and luxury, the people being greatly altered from what they were before, and the *Lycurgic* maxims grown not only into dissuetude, but contempt: One *Opytadeus* being raised to a chair among the ephori, took occasion from thence to gratify his unnatural prejudice against his own son, procured a law whereby all men were left at liberty to dispose of their lands by gift or sale, or by testament at the time of their decease. This subverted the very foundations of the state, for by degrees the lands were most of them transferred from the ancient *Spartan* families, so that though they were reduced now to about seven hundred, not above one hundred of these had any lands, but lived

Leonidas *succeeds his pupil in the throne of* Sparta.

[m] Plutarch. ubi supra. [n] Plutarch. in vit. Agid. [o] Plutarch. ubi supra. & in vit. Cleomen.

*Lacedæmon* is described as having represented thereon an eagle holding a dragon; the learned primate of *Ireland* hath been led into a great mistake by paying too much regard to this *Jewish* writer; for it is certain that this letter could never have been sent to *Onias* the third of that name high priest of the *Jews*, who flourished when there were no kings at all at *Sparta*; this the learned prelate was so well aware of, that to get over these difficulties, he supposes one *Areus* a nobleman of *Sparta* to have taken the title of king in the penning this epistle (70); but here again is a new and greater difficulty incurred than the former; *Jonathan* in his letter to the *Lacedæmonians* speaking of the epistle before us, says it was wrote a long time ago, which no way quadrates with the time in which *Josephus* and archbishop *Usher* place it; the truth is, this letter was not written to *Onias* the son of *Simon*, but to *Onias* the first, who was undeniably contemporary with this king *Areus*, of whom we have treated in the text. In this we have followed the opinion of the judicious Dr. *Prideaux* (71). We take the liberty of adding that there is the more reason to suspect some alteration in this letter by *Josephus*, because when he comes to give us *Jonathan*'s letter, he has taken the liberty to alter its address also, and not at all for the better; thus it runs according to *Josephus*: Jonathan, *high priest of the* Jews, *and the senate and commonalty of the* Jews, *to the ephori, senate, and people of the* Lacedæmonians *greeting* (72). Whereas in the book of *Maccabees* the address is thus: Jonathan *the high priest, and the elders of the nation and the priests, and the other people of the* Jews, *unto the* Lacedæmonians *their brethren send greeting* (73). Neither ephori or senate are mentioned here, they were probably put in by *Josephus* to make the letter look the better. The name of *Demoteles* is also inserted in this letter, though we find nothing of it in the letter recorded by the author of the book of *Maccabees*. How the *Spartans* and the *Jews* came to be related, must be considered in another place; our business here was to fix the time when the letter from *Areus* was sent to *Onias*.

(70) *Usser. Annal. V. T. A. I. P.* 4531. (71) *Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament. Part* ii. *Book* II. (72) *Antiq. Judaic. lib.* xiii. *c.* 5. (73) 1 *Macc.* xii. 6.

in the city lazily without employment, and without wealth, their spirits sinking with their fortune, and with both the credit and glory of the *Spartan* state [p].

*Agis the son of* Eudamidas *attempts to restore the constitution of* Sparta.

The college of *Leonidas* of the other house was *Agis* the son of *Eudamidas*, a young prince of great hopes; he shewed himself both just and obliging to all men, and in the gentleness of his disposition, and sublimity of his virtues, not only exceeded *Leonidas* who reigned with him, but all the kings of *Sparta* from king *Agesilaus*. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things by his mother *Agesistrata*, and his grandmother *Archidamia*, who were the wealthiest of the *Lacedæmonians*; yet before the age of twenty, he so far overcame himself as to renounce effeminate pleasures. He was a very handsome person, and of a graceful behaviour; yet, to give a check to the vanity he might take therein, would always go plain and mean in his cloaths. In his diet, bathings, and in all his exercises he chose to imitate the old *Laconic* frugality and temperance, and was often heard to say, *He would not desire the kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that authority to restore their ancient laws and discipline.* This maxim of his governed his whole life; he endeavoured to associate himself with men of interest and capacity, sufficient to bring about the great design he had formed of thoroughly reforming the state. *Agesilaus* his uncle by the mother's side was one of his principal counsellors, a man of great eloquence, but no great virtue; the part he took in this business being chiefly owing to his son's persuasions, whose name was *Hypomedon*, one of the worthiest men of his age. This *Agesilaus* brought over his sister king *Agis*'s mother to the sentiments of her son, notwithstanding her averseness to them at first; and she in a short time brought over most of the ladies of *Sparta*, which was a thing of prodigious consequence, since they had always a mighty stroke in political affairs, and their husbands seldom took any step without their advice. On this occasion as on many others they shewed their great good sense and virtue; for when they had thoroughly considered the matter, and perceived that though these new regulations would take away their finery and their trinkets, yet at the same time it would restore the credit of *Sparta*, and give her new lustre in the world; they came into it unanimously, and endeavoured to engage their husbands to relish the proposal, which they found no difficult task to perform among the gross of the people, who partly because they saw the power of the state decline, and partly from their natural fondness for revolutions were eager to see the thing accomplished. But the few in whose hands the wealth of *Sparta* was centered, grew very uneasy; they applied themselves to *Leonidas*, telling him that as he was an older and wiser man than his collegue, he ought to interpose, and not suffer the constitution to be destroyed to gratify the ambition of a young man. For these possessors of money called that the constitution by which their usurious gains was to be preserved, and trembled at the name of *Lycurgus* as runaway slaves were wont to do, if they hear that of their master. *Leonidas* was afraid to meddle with the people, whom he saw evidently inclined to favour his collegue, and the scheme which he had formed. He therefore applied to the principal magistrates whom he laboured to bring over to his opinion, that *Agis* intended to establish an independent power in his own person by inclining the people to his interests; first by a remitting of debts, and then by an equal division of lands. The party he formed by these suggestions were very considerable; however *Agis* persisted in his resolution; and when his friend *Lysander* was chosen one of the ephori actually presented his rhetra or decree to the senate; the chief articles of which were these: *That every one should be free from his debts; all the lands to be divided into equal portions; those that lay betwixt the valley of* Pellene *and mount* Tegetus *as far as the cities of* Mallea *and* Sallasia *into four thousand five hundred lots, the remainder into fifteen thousand; these last to be shared by some chosen out of the adjacent countries, men able and fit to bear arms; the first among the natural* Spartans, *admitting also strangers to supply their number, such as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All these were to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hundred, some of two, with a diet and discipline agreeable to the laws of* Lycurgus. The matter being hotly debated in the senate, *Lysander* began to doubt the event, and therefore without staying to put the question, convoked a general assembly of the people; in this assembly both the kings, the ephori, and other considerable persons were heard, and by long orations sought to shew the conveniency or inconveniency of the scheme, according

[p] Plut. in vit. Agid. & in vit. Cleom.

a as they were inclined or averse to it; at last however it was rejected in the senate, though but by one voice, and from the time of that rejection the people in general attended on and paid their court to *Agis*, while the richer citizens, and those especially who had placed their money out at interest, applied themselves to *Leonidas*. *Lysander* however contrived a method for removing him out of the way, he caused an accusation to be preferred against him for the breach of two old laws, the one forbidding the kings of *Sparta* to marry a stranger, the other prohibiting travel to foreign countries. By the help of these accusations, and practising a little on the superstitious temper of the people, he so terrified *Leonidas*, that he fled to the people of *Minerva* for shelter. Upon this *Lysander* stirred up *Cleombrotus*, who was of the b royal house, and who had married the daughter of *Leonidas* to pretend to the kingdom, of which when *Leonidas* had notice, he withdrew, taking his daughter with him, who chose rather to fly with her father, than to reign with her husband [q].

Cleombrotus *succeeds* Leonidas *on his expulsion.*

*Cleombrotus* being raised to the legal dignity, concurred with *Agis* in all his designs; but the next year the ephori being chosen out of the opposite faction, they cited *Lysander* and his friends to appear before them, and answer for what they had done during their administration; they in this distress had instantly recourse to the kings; beseeching them to protect those who were threatened for having performed their command; *Lysander* at the same time suggested that the ephori were created only to take care of the state in case any difference happened between the kings; but that c while they agreed, these magistrates had no right to call in question any acts they thought fit to authorize. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* being persuaded of this, resolved to make *Lysander* and his friends easy immediately; they therefore went directly to the place were the ephori were sitting; removed them from their seats, and placed others in their room, the first of these being *Agesilaus*. Such a transaction as this could not well happen without a tumult, but through the great care and steady integrity of *Agis* no blood was spilt, nor did any ill accident happen. *Agesilaus* indeed had projected the murder of *Leonidas* as he was on the road to *Tegæa*; but king *Agis* having notice of it, sent a considerable number of his own friends to escort him; things being in this situation, the kings would have proceeded both to the cancelling of debts, and d to the equal division of lands, had not *Agesilaus* prevented it, by pretending that it would not be safe to attempt both at one time; but that first the debts should be cancelled, and then that monied men would more readily come into a division of lands; this he said because he had himself a good estate, but was greatly in debt; wherefore he sought to rid himself of the importunities of his creditors without parting with any of his possessions. The kings and even *Lysander* were deceived by his specious pretences, so that they came readily into his schemes, causing all obligations to be brought in and burnt immediately, but referring the division of lands to a further opportunity, which greatly displeased the people. *Agis* quickly perceived this, and therefore he sought to repair his error by immediately dividing the estates; e but *Agesilaus* still found means to put it off under one pretence or other, till *Agis* was obliged to go with a body of *Spartan* troops to the Assistance of the *Achæans*. In his absence he lost all bounds of modesty, and acted so tyrannically, that by the time *Agis* returned, a conspiracy was formed for restoring *Leonidas*, which was accordingly effected; and upon this *Agis* fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and *Cleombrotus* to that of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* shewed more resentment against his son-in-law than against *Agis*, he went to his sanctuary, and reproached him with his ingratitude and want of duty, and threatened him with death; but his daughter *Chelonis* interceding, and holding the two children she had in her arms, prevailed so far as to have his sentence changed into that of perpetual banishment; in which f she accompanied him, notwithstanding all the intreaties of her father; which extraordinary transaction hath drawn this reflection from *Plutarch*, that *Cleombrotus* was happier in being banished with such a wife, than he could be in the possession of a kingdom without her [r] (T).

*Leonidas*

[q] Plut. ubi supra.

[r] Plut. ubi supra.

(T) The character of *Chelonis* the wife of *Cleombrotus* is one of the most noble and most laudable in the *Spartan* history; we cannot therefore be blamed for inserting her speech to her father, which she pronounced in a mourning habit, and in a suppliant posture thus: "This mourning vest, these "dejected looks, and all those other tokens of un-"utterable woe, which cannot be concealed, are not "worn for the sake of *Cleombrotus*, but were put "on to condole with you in your banishment; and "now you are restored to your country, and to "your kingdom, must I still remain in grief and "misery?

Leonidas *restored to the kingdom, and* Cleombrotus *banished.*

*Leonidas*, once resettled on the throne, began to contrive all the methods possible a for drawing *Agis* out of his sanctuary; but all his attempts failed, at last he corrupted some of the king's friends, who were wont to visit him daily to condole with him, and after a time to carry him to the baths, and guard him back again. The names of these persons, for it is but just that they should be always recorded, were *Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Archesilaus*. The first of these had borrowed abundance of rich goods and plate from the mother of king *Agis*; he therefore conceived, if that prince was taken off, he should acquire the possession of them; the other two were bribed by *Leonidas*; these men therefore took an opportunity when king *Agis* was returning from the baths, and relied entirely on their protection, to seize him; *Amphares* catched him by the arm, *Demochares* being a strong man, threw a b cloak over his head, and muffled him up; then their associates coming in to their assistance, they dragged their sovereign away to the common prison, where the new ephori, constituted by *Leonidas*, sat ready to judge him. To give the greater colour of justice to their proceedings, some senators were by, but they took care that they should be such as were of their party. As soon as the king came in, they asked him how he durst attempt to alter the government? at which he smiled without affording them an answer, which provoked one of the ephori to tell him, *That he ought rather to weep, for they would now make him sensible of his presumption.* Another asked him, *Whether he was not constrained to do what he did by* Agesilaus *and* Lysander; to which the king with a composed countenance answered, *I was con-* c *strained by no man, the design was mine, and my intent was to have restored the laws of* Lycurgus, *and to have governed by them. But do you not now*, said one of his judges, *repent of your rashness? No*, replied the king, *though I see my death is inevitable, I can never repent of so just and honourable an intention.* The ephori then ordered him to be hauled away and strangled. The officers of justice refused to obey, and even the mercenary soldiers declined so unworthy an action; whereupon *Demochares* reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. *Agis* about to die, perceiving one of the serjeants bitterly bewailing his misfortune; *Weep not, friend, for me*, said he, *who die innocently; but grieve for those who are guilty of this wicked act; my condition is much better than* d *theirs.* Then stretching out his neck, he submitted to death with a constancy worthy both of the royal dignity, and his own great character. Immediately after *Agis* was dead, *Amphares* went out of the prison gate, where he found *Agistrata*, who casting herself at his feet, he gently raised her up, pretending still the same friendship as formerly. He assured her she need not fear any further violence should be offered against her son; and that, if she pleased, she might go in and see him; she begged her mother might also have the favour of being admitted, and he replied no body should hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate should again be locked, and the grandmother to be first introduced; she was now grown very old, and had lived all her days with great reputation of wisdom and virtue. e As soon as *Amphares* thought she was dispatched, he told *Agistrata* she might now go in if she pleased; she entered, where beholding her son's body stretched on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck, she stood at first astonished at so horrid a spectacle; but after a while recollecting her spirits, the first thing she did was to assist the soldiers in taking down the body; then covering it decently, she laid it by her son's, where embracing and kissing his cheeks; *O my son*, said she, *it is thy too great mercy and goodness which has brought thee and us to this untimely end.* *Amphares*, who stood watching behind the door, hearing this, rushed in hastily, and with a furious tone and countenance, said to her, *Since you approve so*

" misery? Or would you have me attired in my " festival ornaments, that I may rejoice with you, " when you have killed within my arms the man " to whom you gave me for a wife? Either *Cleom-* " *brotus* must appease you by mine and my chil- " dren's tears, or he must suffer a punishment greater " than his faults have deserved: He shall infallibly " see me die before him, whom he so tenderly " loves. To what end should I live, or how shall " I appear among the *Spartan* ladies, when it shall " so manifestly be seen that I have not been able to " move compassion, either in my husband for the " sake of my father, or in my father for the sake " of my husband? I was born, it seems, to be dis- " honoured and disgraced both as a wife and a " daughter, in that relation which is nearest to me " in each capacity. As for *Cleombrotus* I sufficiently disowned his cause, when I forsook him to " follow you; but now you yourself will justify " his proceedings, by shewing to the world that " for the sake of a kingdom it is just to kill a son " in-law, and be regardless of a daughter" (70).

(70) *Plut. in vit. Agid.*

well

a *well of your son's actions, it is fit you should partake in his reward.* She rising up to meet her destiny, only uttered these few words; *I pray the gods that all this may redound to the good of* Sparta [1]. *Archidamus* the brother of *Agis*, saved himself by flight, but was constrained to leave his wife, who had just lain in, behind him; her, because she was the heiress of a great estate, *Leonidas* compelled by force to marry his own son *Cleomenes*; to this the young lady was very averse, yet in the end she was forced to comply. *Cleomenes* behaved towards her with so much tenderness and humanity, that she became quickly reconciled to her marriage, but continued to hate her father-in-law for all that. *Cleomenes* was too young to consummate the marriage as yet, but having an extreme tenderness for his wife, he would often b beg her to relate to him the story of *Agis*'s murder, at which he wept, and by degrees began privately to follow his example; yet he followed it according to his own disposition, which was by far more bold and violent than that of *Agis*. He was constrained however to bridle his desires, till after the death of his father, he well knowing that both the king and the nobles were too much dissolved in luxury and ease ever to incline to, or so much as bear with the execution of his design.

Cleomenes *succeeds* Leonidas. *Year after the flood* 2783. *Before Christ* 216.

On the death of *Leonidas*, *Cleomenes* mounted the *Spartan* throne alone, and in the very beginning of his reign found himself obliged to exert both his conduct and his courage. *Aratus* at the head of the *Achæans* had formed a grand project of uniting all the *Peloponnesians* into that league; the youth of *Cleomenes* seemed to c furnish him with an opportunity of trying the disposition of the *Spartans*, which he neglected not, but suddenly invaded the *Arcadians* their neighbours, and their friends who lived in a manner under their protection [2]. The ephori upon this ordered *Cleomenes* to seize on a pass into *Laconia*, which was then in the hands of the allies of the *Achæans*, which he performed, and afterwards disappointed *Aratus* in a scheme he had formed for seizing *Tegæa* and *Orchomanium*. Upon which the young king sent a message full of sneer to *Aratus*; the old statesmen deriding his youth, asked *Democrites*, a *Spartan* exile, who lived with him, *What sort of a person this* Cleomenes *was? Why, my friend*, replied the Spartan, *I will answer you in few words; if you have any thing to do against the* Lacedæmonians, *let me advise you to begin before this* d *young eagle's talons are grown.* In the subsequent course of the war, *Aratus* by his great skill obtained some advantages over the *Spartans*; but *Cleomenes* gave therein such shining instances of his courage and military virtues, that this great captain grew himself apprehensive and the people of *Sparta* seemed to take new spirit from their king. The ephori however were for putting an end to the war, because they did not care to run any hazard, and because they were not a little afraid of success, which they knew would raise not only the power, but the credit of *Cleomenes*, which they dreaded more than that of their enemies. The king, who was a man of great penetration, saw clearly that without reducing the power of the ephori, he should have nothing more left him than the title of king, with this farther e mortification, that he should see the power of *Sparta* sink daily without being able to hinder it. In this perplexity he took a bold resolution of ridding himself of the ephori at once; this he communicated to some of his friends, who agreed to assist him in it from the same generous desire of restoring the glory of their country [3]. The first step that was taken in this business was the recalling of *Archidamus* the brother of *Agis*, who on his approach to *Sparta* was murdered by his brother's enemies, not without some suspicion that *Cleomenes* consented thereto; but this seems to agree little with his character, and *Plutarch*, who reports this suggestion, owns, if there was any truth in it, he was forced thereto [4]. When it appeared a point out of dispute, that without an army a revolution could not be effected, he by money f prevailed on the ephori to engage in a war, and to give him the command. His mother *Crateficlea*, a woman of great spirit, perceiving the difficulties her son had to struggle with, married again, that she might fix a nobleman of great interest to his party, and at the same time engaged to give up her own fortune, persuaded her husband also to come to the same terms, whenever a division of goods and of lands should be made. *Cleomenes* carrying such as he suspected most into the field with him, did many things there worthy of a *Spartan* prince; but withal, he took care so to harass his army with quick and almost continued marches, that many desired to be left behind in *Arcadia*; with the rest he advanced slowly towards *Lacedæmon*.

[1] Plut. in vit. Agid. [2] Plut. in vit. Arati. [3] Plut. in vit. Cleom. [4] Id. ibid. Polyb. l. v.

When he drew near the place, he sent a small party headed by some of his confidents, who surprized the ephori at supper, killed four of them upon the spot, and had killed the fifth if he had not counterfeited himself dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring, wounded as he was, to a temple, from whence he came forth next day without being injured. On the morrow *Cleomenes* came into the forum, ordered all the chairs of the ephori to be removed, except one which he reserved for himself, then he made a most artful apology to the people for what he had done (U); he shewed them the necessity of restoring the *Lycurgic* institutions, and assured them, that though the situation of things had obliged him to make use of violence in effecting this resolution, yet for the future he would pay a strict regard to the laws, though for his own safety he proscribed at this time fourscore citizens. He was the first who delivered up his whole substance to the public stock, wherein he was followed by his father-in-law, and other friends. In assigning the lands, he gave shares to all whom he had banished, promising to recal them as soon as was consistent with the public safety; immediately after he restored the old *Laconic* way of educating of youth, of eating in public, and of doing their exercises together; he also raised a considerable body of troops, and disciplined and armed them in a new manner; to shew his dislike to tyranny, and to remove any umbrage that his citizens might take at his doing all these things by his own authority, he associated his brother *Euclidas* in the kingdom, declaring that for the future there should be always two kings at *Sparta*, as there were in times past, and that he would not erect a monarchy in order to transmit it to his posterity; which declaration of his was extremely grateful to the people. But that which of all others served to establish most the power and the character of *Cleomenes*, was the course of his own life, which was in nothing more stately or more expensive than that of the meanest citizen. There were in his house no purple furnitures, no canopies, or cloaths of state, no superb chairs, or couches for indulging ease, but a plain king, and every thing plain about him: When any offered petitions, he stepped forward to receive them, talked graciously to every body, redressed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himself; yet had his virtue nothing in it of austerity or affectation; he was naturally of a pleasant temper, which he indulged. When strangers dined with him, he had plenty of wine, which was set down in a brass vessel, with silver cups near it, according to the number of the guests, every man being permitted to

(U) It is from *Plutarch* that we learn the purport of the king's speech on this occasion, which it is necessary for us to report here, not only as it nearly concerns the present thread of our history, but because we have referred ourselves to it elsewhere, as containing several curious particulars relating to the *Spartan* policy. *Cleomenes* then in this harangue alledged, "That the government, as it was framed "by *Lycurgus*, was composed of the kings and the "senate; and that that model of government had "continued a long time, and needed no other sort "of magistrates to give it perfection. But afterwards, in the long war with the *Messenians*, when "the kings being to command the armies had no "time to attend civil causes, they chose some of "their friends, and left them to determine the suits "of their citizens in their stead. These were called "ephori, and at first behaved themselves as servants "to the kings, but afterwards by degrees they appropriated the power to themselves, and erected "a distinct sort of magistracy. An evidence of the "truth of this may be taken from the usual behaviour of the kings, who upon the first and second "message of the ephori refuse to go, but upon the "third readily attended them: And *Asteropus*, the "first that raised the ephori to that height of "power, was not *Ephorus* till many years after their "institution; therefore, whilst they modestly contained themselves within their own proper sphere, "it was better to bear with them than to make a "disturbance. But that an upstart introduced "power should so far destroy the old model of "government, as to banish some kings, murder "others, without hearing their defence, and threaten "those who desired to see the best and most divine "constitution restored in *Sparta*, was unsufferable. "Therefore, if it had been possible for him without "blood-shed to have freed *Lacedæmon* from those "foreign plagues, luxury, vanity, debts, and usury; "and from those more ancient evils, poverty and "riches, he should have thought himself the happiest king in the world; having, like an expert "physician cured the diseases of his country without pain. But now in this necessity, *Lycurgus*'s "example favoured his proceedings; who being "neither king nor magistrate, but a private man, "and aiming at the kingdom, came armed into "the market-place, insomuch that king *Charilaus* "fled for fear to the altar: But he being a good "man, and a lover of his country, readily consented "to *Lycurgus*'s project, and admitted an alteration "in the state. Thus by his own actions *Lycurgus* "shewed, that it was difficult to correct the government without force and fear; in using which, "he said he would be so moderate as never to desire their assistance; but either to terrify or ruin "the enemies of *Sparta*'s happiness and safety. He "commanded that all the land should be left in "common, and private claims laid aside: That "debtors should be discharged of their debts, and "a strict search be made who were foreigners, and "who not: That the true *Spartans* recovering their "courage, might defend the city with their arms; "and that they might no longer see *Laconia*, for "want of a sufficent number to secure it, wasted "by the *Ætolians* (70)".

(70) *Plutarch. in vit. Cleom.*

a drink what he pleased, being neither desired nor forced to drink more; being informed that *Aratus* and the *Achæans* were preparing to give him some disturbance, from an apprehension that after these alterations he durst not leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and cut them out work enough at home. In the course of the war, he gained such advantage over *Aratus*, as made that great statesman and captain decline being chosen captain general of the *Achæans* next year as he was wont; yet did not *Cleomenes* make any ill use of his victories, or attempt to oppress the cities which fell into his power, but restored them to their liberty, and where they had been expelled, recalled their ancient inhabitants. The *Achæans* were so much frighted with this unexpected run of ill success, that they b were ready to listen to any terms which *Cleomenes* should think fit to offer. That generous victor declared that he sought nothing more than to be acknowledged general of the *Greeks*, and that he was ready to deliver up the prisoners without ransom, and to restore the cities he had taken. *Lerna* was appointed for the place of treaty, the *Achæans* being willing to accept of the king's terms; but *Cleomenes* marching thither swiftly, heated himself very much by the way, and drinking in the midst of his heat a draught of cold water, threw himself into a fever, which was attended with the loss of his speech; he ordered however the principal captives of the *Achæans* to be set at liberty, and put off the meeting to another time and place. This accident ruined him and *Greece*; for *Aratus*, who till this time had approved c himself a most worthy *Grecian* commander, now suffered envy, jealousy and self-conceit to triumph over his virtue, and his love for his country; and he who in his youth had expelled the *Macedonians* out of *Peloponnesus* merely from the love of freedom, now privately recalled them, fearing that *Cleomenes*, the most worthy of the *Spartan* kings, should be raised to that dignity which he so highly deserved [z]. When *Cleomenes* was recovered, he advanced towards *Argos*, where the *Achæans* held their assembly; but when he drew near, *Aratus* caused deputies to be sent him, to inform him that he must either enter the city alone, or be content to treat without the place; to which *Cleomenes* answered, That he was unjustly dealt with, for they ought to have told him so plainly at first, and not now, when he was come d to their very doors, shew their jealousy, and deny him admission. Not long after he declared war, and began to act offensively. Upon this the whole league of the *Achæans* was put into a ferment, most of the towns being ready to revolt, and break the union; because on the one side the people had been made to hope for a division of the lands, and of a discharge of their debts; and on the other the nobility grew weary of *Aratus*'s power, and were almost all of them provoked against him for having called the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*. Encouraged by these misunderstandings, *Cleomenes* invaded *Achæa* where he first took *Pellene* by surprize, and beat out the *Achæan* garison; afterwards he made himself master of *Phæneon* and *Penteleon*. Not long after he surprized *Argos*, and in a very short space of time raised him- e self to greater power than any of his predecessors, and his city to greater pre-eminence than she had ever held in *Greece*. In this space he would very gladly have treated with *Aratus*, offering him any terms to have engaged his friendship; but he was immoveable in his resolution of destroying the *Spartan* greatness; with this view he procured the castle of *Corinth*, which was the key of *Peloponnesus*, to be delivered up to *Antigonus*, who suddenly came to his assistance with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. *Cleomenes*, though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended the far greater part of *Peloponnesus*, till *Argos* was betrayed; even there he did great things, and when overpowered by numbers he could do no more, made a most glorious retreat. At this time he received from f *Sparta* the news of his wife's death, at which he was exceedingly grieved; for though the *Spartans* were remarkable for being fond husbands, yet *Cleomenes* was distinguished for his fondness even among them. He bore his grief however like a hero, and like a king; he went to his house, indulged his sorrow with his mother and other relations, and then returning to the camp, resumed his functions of a monarch and a general, without suffering his private concerns to interfere with public affairs. *Ptolemy* at this time offered him his friendship in case he would send him his mother and his son as hostages. This demand troubled *Cleomenes*; he went often to break the matter to his parent, but was unable to do it; at last, when it broke out, *Cratesicleia*

[z] Plut. in vit. Arat. Polyb. lib. ii.

burst

burst out a laughing; *Well*, said she, *Was it this you were afraid of telling? Why* a
*do you not put me on shipboard, and send this carcase where it may be serviceable to* Sparta,
*before age wastes it unprofitably here?* When she was going on board, she withdrew
her son into the temple of *Neptune*, where having wept and embraced each other,
*Come king of* Sparta, said she, *let us dry our tears, that no signs of grief may appear*
*when we go out, nor any token of weakness appear unworthy your dignity, or the honour*
*of our country, since our actions are all that are in our power, and events belong wholly to*
*providence.* She wrote afterwards to him from *Egypt: King of* Sparta, *do what is*
*worthy of your country, and may redound to its profit; nor for the sake of an old woman,*
*and a little child, stand in fear of what* Ptolemy *may do.* *Cleomenes* acted in this unequal
war with all the conduct and valour that could be expected in the most excellent cap- b
tain among the *Greeks*[7]. He had to do with a numerous army composed of veterans
well armed, and well disciplined, and well paid; his own troops were most of them
new raised, many of them half armed, and nothing but what he could get to sub-
sist them with. Yet he kept the war out of *Laconia*, took the city of *Megalopolis*,
which was bigger than *Sparta* in the midst of king *Antigonus*'s armies; and when
he had taken it, generously offered to restore it untouched to its citizens, but they
rejecting his offer, he abandoned it to the plunder of his soldiers[8]. After this he
harassed the territory of *Argos*, raising mighty contributions, though *Antigonus* and
the *Macedonian* forces were in that very city. This even in his own time was stiled
rashness, arrogance, and a vain-glorious shew of short-lived success; and it is owing c
to *Polybius*, that posterity considers it in a different light; for he tells us, that though
the generality believed *Cleomenes* to have acted from a desperate temerity, yet men
of the best discernment and understanding agreed that he behaved with great pru-
dence and judgment. The true state of the case is this; *Cleomenes* saw that though
at present he could make head against his enemies, yet in a short time he should
be destroyed without fighting; he therefore sought to provoke *Antigonus* to fight,
where his choice of ground might give him an advantage; and here again *Anti-*
*gonus* gave a strong testimony of his consummate skill in military affairs; for not-
withstanding the murmurs of his own troops, the outcries of the *Greeks*, and the
insults of *Cleomenes*, he kept himself where he was, and would not suffer either his d
own, or the passions of others, to push him upon a step which might be injurious
to his fortune. But afterwards, when he had it in his power to fight, and *Cleomenes*
by reason of his poverty could no longer decline it, he gave him battle at *Sellasia*,
where partly through the superiority of the *Macedonian* troops, partly through the
treachery of *Damoteles*, the *Lacedæmonians* were defeated with a vast slaughter of
their mercenary troops, and with almost the utter destruction of their own; for of
six thousand *Spartans* only two hundred escaped. In the beginning of the action,
*Cleomenes* had the better at least in that part of the army which he commanded in
person; but looking behind him, and seeing the other wing commanded by his
brother surrounded, he cried out, *Thou art lost, dear brother, thou art lost; thou* e
*brave example to our* Spartan *youth, and theme of our matrons songs!* This misfortune
of *Cleomenes* deserves the more to be pitied, since if he could have avoided fighting
but two days, he must have seen *Antigonus* constrained to abandon the *Achæans*; for
within that space after the battle, messengers arrived in his camp from *Macedonia*,
which brought advice of such disorders there as forced him immediately to return[9].
When the battle was over, *Cleomenes* retired to *Sparta*, where however he knew
it was impossible for him to stay, nor indeed did he rest there above a few hours; for
after having given a few directions, he went to his own house, where without
taking any refreshment, he leaned himself in his armour as he was against a pillar,
and considering what he should do, he at length determined to retire to *Egypt*; which f
resolution he and his friends immediately put into execution, going directly to *Gythium*,
there imbarqued on board a few ships, and passed over to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who en-
tertained him honourably while he lived; but his son growing suspicious of him, con-
fined him, which *Cleomenes* at length resenting, he with twelve friends forced the place
where he was confined; but finding it afterwards impracticable to escape, they slew each
other. *Ptolemy Philopator* in revenge of this, caused the body of *Cleomenes* to be exposed
on a cross, butchered his mother, the rest of his family, and all her attendants.
Miserable end of so great a man, who sought only to make his country free, and his

[7] Plut. ubi supra, & in vit. Arati. Polyb. ubi supra. [8] Plut. in vit. Arat. & Philopæm.
[9] Polyb. lib. ii. Plut. in vit. Cleomen. & Philop. Justin. lib. xxviii. c. 4.

country-

a countrymen virtuous! In him ended the *Herculean* race of *Spartan* kings, if we except the short reign of *Agesipolis* which we shall presently mention (X).

(X) In this note we shall vindicate our history of the reign of *Cleomenes*, which we confess to be very little consistent with the account given us by *Polybius*, though we acknowledge that he is, generally speaking, a most judicious and impartial writer, and had great opportunities of knowing the true state of things at the time of which we are speaking; and yet we affirm that he has not spoken of *Cleomenes* things exactly conformable to truth, whence we conceive we had a just right to differ from him, notwithstanding his great and established reputation. Two things therefore we shall endeavour to demonstrate in this note: *First*, That *Polybius* hath injured the character of *Cleomenes* in his history; and, *Secondly*, That the causes of his misrepresentations may with probability, and even with certainty, be assigned. *First*, then, *Polybius* opening to his reader the causes of the *Cleomenic* war writes thus: *When this war was kindled, and* Cleomenes *had ruined the republic of* Lacedæmon, *and converted a lawful authority into tyrannic power,* Aratus, *who saw that this prince made war with no less conduct than valour, and being at the same time afraid of what might be attempted by the* Ætolians, *thought it necessary to counterwork their projects* (71). In this passage *Cleomenes* is roundly declared a tyrant, and undoubtedly he was so in the opinion of all the *Achæans*; and the historians of those times dealt so freely with his character, that the great *Livy* makes no scruple of calling him *Cleomenes* the first tyrant of *Lacedæmon* (72). *Pausanias* is yet more outrageous; he says that *Cleomenes* following the example of the great *Pausanias*, who gained the battle of *Platæa*, affected tyranny, and thereby disgusted the *Lacedæmonians* so much, that they hated the thought of kings ever after (73). Yet all these great men are most certainly in the wrong; nay, *Polybius* and *Pausanias* are so of their own shewing. For the first every where admits that *Cleomenes* was a prince of great wisdom and mildness, as well as intrepidly valiant, and of a lofty spirit. The reason for which he stiles him a tyrant is, as appears from the foregoing passage, because he altered that condition of the republic in which it stood when he ascended the throne. It is confessed he did so, but that this could not denominate him a tyrant, we will prove from *Polybius* himself. In another part of his writings, discanting like a grave politician, as indeed he was, on the ruin of the *Spartan* state, he makes use of these words: "*Lycurgus*, in providing by his laws for the harmony of his citizens, for the security of his polity, and the maintenance of liberty, hath done so well, that his institutes seem rather to be divine than human. An equality of possessions with a simple and inexpensive course of life could not but render men honest and sociable in private life, and quiet and peaceable in public concerns; finally, continual exercise, and a readiness to undertake any kind of labour, could not fail of making them both valiant and indefatigable (74)". He then shews, that their affecting conquest engaged them to depart from the laws of *Lycurgus*, and induced their ruin; and in the very place where he calls *Cleomenes* tyrant he commiserates the *Lacedæmonians* for having from a state of perfect freedom sunk by degrees into that of abject slavery under *Nabis*, by a continual declension from the *Lycurgic* institutes. Now if the slavery of the *Lacedæmonians* and their ruin arose from their leaving the laws of *Lycurgus*, and if the laws of *Lycurgus* derived their chief excellence from their enjoining an equality of possessions, a simple frugal life, and continual exercise, how could *Cleomenes* be a tyrant for changing that declining condition in which he found the *Spartan* republic, into that form as near as might be wherein *Lycurgus* left it? but perhaps it will be said he acted tyrannically in putting to death the ephori, and in effecting this alteration by force; yet if this be admitted, it will subvert all the *Greek* notions of liberty. The ephori were not established by *Lycurgus*, they had exceeded the limits of their office, they had destroyed the constitution by introducing the sale of lands, they had most impiously murdered *Agis* their natural sovereign, and in one word by keeping one of the thrones of *Sparta* vacant, which they did by force; they violated the fundamental laws of the state, and had, as *Polybius* phrases it, changed a legal authority into a most detestable tyranny, from which *Cleomenes* rescued his country, and restored it to its ancient lustre and liberty by the only way it could be effected, that is by force. That *Cleomenes* was legally king of *Sparta*, *Polybius* himself owns; that the change he wrought did not make him a tyrant, we have proved, and consequently we have shewn, that *Livy* was in an error when he stiled him the first of the *Lacedæmonian* tyrants. We will next shew the falshood of *Pausanias*'s account, he says that *Cleomenes* affected the empire of *Greece*, and *Polybius* intimates the same thing, but they offer no facts to support it; and the contrary thereof is evident from the current of *Polybius*'s history. A tyrant is one who sacrifices public rights to his particular views, which *Cleomenes* had mighty opportunities of doing, and whenever he had them, constantly rejected them. He brought his paternal estate into the public stock when he new-modelled *Sparta*; he restored all the cities he took to their ancient form of government, when he might have annexed them to his own dominions; and chose to have allies where he might have had subjects; with reason therefore have we concluded with *Plutarch*, that he did not affect the tyranny of *Greece*. As to the latter part of *Pausanias*'s censure, that the *Spartans* so hated the memory of *Cleomenes*, it is diametrically opposite to truth; for *Polybius* tells us, that after his flight into *Egypt* they remained without kings, because they tenderly loved *Cleomenes*, and ardently wished and expected his return. These are his very words, and he afterwards tells us, that as soon as they knew that *Cleomenes* was dead, they resolved to be no longer without kings. We come now to the second part of what we proposed, the causes of *Polybius*'s misrepresentations, and they were no other than those which have been and will be common in the world as long as it is inhabited by men. *Polybius* lived in these times: He was by birth of the city of *Megalopolis*, which *Cleomenes* destroyed; he was an *Achæan* statesman, a professed and zealous friend of *Aratus*, the capital enemy of this prince whom he so much decries. *Aratus* fought to bring all the *Peloponnesian* states into the *Achæan* league, and why? that they might be thereby safe against the *Macedonian* power; *Cleomenes* opposed this, because it was contrary to the interest of *Sparta*, which would have thereby become inconsiderable. *Aratus* endeavoured in a time of full peace to have executed his scheme by force on a supposition that *Cleomenes* being a young man might have been easily deposed. After all, when *Cleomenes* in his own defence had humbled the *Achæans*, he did not pretend to reduce them into subjection, but offered to join with them to support the

(71) *Polyb. Hist. lib.* iv. (72) *Liv. lib.* xxxiv. (73) *Pausan. in Corinthiacis.* (74) *Fragment. lib.* xiii.

*The state of Sparta after the flight of Cleomenes.*

After the fatal battle of *Sellasia*, *Sparta* fell into the hands of king *Antigonus*, a who out of regard to the merit of their ancestors, treated the inhabitants with great kindness and indulgence; they in return for this behaved for a time very quietly, and submitting to the present situation of things, acted in such a manner as might give least umbrage to *Aratus*, and the *Achæans*, who were the king's friends; as long as *Cleomenes* lived, though an exile, and at last a prisoner, in *Egypt*, the *Spartans* lived as well as they could under the government of the ephori and senate; but as soon as the news came of his death, and they were once thoroughly ascertained it was true new stirs arose, in which *Adimas*, one of the ephori, endeavoured all he could to moderate the people; and when his collegues had summoned them to meet in arms, he had the courage to represent to them how little their behaviour corre- b sponded with their circumstances, and how unreasonable it was for them to involve themselves in their present unsettled condition in a new war with the *Macedonians*, who not long ago had vanquished them, and had ever since treated them well. The people of *Sparta*, like the people of most other cities, were inclined to listen to reason as soon as they began to understand it, which the rest of the ephori perceiving, they and their associates gathered about *Adimas*, and stabbed him; which once done they did what they pleased. Soon after this *Philip* the son of *Antigonus* arrived with a great army on their frontiers, when the *Spartans* sent deputies to make their submission, which when the king had heard, he suffered them to withdraw, and caused the matter to be afterwards debated in council. Most of those who composed it, c after representing the *Lacedæmonians* as a turbulent and factious people, declared that the king ought to treat them as heretofore *Alexander* had done the *Thebans*, that is put their principal men to death, and humble the rest by a very severe chastisement. But the king, though but seventeen years old, differed from them; he said the sedition of the *Spartans* turned to their own hurt, that on his appearance they had offered to submit themselves, and become his subjects; and that to put their principal men to death, and mal-treat the rest would be unworthy of a prince; he therefore contented himself with telling the deputies that he should have his eye upon the *Spartans* for the future, and therefore advised them to be quiet; after which he dismissed them [b]. d

*Lycurgus and Agesipolis elected kings.*

The *Ætolians* making new disturbances in *Greece*, were very desirous to engage the *Lacedæmonians* in their interest; to this end they sent *Machates* embassador to *Sparta*; he endeavoured to persuade the ephori to chuse two kings, and to unite themselves strictly with the *Ætolians*; but those magistrates liking neither of his propositions, procured them both to be rejected by the people, notwithstanding that a strong party had declared themselves for *Machates*. This party after his departure found means to stir up the people so effectually against the ephori, that at a solemn festival they murdered them at the temple of *Pallas*, and elected others whom they directed to elect kings. In consequence of this, they chose first *Agesipolis* a boy, the grandson of *Cleombrotus* whom *Leonidas* banished and appointed *Cleomenes* the e son of *Cleombrotus*, and the child's uncle, his tutor. For the other king they set up *Lycurgus*, a man no way allied to the royal family, or at least never conceived to be allied to it, till by giving a talent a piece to the ephori; they declared him of the *Herculean* race, and the lawful king of *Sparta*. He after some time drove *Agesipolis* into banishment, involved his country into several wars, which he waged with various success. At last *Chilo* conspired against him; this man conceived he had some right to the *Spartan* throne, and having engaged about two hundred persons to abet his scheme, he fell upon the ephori suddenly, and murdered them; after which he surrounded the house of *Lycurgus*, who by the fidelity of some of his ser-

[b] Polyb. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Arat.

the liberty of *Greece* against the *Macedonian* kings; but *Aratus*, resolving to have all things his own way, called in these very *Macedonians*, delivered up to them *Acro-Corinth*, destroyed the *Lacedæmonian* kingdom, induced the ruin of his own country, and was himself poisoned by *Philip* king of *Macedon*, whom he vainly called and imagined to be his pupil. *Polybius*, misled by *Aratus*'s notions, paints *Cleomenes* as a tyrant, though he took the only method to preserve *Greece* free, and *Greece* lost her freedom, because he failed in his design; this has appeared since, and *Plutarch*, who was a true friend to liberty and virtue, living without the reach of prejudice, has done that justice to *Cleomenes* which *Polybius* denied him (75).

(75) *Hist. lib.* iv. *Plut. in vit. Cleom. Arati & Philopæm.*

vants

a vants made his escape. *Chilo* perceiving that the people little affected him, fled out of *Laconia*, and retired to the *Macedonians* whom he endeavoured to irritate against his country. When things were a little settled, *Lycurgus* was recalled, and reigned in *Sparta* many years. When king *Philip* came into *Peloponnesus* for the second time, and began to transact things there, not only without advice, but contrary to the opinion of *Aratus*, *Lycurgus* and the *Lacedæmonians* began to take heart, and to think once more of contending with the power of *Macedon*, notwithstanding all the mischiefs they had sustained; neither were they frighted from this purpose, when they were informed that the king was become friends again with *Aratus* and his son; wherefore as soon as the season of the year permitted, they invaded *Messenia*, which b immediately drew *Philip* that way, upon which *Lycurgus* retired, that he might put his country into a condition to sustain the invasion, which he plainly perceived was intended, though king *Philip* took all the precautions possible to hinder his design from being penetrated [c]. He advanced with his army as far as *Amyclæ*, from whence he spoiled all the country round about: In the mean time the *Messenians* invaded *Laconia* on the other side, resolving to march through it and join the *Macedonian*; but while their commander, who greatly contemned the *Spartans* in their present distressed condition, encamped carelessly, and without throwing up any intrenchments, *Lycurgus* suddenly attacked them with such success, that he took the greatest part of their horses and baggage, and returned with much honour to *Sparta*. c As soon as he returned, he made the necessary dispositions for the defence of the city. In the first place, he recovered the posts which the *Macedonians* had seized on the mountains, and then causing the waters of the *Eurotas* to be dammed up, he provided a means of laying all the country between the river and the mountains under water; so that the *Macedonians* not being able to march that way, would be obliged to coast the foot of the mountains, and thereby expose their rear to the insults of *Lycurgus* and his *Lacedæmonians*. *Philip* perceiving this, resolved first of all to dispossess *Lycurgus* of his posts in the mountains, which at the head of a choice body of troops, he with much ado performed; however he retired with his forces at last into the city, which he preserved from any insult; and thus this great king of d *Macedon*, after having plundered and ravaged *Laconia*, was obliged to retire, his own camp being full of sedition, and his soldiers more inclined to mutiny than fighting. Some short time after this, the ephori having or pretending to have information, that *Lycurgus* intended to make himself absolute, they attempted to surprize and murder him in his house; but he having previous notice of their design, withdrew into *Ætolia*, and the iniquity of the ephori being clearly discovered by the people, he was shortly after recalled. What he did after this, we know not, nor how long he held the kingdom; whether he died in peace, or by the sword, in possession of the regal authority, or not; neither can we say what steps were taken by the *Spartans* when they lost this king of their own election: If we take him for the last of their princes, e or if, according to others, we look upon *Cleomenes* in that light, either way we shall see the oracle concerning a lame reign fulfilled; but perhaps it will be better to interpret this prophecy generally of all single reigns, which according to the constitution of *Sparta* could not but be lame, and under them all the people were most notoriously unhappy, falling continually from bad to worse, every succeeding tyrant excelling in wickedness his predecessor.

*Machanidas* was the successor of *Lycurgus*, but when he attained the sovereignty, is very uncertain; the year in which we find him first mentioned, we have placed in the margin; by what colour he held his dignity appears not, but that he was a person of great abilities is certain. At home he ejected the ephori, as not caring f to have any either equal or greater than himself in *Sparta*; abroad he made all *Peloponnesus* tremble, which in all probability he would have subdued and brought under his own power, if *Philopæmen* the chief of the *Achæans* had not opposed him [d]. He engaged all the cities in that league to furnish troops for reducing the power of *Machanidas* within bounds, which, as he plainly shewed, if not timely undertaken, would be a thing beyond their abilities. When he had drawn together this army, after exercising them for some time in slight skirmishes, he marched towards *Mantinæa*, in order of battle. Thither also came *Machanidas* at the head of a very powerful army, composed not only of *Spartans*, but of mercenaries; an engagement

Machanidas *assumes the tyranny.* *Year after the flood* 2792. *Before Christ* 207.

[c] Polyb. Hist. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Arati. [d] Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Philop. Livy Hist. lib. xxxiv.

quickly

quickly followed which was very obstinate, in which at first *Machanidas* had the a
better; but he pursuing this advantage too far, *Philopœmen* attacked him in the rear; however the *Lacedæmonians* fought desperately for a time, expecting that *Machanidas* would come to their relief, which accordingly he did; but *Philopœmen* foreseeing that he would take the shortest way, and knowing that there was a ditch there of which *Machanidas* was ignorant, he left *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan* to push the enemy that were still fighting, and with a small party of horse advanced to the ditch to meet *Machanidas*, whom he presently distinguished by his purple robe. The tyrant, who with two or three friends had outrode the rest of his troops, seeing that *Philopœmen* and his company were but few, resolved to pass the ditch; in order to this he pushed his horse directly against *Philopœmen*, who turning sideways from b
him, as if he meant to avoid him, brought the point of his spear to bear directly against his breast as his horse leaped, so that just as he passed the ditch, *Machanidas* fell down dead; this put an end to the battle, for as soon as his death was known, his army fled: The *Achæans* wasted all the provinces which had been subject to him, the *Spartans* who lost four thousand men in this engagement having neither spirits nor strength to oppose them [a].

Nabis *succeeds* Machanidas. *Year after the flood* 2803. *Before Christ* 196.

Not long after the death of *Machanidas*, we find *Sparta* under a new and yet severer bondage under one *Nabis*, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to have left the epithets of gracious and merciful to *Phalaris* and *Dionysius* on a comparison of their actions with his. Other evil princes had their peculiar vices, and perhaps c
many ways of plaguing and punishing their subjects; but *Nabis* had not only all, but invented and practised such acts of cruelty as were never heard of before, and have sunk into oblivion since. To all who were honest, brave, or noble, he was an open enemy, such as he could lay his hands on he murdered, such as were not immediately in his power he banished: But did he stop there? No. He sent some of his *Cretan* assassins after them where-ever they retired, who watched them so narrowly, that in the field, or at their tables, or in their beds, they found an opportunity to slay them. At home he reigned with a dissimulation, which some call wisdom. He kept up the state of a prince, he wore purple, was attended by guards, performed the functions of a first magistrate, kept an equal countenance, made use of smooth d
speeches, entertained numbers of spies and sycophants, and struck such a terror into all who were not so, that they durst not express their thoughts or their fears. *Polybius* tells us, that he had a painted image which resembled his wife, and this being clad in royal robes, he introduced when he fancied it impracticable to wheedle any *Lacedæmonian* out of his money; and such was the art with which this image was contrived, that by touching certain secret springs, it catched any who were near it in its arms, and forced them to say any thing the tyrant pleased [b]. The distressed and dejected state of all *Greece*, which was now mightily divided, weak in its councils, and weaker still in the execution of them, and with all this mightily over-awed by the power of the *Macedonian* kings, and the *Roman* republic, gave vast opportunities to e
the tyrant to encrease his dominions, and to exalt his power. He in the midst of these confusions seized, under pretence of assisting some of the exiled citizens, on *Argos*, into which he put a garison under the command of *Pythagoras* his son-in-law, a man of great abilities, and who was indeed the support of his tyranny. The *Achæans* immediately applied to the *Romans*, for they began to be affrighted themselves at the apprehensions of the tyrant's growing power. *Titus Quintius* the *Roman* general arriving in *Greece*, they quickly made him sensible of the mischiefs that would follow, if *Nabis* was permitted to go on; for, not contented with holding the prime part of *Peloponnesus* under his sway, he began to be ambitious of the empire of the sea, and to project such schemes as threatened disturbance even to the *Romans* themselves. f
*Quintius* marched immediately into the neighbourhood of *Argos*, and had some thoughts of attacking the city, where on his approach a rising was attempted, which issued in the destruction of those who were desirous to be free. After this he marched towards *Lacedæmon* itself, at which *Nabis* was exceedingly troubled; he ordered however a general assembly of the people to be held without the city, whither as soon as they were come, he surrounded them with his troops; then he made a short speech, intimating the mighty danger they were in; for it is the mode of all tyrants to call themselves and their private concerns the interest of their country; he

[a] Plutarch. in vit. Philopœmen. Polyb. Fragment. lib. vii. [b] Id. Fragm. lib. xiii.

then

a then magnified the great pains he had taken in securing all the posts and avenues of *Sparta*, concluded, that since without speaking he had done so much for their service, they ought not now he did speak, to grudge doing somewhat for him, the rather because what he sought concerned likewise their own safety; some there were amongst them, he said, who had given him just cause to suspect their conduct, these therefore he was determined to seize and imprison, till the present danger being over, he might, which he greatly wished, restore them again to liberty consistent with his own, and the public safety: Having made this goodly harangue, he caused fourscore persons of worth and honour to be arrested, the unarmed multitude looking on with amazement, and that same night he caused them all to be murdered in prison; a little b afterwards, growing jealous of the *Helotes*, he seized a great number of them, caused them to be scourged in the streets, till the kennels were discoloured with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy. After all, finding the *Romans* about to besiege him, he resolved to attempt a treaty, knowing that king *Antiochus* was meditating new stirs, and from thence concluded that *Quintius* would be glad to come to some agreement with him. His hopes were not ill grounded, that great man, having nothing so much in view as the interest of *Rome*, readily agreed to meet him, and hear his proposals: *Nabis* at this interview made a long and well-composed oration, to which *Quintius* made him but an indifferent return, yet promised to send him certain articles in writing; and thus this conference ended. c The allies laboured hard to engage *Quintius* not to treat any more, king *Eumenes* who was in his camp affirmed, that is was to no purpose, for that the tyrant would think no longer of peace than war was near him; *Agesipolis* king of *Sparta*, who with many other illustrious exiles waited on *Quintius*, insisted that it would be unworthy of the *Roman* name to enter into treaty with so execrable a person; the *Achæans* were of the same sentiments, yet *Quintius* remained firm to his own; he saw clearly that they regarded their own interests, and thence he inferred that he ought to mind none but those of *Rome*; acting therefore on this motive, he sent *Nabis*, as he had promised, an account of the terms whereon he would grant him peace, and those terms were these: That he should withdraw all his garisons from *Argos*, and its ter- d ritories: That he should deliver up all the ships of war he had taken, and of all his fleet should retain no more than two galliots: That he should deliver up such as had fled to him from the *Roman* allies, and make restitution to the *Messenians* for plundering their territories: That he should restore to the *Lacedæmonian* exiles their wives and children: That he should build neither castle nor city in his own territories, nor in those of his neighbours: That he should give five such hostages as the general would chuse, and among them his own son: That he should pay down a hundred talents, and that he should continue paying fifty talents a year for eight years together. *Nabis* disliked these conditions, and found means to make all the *Lacedæmonians* dislike them, so that they determined to make an obstinate defence; e *Quintius* perceiving nothing was to be done but by force, and having with him an army of fifty thousand men, resolved to attack the place, which accordingly he did several times, but was as often repulsed. At last he penetrated into the city, and his soldiers beginning to take post in the first long street, *Nabis* thought of nothing but making his escape; yet *Pythagoras* delivered him from this danger, by setting the street on fire at each end, and engaging the *Lacedæmonians*, who were yet fighting in front, to supply the rising flames with fuel. The *Roman* soldiers were forced again to withdraw, but *Nabis* was so thoroughly frightened, that, with much ado, he procured peace on the terms before specified, which was hardly concluded before advice came that the *Argives* had delivered themselves by expelling his gari- f sons. When *Nabis* was free from the neighbourhood of the *Roman* army, he began to cast about in his mind how he might extricate himself from the mischiefs he laboured under; for he could not bear the thoughts of losing at once those dominions which he had been so long and with so much pains acquiring. He was especially irritated at beholding himself without a sea-port, and little set by amongst his neighbours; he therefore began to treat privately with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* for creating new disturbances in *Peloponnesus*, and having received from them great promises, he began to act offensively against the *Achæans* and their allies. *Gythium* the sea-port of *Sparta*, he besieged, and recovered; but after that and a slight victory at sea, which he obtained against *Philopæmen*, he was routed at land rather for want of abilities as a general in himself, than any fault in his soldiers. *Philo-*

*pæmen*, though he could not hinder the taking of *Gythium*, yet resolved to terrify a
the tyrant by marching directly towards *Lacedæmon*, which had the consequence he expected and desired, since *Nabis* drew his forces together, and led them with the utmost diligence to the relief of his capital; by this forced march he fronted the *Achæan* army within ten miles of the city, the tyrant seizing on this occasion a very strong camp, where *Philopæmen* intended to have lain that night. This great general perceiving that his first design was rendered abortive, immediately formed a second, and since he could not spoil *Sparta*, resolved to content himself with destroying an army every way superior to his own. There lay between the camps a little rivulet from which both the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* were to fetch water; but it was considerably nearer to the former than to the latter. *Philopæmen* therefore sent a b
great detachment to take post privately in a copse which bordered on the river; when the troops of *Nabis* came to water their horses, and to fill their vessels for the camp, this detachment suddenly attacked them, and cut many of the light-armed soldiers in pieces. About the same time he sent one of his auxiliary soldiers as a deserter to *Nabis* with instructions to give him information that the *Achæans* designed to move in the night, in order to get between him and *Lacedæmon*. The tyrant, affrighted at this news, as soon as it was thoroughly dark, quitted a camp which *Philopæmen* could never have forced, and leaving only a few light-armed troops in his entrenchments, marched with all the speed he could towards *Sparta*. *Philopæmen* foreseeing this, attacked his camp as soon as he was out of it, and so harassed c
his army with his light-armed mercenaries, that *Nabis* found himself constrained to retire into the neighbouring woods, where he remained all the next day. *Philopæmen* in this space recalling his light-armed forces, left them in the camp which he had taken, and with his troops that were still fresh, marched with great secrecy, and seized the passes which led to *Lacedæmon*, not doubting but at the approach of night the tyrant would march again; this fell out as he expected, and as he had seized the avenues, the forces of *Nabis* were in a manner at his mercy, and he used his advantage so well, that the tyrant with a very small part of his army got into the city, covered with disgrace, and unable to hinder *Philopæmen* from spoiling the country, which he did for thirty days, and then retired, leaving *Nabis* much dejected, d
and with small forces to continue the war. His recovery of *Gythium* furnished him at present with little comfort, for the enemy being master of all the country, he could scarcely hold any correspondence therewith; besides his navy was very inconsiderable, and he had every day repeated advice that the *Romans* intended suddenly to send a new army into *Greece*. The *Lacedæmonians* themselves appeared dissatisfied, which made him afraid to lead his soldiers without the city; and pent up within it, they were scarce of any use. In the midst of these distresses and distractions, he placed all his hopes in the *Ætolians*, who had indeed done a great deal of mischief in *Greece*, and had been strongly instrumental in drawing him into this war. To these he dispatched courier after courier, not with the haughty commands of a tyrant, e
but with the humble supplications of a distressed ally; he reminded them that for their sakes only he had so precipitately entered into this war at a time when none else cared to own them for allies; he shewed them truly the nature of his distress, hoping that it would make their relief quicker, and more effectual; but it produced quite a contrary effect, the *Ætolians* being fit confederates for such a tyrant. As soon as they had given audience to his messengers, they dispatched them with large assurances of ready assistance, while in the mean time they consulted what for their interest would be fittest to be done; the result of their consultations was, that in the days of his prosperity, and when he had a strong army of mercenaries at his command, *Nabis* was their goodly ally, and deserved all possible regard; but in the f
present situation of things, when his forces were in a manner cut off, and he scarce able to maintain himself in *Sparta*, 'twould better serve their purposes to remove him out of the way, and take the city to themselves. This council taken and approved, a thousand foot, and thirty horse were chosen to march to *Lacedæmon* under the command of *Alexamenus*. When they were ready to depart, the horsemen were sent for into the great council, where they received the following short and pithy instructions, that they were not sent to assist *Nabis* to make war upon the *Achæans*, or for any other purpose whatsoever than to obey *Alexamenus*, and to do what he directed, let it be what it would. Thus dismissed, they marched under the command of that general to *Sparta*, where they found *Nabis* very little satisfied with

a with so small a reinforcement. *Alexamenus* did all he could to encourage him, he told him the *Ætolians* by sending him intended no more than to give him a specimen of their good will, instructing him also to inform him, that if his necessities required it, they would, whenever he requested it, march with the utmost forces they could raise to his relief; he likewise informed him that *Antiochus* was resolved to make war on the *Romans*, and intended to cover *Greece* with his armies, and the sea with his ships; that many of the *Greek* states were inclined to his party, and that the *Ætolians* were about to muster all their troops before the king's commissioners shortly, which was the reason why they sent so few under his command. The tyrant, encouraged by these consolatory speeches, began, by the advice of *Alexamenus*, to exercise his b forces without the city, that he might at once give them courage, and the *Achæans* apprehensions. At these exercises the *Ætolian* general failed not to assist; his guard of horse keeping, according to his orders, aloof, and he sometimes riding up to them as if it were to give them orders. These growing at last into daily practices, the *Lacedæmonians* sinking again into a timorous obedience, *Nabis* entertained fresh hopes of regaining all his dominions, and of revenging himself upon the *Romans* for the injuries which he conceived they had done him. The *Spartan* guards, which *Alexamenus* looked upon as the best corps in the tyrant's army, he advised to be posted, phalanx-wise, behind the rest, offering such plausible reasons, that *Nabis* readily yielded to it, which was the only step wanting to his ruin. When the day came whereon c *Alexamenus* resolved to execute his great and desperate design, he behaved towards *Nabis* with more than ordinary complaisance; he commended the appearance and discipline of his troops, applauded his cavalry, promised him the supremacy in *Peloponnesus*, and perceiving that his complaisance had wrought a proper effect, the tyrant testifying by his looks and gestures the highest satisfaction, *Alexamenus* suddenly wheeled off, and riding up to his troop of *Ætolians*, bid them remember the instructions they had received when they were first chosen for this service. Having said this, he turned the head of his horse, and rode with a full career against *Nabis*, whom he overthrew, and his *Ætolians* riding immediately after him one after another, buried their spears in the bosom of the tyrant. His guards were hardly informed of d what past, till he was dead, and then not knowing for whom to fight, they forbore fighting at all. The rest of the *Lacedæmonians* looked on with a mixture of joy and terror, joy that the tyrant was dead, who had so long and so cruelly oppreſt them, terror at beholding so strange an accident; the reasons of which they knew not, and of its consequences were therefore afraid. *Alexamenus* and the *Ætolians* taking advantage of their amazement, marched directly into the city, their chief breaking into the tyrant's palace, and rifling all his treasures; the soldiers shortly after followed his example, so that in a short time the *Lacedæmonians* looked on the murder of *Nabis* as their misfortune; but considering how little it became the inhabitants of the famous *Sparta* to look on and see their riches carried away by foreigners, e they with much ado took a child whose name was *Laconicus*, and who on account of his being descended from the royal family was bred up by *Nabis*; him they set on horseback, and gathering about him, they surrounded many of the *Ætolians*, and put them to the sword; after a while they broke into the palace, where they slew *Alexamenus*, and those who were with him; they forced likewise a temple of *Diana*, to which many of the *Ætolians* were fled; all of whom they put without mercy to the sword. When they were in the midst of this confusion, of which none had projected any issue, *Philopæmen* arrived, some friends of his having posted to him with the account of the death of *Nabis*; the forces he had were few, nor did he from them conceive any hopes of seizing the city; on the contrary he did f what *Alexamenus* ought to have done, that is, he convinced the *Lacedæmonians* of the madness of their proceedings, and engaged them, since they had so happily recovered their freedom, to unite themselves to the *Achæans*, reaping thus by his virtue all the fruits the *Ætolians* expected from their treachery.

It may indeed seem strange, that the *Spartans*, who had entertained such generous notions of liberty, submitted patiently for so long a tract of time to the arbitrary commands of lawless tyrants; but this wonder will be in a great measure taken off, if we consider two things; *First*, That the manners of the *Lacedæmonians* were greatly corrupted, which is indeed the very basis of slavery; there can be no such thing as bending the necks of virtuous people, but when once men are abandoned to their vices, and become slaves to their passions, they readily stoop to those who can

can gratify them; and this was the case of the majority of the inhabitants of *Sparta* at this time. *Secondly*, those amongst them who were distinguished by their merit and their morals were on this very account proscribed by the tyrants, and hated by their creatures; so that they were forced to forsake their country, and leave it to groan under a power which they were unable to resist. To this we may add, that such as were of mild dispositions flattered themselves with the hopes of seeing better times, and even in these consoled themselves with the thought that *Sparta* yet retained her independency, and was not subjected by any other state [z] (Y).

[z] Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv. Plutarch. in vit. Philop. Justin. lib. xxx. c. 4. lib. xxxi. c. 1, 2.

(Y) There is a point or two in the *Lacedæmonian* history, which though they have been handled in a curious manner already, require to be considered more largely. *Aratus* undoubtedly intended the preservation of the *Grecian* liberty, especially from the *Macedonian* power, but at the same time he as certainly intended to engage all the *Peloponnesian* states in the *Achæan* league, which was absolutely inconsistent with their retaining any monarchical form. On this occasion it was that he hated and made war upon all the little princes in his neighbourhood whom he stiled tyrants, and persecuted as such, as the *Achæans* continued ever after to do. If *Sparta* had acceded to the *Achæan* league, it is very possible that *Greece* might have vindicated its freedom, for some time at least, against both the *Macedonians* and the *Romans*; but *Sparta* had been too long at the head of *Peloponnesus* to think of changing her government at the first motion of *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, and therefore gladly accepted the proposal of *Cleomenes* to restore her ancient form of government, and with it her ancient lustre (75). *Aratus* seeing that this would entirely overturn his scheme, immediately called *Cleomenes* tyrant, and as such would have pulled him down. While the *Spartans*, and those who sided with the *Spartans*, acknowledged him the vindicator of the ancient *Grecian* liberty, one who desired to leave all cities to be governed according to their own laws, as well as to preserve kingly government in *Sparta*. It is true, that *Mechanidas* and *Nabis* pretended to carry on the same design, the latter actually dividing the lands as *Cleomenes* had done; but this they did with a view to the aggrandizing themselves and their families, and the supporting a dominion unlawfullly maintained, which was far from being his case (76). That in this and in a former note we have fairly stated these matters, will clearly appear from the subsequent history of the *Achæans*, wherein it will be found that there was no depending upon the *Lacedæmonians*, till their manners were wholly changed, and the *Lycurgic* institutions rooted out by force. Now whether such proceedings as these of ruining a constitution that did not suit with their league, or *Cleomenes*'s scheme for supporting every state in its pristine form, ought with greatest justice to be stiled a desire of bestowing liberty on *Greece*, the reader must determine.

(75) *Polyb. Hist. lib.* iv. *Plutarch. in vit. Arati.* (76) *Tit. Liv. lib.* xxxiv.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XX.

## *The History of the several states of* Greece, *from the beginning of the* Achæan *league to its dissolution, and thence succinctly to the present time.*

### SECT. I.

### *The History of* ACHAIA.

a ALL *Greece*, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to three states, viz. *Achaia*, *Ætolia*, and *Athens*. There were, 'tis true, at this time several other republics in *Greece*; but as they only acted an under-part, and in conjunction sometimes with one and sometimes with another of the more powerful states just now mentioned, their histories are so interwoven with those of the greater republics, that to deliver them separately would be only swelling the work with needless repetitions, as the reader will find in the perusal of the following sheets. We shall begin with the history of *Achaia*, by far the most considerable republic of *Greece*, in its declining times; after having premised that the name of *Achaia* was used by the ancients in three different senses. In the earlier ages it comprehended b all the provinces of that great continent, which the geographers, strictly speaking, call *Greece*; that is, *Attica*, *Megaris*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, the territory of *Thebes*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*. In after-ages it was confined to that country in *Peloponnesus*, which was possessed by the *Achæans*, and extended along the bay of *Corinth*, and the *Ionian* sea, from the confines of *Sicyon* to the territory of *Elis*. In the *Roman* times the name of *Achaia* comprised not only all *Peloponnesus*, but such other cities beyond the isthmus as had entered into the *Achæan* league; upon the dissolution of which all *Greece* was by a decree of the *Roman* senate divided into two provinces, *viz.* that of *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, and that of *Achaia*, which took in all the other states of *Greece*. We have already described the coun- c try [a], and shall therefore now proceed to the history of a people, that not only maintained their own liberties amidst innumerable tyrants, but restored most of the *Greek* cities to their ancient freedom.

*Achaia*, a state originally of small account, rose by degrees to such a height of reputation and prosperity, as to rival and even eclipse the most powerful states of *Greece*. This great increase of power was not owing either to the vast numbers or extraordinary valour of its inhabitants, but solely to its wholesome laws and happy constitution. For the *Achæans*, after having shaken off the tyrannical yoke of regal power, formed to themselves, on the plan of a democracy, a new system of government, which obtaining by degrees in all the cities of their small d republic, united them into one body, and at the same time left them in full possession of their respective liberties, and quite independent of each other. Thus the *Achæans* were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the same laws, but moreover had the same money, weights, and measures, the same magistrates, council, and judges, and in short every thing so uniform, that all *Achaia* seemed but one city. This invited many of the *Peloponnesians* to embrace their form of government, and accede to the *Achæan* alliance, while in the mean time the authors of this institution reaped no advantage by their accession; for no sooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges with the rest. Neither was the fame of their wise laws and mild government confined within the narrow bounds of *Peloponnesus*, but even

[a] Universal History, Vol. II. p. 414, 415.

reached the *Greek* colonies in *Italy*, where the *Crotoniates*, the *Sybarites*, and the *Cauloniates*, agreed to adopt the *Achæan* laws, and govern their states conformably [a] (A). The *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans* had such an esteem of their impartial justice and equity, that they chose them after the famous battle of *Leuctra* to compose some differences that were still subsisting between them. The contending parties were not induced, as our author observes [b], to refer their differences to the arbitration of the *Achæans* by any argument of their greatness or power, there being no state at that time in all *Greece*, that was not superior to them in both these respects, but merely in consideration of their justice and probity, which had acquired them the good opinion of all the world.

THIS form of government continued from the expulsion of *Gyges* the last king of *Achaia* to the time of *Alexander the Great*, upon whose death this little republic was involved in all the calamities that are inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, each city pursuing their private interest to the prejudice and destruction of their neighbours. As these dissensions and emulations were artificially sown, and carefully fomented by the *Macedonian* princes, so they failed not to take their advantage of them; for *Demetrius*, *Cassander*, and *Antigonus Gonatus*, seizing on some of their cities, obliged them to receive the *Macedonian* yoke. In this unhappy situation they changed masters as often as *Macedon* did sovereigns, and were moreover enslaved by tyrants of their own, who as they espoused the *Macedonian* interest, so they were supported with the whole strength of that kingdom [c].

*The* Achæan *league revived. Year of the flood* 2723. *Before Christ* 280.

THE *Achæans* accustomed to live according to their own laws, and inured to liberty and freedom, could not brook so slavish a subjection, and therefore in the 124th olympiad, which was coincident with the expedition of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, they began to revive their ancient union, and return to their former association. The inhabitants of *Patra* and *Dyma* gave the first example of this happy change. Five years after, those of *Ægium* having driven out the *Macedonian* garison, acceded to the alliance. The inhabitants of *Bura* followed their example, having first killed their prince or tyrant; and soon after those of *Ceraunia* incorporated their city into the same *Achæan* body, *Iseas* their tyrant resigning the dominion upon promise of indemnity for what was passed [d].

THE cities we have mentioned were the first that revived the ancient association, continuing for the space of twenty-five years to maintain the same form of government without being joined by any others. But at last the good order that reigned in this little republic, where liberty and equality, with a sincere zeal for justice and the public welfare, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew several neighbouring cities to join them. *Sicyon* was one of the first that acceded in this manner, being induced thereunto by *Aratus* (B) the *Sicyonian*, who at the age of twenty

[a] POLYB. lib. ii. PAUSAN. in Achaic. [b] POLYB. ibid. [c] POLYB. & PAUSAN. ubi supra. [d] Idem, ibid.

(A) *Polybius* tells (1) us, that great disturbances arising among the *Greek* cities in that part of *Italy* which was called *Magna Græcia*, embassadors were dispatched to them from all parts of *Greece*; but that the council only of the *Achæans* was chosen to cure those great evils, and compose the dissensions; which they did with such success, that all those cities by common consent agreed to imitate them, and to form themselves according to the example of the *Achæan* republic. Whereupon uniting in one body, they built a temple to *Jupiter Homorius*, appointing that place for the congress of their general assemblies.

(B) *Aratus*, a native of *Sicyon*, played on this occasion a noble part on the stage of action, which rendered his name famous all over *Greece*. *Sicyon*, having long mourned under the yoke of her domestic tyrants, attempted to shake it off by devolving the power on *Clinias* the father of *Aratus*, and one of her best citizens. The government began to flourish, and assume a new form under his wise conduct, when *Abantidas* found means to disconcert his measures, and take the whole power into his own hands. He killed *Clinias*, and with him all those who stood up for the liberties of their country; and would have likewise destroyed *Aratus*, who was then but seven years old, had not the infant escaped with some others amidst the disorders and confusion that filled the house when his father was killed. As he was wandering about the city in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered the house of the tyrant's sister, with a design to conceal himself there till the tumult was over, for he knew not to whom it belonged. The tyrant's sister being persuaded that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, caused him the ensuing night to be secretly conveyed to *Argos*, where he was educated with the utmost care by some hospitable friends of his father. The new tyranny had passed through several hands, when *Aratus*, being come to man's estate, began to entertain thoughts of rescuing his country from the oppression it groaned under. He was greatly respected both for his birth, and the many excellent

(1) *Polyb.* lib. ii.

twenty years rescued his country from tyranny, and restored his countrymen to the enjoyment of their former liberties. Eight years after he had engaged his country in the *Achæan* league, he took by surprize *Acro-Corinth* (C), and also the city of *Megara*

excellent qualities which he began already to display on several occasions. The *Sicyonian* exiles, discovering in him an early aversion to tyrants, began to cast their eyes upon him as a person destined by heaven to be one day their deliverer. Neither were they deceived in their conjecture. For *Aratus* had scarce attained the twentieth year of his age, when he formed a confederacy against *Nicocles*, who was tyrant of *Sicyon* at that time, and pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that notwithstanding the tyrant kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he scaled the walls of *Sicyon* and entered the city by night, before *Nicocles* had any notice or even suspicion of his design. However, he had the good luck to make his escape, leaving *Aratus* in possession of the city. The next morning the people being assembled in a tumultuous manner without knowing what had been transacted, a herald proclaimed with a loud voice, that *Aratus the son of* Clinias *invited the citizens to resume their ancient liberty*. These joyful words were no sooner heard, but the whole multitude, with repeated shouts and loud acclamations, flocked to the tyrant's palace, and burnt it down to the ground in a few minutes. Thus was *Sicyon* delivered from its tyrants without the loss of one single man on either side; for *Aratus* commanded his followers to abstain from slaughter, saying, that an action of this nature ought not to be polluted with the blood of his fellow-citizens. This circumstance gave him no less joy than the action itself.

*Sicyon* began then to recover its ancient splendor; but *Aratus* was not yet quite eased from his inquietude and perplexity. *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* had supported and protected *Nicocles*, and was ready to lay hold of the first opportunity to make himself master of the city, or establish in it some other tyrant: seeds of sedition were artfully sown among the citizens by his partizans and emissaries; and *Aratus* was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He therefore concluded that the safest and most prudent conduct in so delicate a juncture, would be to unite *Sicyon* in the *Achæan* league, which he did accordingly, strengthening the league with all the forces of his country, and entering himself among the cavalry for the service of that state (z).

(C) The isthmus of *Corinth* unites the continent of *Greece* with that of *Peloponnesus*. The citadel of *Corinth*, known by the name of *Acro-Corinth*, was situated on a high mountain between those two continents, which are there divided by a very narrow neck of land; so that this fortress cuts off all communication by land from the inner part of the isthmus, and can awe, if well garisoned, all *Greece*; for which reason *Philip* of *Macedon* used to call it the fetters of *Greece*.

This fortress *Antigonus* had taken by surprize with a design to enslave all *Peloponnesus*; but *Aratus* wrested it out of his hand by an action equal, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, to the most celebrated enterprizes of the ancient heroes of *Greece*. After he had been long meditating with himself by what means he might gain that important place, he was by accident furnished with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

One *Erginus*, an inhabitant of *Corinth*, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker of *Sicyon*, who was a particular friend of *Aratus*. As the citadel happened one day to be the subject of their conversation, *Erginus* told his friend, that in going to visit his brother, who was a soldier of the garison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led up to that part of the hill where the wall of the fortress was very low. The banker, who was very attentive to this account, asked his friend with a smile, whether he and his brother were desirous to make their fortunes. *Erginus* understood him, and promised to sound his brother, by name *Diocles*, on that head. A few days after he returned to *Sicyon*, and engaged with the banker to conduct *Aratus* to that part of the mountain where the wall was but fifteen feet high; adding, that his brother was ready to concur with him in every other particular relating to the enterprize. *Aratus* promised on his part to reward them with sixty talents, if the affair should succeed; but as he was not master of such a sum, and the borrowing it might create suspicion, he pawned all his plate, together with his wife's jewels, to the banker as a security for the promised reward.

*Aratus* having thus engaged the two brothers, and surmounted a great many difficulties, each of which was sufficient to discourage any other but him, the troops were ordered to pass the night under arms. He then selected four hundred men, furnished them with scaling ladders, and led them to one of the gates of the city; for the citadel was on the top of a steep rock within the city. They scaled the walls without being observed, *Erginus* having, with the assistance of his brother and some others that were gained over by him, killed the centinels that were there upon duty. As they were marching in great silence through the city, they met with a small guard that was going the rounds, and killed them all but one, who making his escape alarmed the city. But *Aratus*, notwithstanding the alarm, continued his march, and arriving at the foot of the rock, on which the fortress stood, began to climb up at the head of his men. But missing the path that was struck out of the rock, by reason of a thick fog which rose from the sea by their first entering the city, *Aratus* was not a little perplexed. The city was already alarmed, all the streets, and even the ramparts, blazed with innumerable lights, and the trumpets sounded to arms on all sides. While he was thus perplexed, the fog all on a sudden cleared up, and the moon, returning to shine with the same brightness as before, discovered the intricate windings of the track, which he followed at the head of a hundred of his boldest men, and arrived with much ado at the spot which had been described to him. But he found the garison, which was by this time alarmed, ready to receive him. Whereupon he immediately dispatched *Erginus* to acquaint the body of three hundred men, which he had left behind with orders to cover his rear, with the danger he was in. While these were waiting at the foot of the rock drawn up in a close body, *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of king *Antigonus*, appeared at the head of a considerable band with a design to mount the hill, and attack *Aratus* in the rear. The three hundred *Sicyonians* at his approach concealed themselves among the rocks; but he was no sooner past than they started out, and fell upon him with such resolution, that he was soon put to the rout. This action was scarce over, when *Erginus* arrived, and acquainted them that *Aratus* was engaged with the enemy, and in great need of immediate assistance. Upon this notice the victorious troops, conducted by *Erginus*, began to climb up the rock, proclaiming their approach with loud shouts to animate their friends,

(z) *Plut. in Arat.*

*Megara* from the *Macedonians*, uniting them both to the *Achæans*. The cities a
of *Trœzene*, *Epidaurus*, and *Megalopolis*, were likewise prevailed upon by him to
join in the alliance, the tyrants making a voluntary resignation of the authority
they had usurped over their fellow citizens [e]. The tyrants of the *Argives*, of the
*Hermionians*, and the *Phliatians* following their example, were likewise received into
the alliance.

As these glorious successes raised the reputation of the *Achæan* league, so they created no small jealousy in the neighbouring states. But before we proceed to the wars which they were soon involved in by their jealous and restless neighbours, we shall give a succinct account of their happy constitution. All the cities subject to the *Achæan* league were governed by the great council, or general assembly, of b
the whole nation. To this assembly or diet each of the confederate cities had a right to send a certain number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. By this means no resolutions were taken but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy; and the interests of each particular city so consulted as to leave no room for complaints. As the supreme and legislative power was lodged in the assembly, it was constantly convened twice a year, in the spring and autumn; but seldom out of these stated times, unless upon some very urgent occasion. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, *&c.* If any city of the
league did not acquiesce to the determinations and ordinances of the diet, or refu- c
sed to furnish their quota's in time of war, they were compelled to it by dint of arms. The chief magistrate of the whole league, called by the *Greeks Strategos*, and by the *Latins Prætor*, was chosen in the general assembly by the majority of votes. This employment was both a civil and military one, it being the *prætor*'s province to preside in the diet and command the army. They chose at first two *prætors*, but it was soon thought adviseable to reduce them to one; and the first who enjoyed that dignity alone was *Marcus* the *Carian*, who was succeeded by the famous *Aratus*. The *prætor* and other magistrates were appointed in the vernal assemblies, and seldom continued two years successively in the same employment. The
former was vested with great power, especially in time war; but at the same time d
liable to be called to an account by the general assembly, and punished without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of misdemeanor or any other crime. The *demiurgi* were next in power to the *prætor*, and therefore stiled by *Polybius* and *Livy* the supreme magistrates of the *Achæans*. They were ten in number, chosen by the general assembly from among the most eminent men of the whole league for prudence, equity, and experience. It was their office to assist, with their advice, the *prætor*, who was to lay nothing before the assembly but what had been previously approved of by the major part of the *demiurgi*. In the *prætor*'s absence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them; and in some extraordinary cases they
were even impowered to summon the general assembly out of the stated times. e

Few of their laws have reached our times; however, from the writings of the ancients we have collected the five following, which we find to have been religiously observed while the republic continued in a flourishing condition. 1. That an extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request of foreign embassadors, unless they first notified in writing to the *prætor* and *demiurgi* the subject of their embassy. 2. That no city subject to the league should send any embassy to a foreign prince or state without the consent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the assembly should accept of presents from foreign princes under any pretence

[e] Polyb. ibid. Plut. in Arato.

friends, and strike new terror into the enemy. The light of the moon reflecting on their arms, and their shouts, doubled by the echoes among the rocks and hollow places in the midnight silence, made them appear far more numerous than they really were. Whereupon the enemy retired after a faint resistance from the wall, and left *Aratus* absolute master of the citadel. In the mean time the rest of the troops arriving from *Sicyon*, were not only received with open arms, but assisted by the *Corinthians* in seizing all the *Macedonians* that were in the city.

*Aratus* having secured the citadel went from thence to the city, and having assembled the people in the theatre, acquainted them in a long discourse with the particulars of the *Achæan* league, and exhorted them to accede to it. They unanimously agreed to join in the alliance; whereupon *Aratus* restored to them the keys of their city, which till then had never been in their power since the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander* (2).

(2) *Plut. in Arat.*

what-

a whatsoever. 4. That no prince, state or city should be admitted into the league without the consent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general assembly should never sit above three days. These laws have been explained at length, and illustrated with many useful observations, by a modern writer of no mean character [e], to whom we refer the reader and resume the thread of our history.

THE *Ætolians*, conceiving no small jealousy at the growing power and extraordinary success of the *Achæans*, began to instil the same into the neighbouring states with a view of breaking the union of those cities that were already joined, and preventing others from entering into the league. The sense of the benefits which they had a little before received from the friendship of the *Achæans* during their war with b *Antigonus*, with-held them from openly declaring war against their benefactors. However, they left no stone unturned to stir up the *Lacedæmonians*, and engage their king *Cleomenes* in a war against the *Achæans*; wherein they succeeded to their wish; for *Cleomenes* at their instigation having built a fortress in the territory of the *Megalopolitans*, called *Athenæum*, the *Achæans* interpreted that as an open rupture, and declared in a general assembly that the *Lacedæmonians* should be reputed enemies [f]. Such was the beginning of the war, which was called the *Cleomenic* war (C).

THIS declaration of the *Achæan* confederacy was no sooner heard at *Sparta*, but the *Ephori* commanded their troops to take the field under the conduct of *Cleomenes*, who coming up with the *Achæans* near *Pallantium*, offered them battle. But *Aratus* c declaring against an engagement, *Aristomachus* the *Achæan* general made a retreat, which drew severe reproaches upon *Aratus*, both from his own countrymen, and from the enemy, whose army did not amount to five thousand men in the whole; whereas that of the *Achæans* consisted of twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse [g]. Not long after the two armies met again, when the *Achæans* were defeated; but *Aratus* having rallied in the flight what troops he could, marched strait to *Mantinæa*, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that important place. This advantage was soon counter-balanced by the loss of another battle, wherein great numbers of the *Achæans* were slain with *Lysiades* their general, while they were pursuing with too much eagerness and in disorder the *Lace-* d *dæmonians*, who had given way and feigned a retreat. After this victory *Cleomenes* advanced into the territories of *Megalopolis*, where his troops committed great devastations, and got a very considerable booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games and plays to be exhibited in the sight of the enemy, not that he had any satisfaction in such shews and diversions, but only with a view to convince the *Achæans* that he entirely despised them, and was sure of victory, having to deal with so contemptible a foe [h].

*The* Cleomenic *war.*
*Year of the flood* 2761.
*Before Christ* 242.

THE *Achæans*, now reduced to the last extremity, and under apprehension of being enslaved by the *Lacedæmonians*, especially if they should be joined by the *Ætolians*, who at that time were making great preparations for a war, began to entertain e thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But *Aratus* dreading the consequence of a treaty set on foot between his dispirited countrymen and a victorious enemy, used his utmost efforts to divert them from it, and at the same time had recourse to an expedient which no ways redounded to his honour. This was to engage *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* in this war against the *Lacedæmonians*, which opened a way to the *Macedonians* into *Greece*.

[e] MARTINI SHOOCKII. Respub. Achæor. & Veient. [f] Idem. ibid. [g] PLUT. in Cleom. [h] PLUT. ibid.

(C) *Plutarch* (2) relates the occasion of this war in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that *Cleomenes*, not being able to brook the authority of the *Ephori*, who engrossed all the power to themselves, leaving him only the empty title of king, resolved to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that few would concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of his design would be greatly facilitated by a war; and therefore endeavoured to embroil this city with the *Achæans*, who luckily for his purpose had given *Sparta* some occasions of complaint; for *Aratus*, as our author tells us, not being able to prevail upon the *Arcadians*, who had espoused the party of the *Lacedemonians*, to abandon them, and enter into the *Achæan* league, entered their territories in a hostile manner, ravaged their country, and in a word treated them as declared enemies. This opportunity *Cleomenes* laid hold of, and taking the field, treated the *Achæans* as they had done the *Arcadians*. According to this account the *Achæans* and not the *Lacedæmonians* were the aggressors.

(2) *Plut. in Cleom.*

*The* Achæans *invite* Antigonus *into* Greece. *Year of the flood* 2776. *Before Christ* 227.

*Aratus* knew that *Antigonus* had great cause to be dissatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was likewise sensible that princes have neither friends nor enemies, but measure amities and enmities by the rules of interest. However, he would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, being well aware that *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would oppose it, and that the *Achæans* themselves would have reason to despair, if they should see their general applying to their enemy. He therefore resolved to prosecute his purpose with such caution as to leave no room for suspicion, and to carry on his measures so as to keep them undiscovered. He was not ignorant that the *Megalopolitans* by their neighbourhood to the *Lacedæmonians*, were most exposed to the incursions of the enemies, and consequently, as they were greatly inclined to the house of *Macedon* for the many favours they had received at the hand of *Philip*, son of *Amyntas*, they would resort for succour to *Antigonus* and the *Macedonians*. Having therefore gained over to his scheme *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas*, two principal citizens of *Megalopolis*, and well qualified for conducting the enterprize, by their means he brought it so about, that the *Megalopolitans* decreed to send embassadors to the assembly of the *Achæans*, begging leave to sollicit succours from *Antigonus*. *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas* were themselves sent to the *Achæans* with orders to proceed to *Antigonus*, if they approved the proposition. The general assembly having given audience to the embassadors, and reflecting that they were not in a condition to yield them any effectual succours by reason of their own great straits, assented to their proposal, and granted them leave to pursue their orders. When they received audience of *Antigonus*, they touched upon the affairs of their own country in a few words, but enlarged, pursuant to the instructions of *Aratus*, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance, which was then talked of between the *Ætolians* and *Cleomenes*, take place. They represented to him, that if the united forces of those two states should gain over the *Achæans* the advantages they expected, the ambition of *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would never be satisfied with the single conquest of *Peloponnesus*, but would aspire to the empire of all *Greece*, which they could not compass without first destroying the *Macedonian* monarchy. They therefore begged him to deliberate maturely which was the safest counsel for him to take; whether to succour the *Achæans* in opposition to *Cleomenes*, and defeat his ambitious designs, or by neglecting the occasion of gaining the friendship of so great a people, become liable at last to sustain a war in *Thessaly* for the empire of *Macedon*, not only with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*, but with the *Achæans* themselves. To these remonstrances they added, that if the *Ætolians* continued their neutrality, the *Achæans* would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces; but if on the other hand the *Ætolians* should join the enemy, they must then intreat him to prevent with timely succours the ruin of *Peloponnesus*, which might be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They likewise took care to insinuate, that *Aratus* would give such security for his fair proceeding and sincere intentions as should be pleasing to both parties, and that he himself would take upon him to demand assistance when he should think it needful.

*Antigonus* highly approved all these representations, and with great pleasure laid hold of the opportunity of engaging in the affairs of *Greece*. He likewise wrote an obliging letter to the *Megalopolitans*, assuring them of his assistance whensoever the *Achæans* should think fit to call for it. The embassadors having acquainted *Aratus* with the good disposition wherein they found *Antigonus* towards the *Achæans*, he was not a little pleased to find his project succeed so well. He wished indeed to have had no occasion to call in foreign aids, and did all that lay in his power to prevent it; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, yet to shun the blame that might redound upon the authors of such measures, he took care they should appear as concerted by the *Achæans* without his privity. The *Megalopolitans* having acquainted the *Achæans* with the kind reception their deputies had met with at the court of *Macedon*, and sent the letter of *Antigonus* to be read in the general assembly, most of them were for inviting that prince to march his army into *Peloponnesus* without further delay. But *Aratus* standing up, made a long speech, exhorting them to try first, whether they could support themselves with their own forces; adding, that if after all their efforts fortune should declare against them, it would then be time enough to have recourse to their friends. His advice

a advice was approved by the whole assembly, and it was then concluded that the *Achæans* should employ their own forces only in the prosecution of the war [i].

THE war proved very unsuccessful for the *Achæans*, who being often worsted by *Cleomenes*, were obliged to abandon the field and retire into their strong holds. Neither were these able to stop the career of the conqueror, who in one campaign took the cities of *Caphyes*, *Pellene*, *Pheneus*, *Phlionte*, *Cleonæ*, *Epidaurus*, *Hermione*, and *Corinth* itself. These successes allowed the *Achæans* no further time to deliberate; and accordingly *Aratus* at their entreaties dispatched his son to *Antigonus*, inviting that prince to come with all speed to their assistance, and assuring him that on his arrival *Acro-Corinth* should be put into his hands. *Antigonus* immediately b began his march towards *Peloponnesus* at the head of twenty-thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse, and arriving at the isthmus, encamped just opposite to *Cleomenes*, who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole space between *Acro-Corinth* and the *Onion* hills. As *Antigonus* did not think it adviseable, nor even practicable to force his way through, and on the other hand had not a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist his army till the *Achæans* joined him, he was preparing to decamp and transport his troops by sea to *Sicyon*. But in the mean time a messenger arriving at the camp, acquainted *Aratus*, who was come to meet *Antigonus*, that the inhabitants of *Argos* had revolted from *Cleomenes* and were then besieging the citadel. Whereupon *Aratus*, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, immediately put c to sea, and arriving at *Epidaurus*, marched from thence to *Argos* and made himself master both of the city and castle after having defeated in a skirmish the partizans of *Cleomenes*, and killed *Megistones* who had been detached from the army to their relief [k]. This success proved of great consequence to the *Achæans*, and first of all gave rise to the prosperity of the allies; for *Cleomenes* hearing that *Argos* was taken, and being apprehensive that the enemies would surround him, abandoned his lines and retired with great precipitation, first to *Argos* and then to *Mantinea*. He appeared before *Argos* quite unexpected, and in that alarm got into the city, but could not keep it, the citadel being in the hands of *Aratus*, and *Antigonus* pursuing him close with all his forces.

Antigonus arrives in Greece. *Year of the flood* 2778. *Before Christ* 225.

d *Antigonus* having thus entered *Peloponnesus* without the loss of one single man, advanced to *Corinth*, which immediately surrendered, and thence to *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, *Orchomenes*, *Hærea*, and *Telphussa*; all which places, terrified at the approach of the *Macedonians*, either voluntarily submitted, or made but a faint resistance. And now winter drawing near, he sent home his troops and went himself to *Ægium* to assist at the general assembly of the *Achæans*, where after having acquainted them with the motives of his coming among them, he was chosen general of the confederate army, and the important castle of *Acro-Corinth* was by a decree of the council made over to him.

IN the mean time *Cleomenes* receiving intelligence that *Antigonus* had sent home e his army while he himself continued at *Ægium*, formed a design of surprising the city of *Megalopolis*, very considerable at that time, and no ways inferior in power and extent to *Sparta* itself. As the garison was not very strong at that time, nor the guards very strict in their duty, since *Antigonus* was near at hand, and the enemy weakened with frequent losses, *Cleomenes* imagined he might easily get into the town in the night, provided he could gain some of the inhabitants over to his interest; and accordingly applied himself to certain *Messenians*, who having been banished their country had taken sanctuary in *Megalopolis*. Being conducted by these, he arrived at the city by night, scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without the least opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to *Messene*, whither *Cleomenes* sent a herald to acquaint them, f that he would restore them to the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the *Achæan* league and join the *Lacedæmonians*. But they chose rather to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the fidelity they had swore to their allies. The famous *Philopæmen*, whom we shall have frequently occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. This refusal highly enraged *Cleomenes*, who immediately gave up the town to be plundered, sent all the statues and pictures to *Sparta*, demolished the houses, threw down the walls, and committed so many outrages, that he left not so much as any appearance that it had ever been a peopled place [l].

Megalopolis taken and destroyed by Cleomenes.

i POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Cleom. & Arat. k PLUT. in Arat. & Cleom. POLYB. ubi supra.
l PLUT. & POLYB. ibidem.

*Antigonus*

*Antigonus* having sent his troops, as we have already observed, into winter quarters in *Macedonia*, *Cleomenes* assembled his early in the spring with a design to put in execution a project, which in the opinion of the vulgar was the result of temerity and despair, but according to *Polybius*, a competent judge in matters of that nature, conducted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As the *Macedonians* were dispersed in their winter quarters, and *Antigonus* enjoying himself with his friends at *Argos* without any other forces but a few mercenaries, *Cleomenes* taking the field made an irruption into the territories of *Argos*, laying waste the whole country to the very gates of the city. What he proposed in this enterprize was, to bring *Antigonus* to hazard an engagement, which in all probability he would have lost; or if he declined it, to lessen his reputation among the *Achæans*, and raise complaints against him chiefly in the city of *Argos*. This project succeeded according to his expectation; for the *Argians* seeing their country ravaged and laid waste under the king's eyes, while he continued inactive, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gates, and with threats pressed him either to take the field, and protect his friends, or to resign the command of their troops to those who were less timorous than himself. But *Antigonus* was deaf to all their reproaches and remonstrances, and in spite of the many reflections that were publickly cast upon him on that Occasion, kept within the walls of the city, and tamely beheld the enemy insulting him at the very gates. Thus *Cleomenes* having frightened the enemy, and inspired his own men with new courage, returned loaded with booty to *Sparta*. In the beginning of the summer, *Antigonus*, being desirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeservedly lost among the *Achæans*, took the field with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, and advanced into *Laconia*.

*Cleomenes* not doubting but the enemy would soon visit him, took care to guard all the passes with strong detachments, and to fortify the avenues with ditches and ramparts, filling up and barricadoing the roads with large trees laid across. He marched himself with a body of twenty thousand men and encamped at a certain place called *Selasia*, having reason to suspect that the enemy proposed to pass that way; nor was he deceived in his conjecture. This pass was formed by two mountains, the one called *Eva*, the other *Olympus*; between these runs the river *Oenus*, along the banks of which there was a narrow way leading to *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted the auxiliaries on the eminence of mount *Eva* under the command of his brother *Euclidas*, while he himself encamped on mount *Olympus* with the *Spartan* troops and the mercenaries. The cavalry he drew up along the banks of the river sustained by a body of mercenary foot. When *Antigonus* arrived, and viewed the situation of the ground with the fortifications and defences that *Cleomenes* had made, and observed with how much judgment he had posted his troops, he did not think it adviseable to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the banks of the *Gorgulus*, which covered part of his army. There he remained some days the better to acquaint himself with the situation of the different posts, and the disposition of the enemy. He often marched round their camp feigning to attack them, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but finding every post well guarded, and *Cleomenes* warily watching his motions, he gave over all thoughts of forcing the enemies camp, and retired to his own, which was equally secured against all attempts. Both armies having stood thus to their defence some days without being able to gain any advantage over each other, the two generals at last agreed on a decisive battle.

*The battle of* Selasia. *Year of the flood* 2780. *Before Christ* 223.

It is not easy to comprehend what could induce *Cleomenes* to such a resolution; he was posted very advantageously; his troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was supplied with all sorts of provision from *Sparta*, with which city he had a free communication. What then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of *Lacedemon*? *Polybius* indeed seems to insinuate the cause of this proceeding; for he tells us [m], that *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who had promised to assist him in this war, acquainted him that he was not in a condition to make good his engagement, exhorting him at the same time to come to an accommodation with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*. As he was therefore incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no prospect of any supplies from foreign states, we may suppose that the desperate posture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.

[m] Polyb. lib. ii.

Both

a BOTH armies being drawn up, and the signals given, *Antigonus* detached a body of *Illyrians* against *Euclidas*, who was posted on mount *Eva*; but while they were ascending the hill some light-armed troops of the enemy advancing charged them in flank, while *Euclidas*, who was posted on the top of the hill, pressed them in front, and a body of mercenaries warmly attacked their rear. *Philopæmen*, who then served in the army as a volunteer, observing what danger the *Illyrians* were in, acquainted the commanders with it; but they not hearkening to him as he was but very young and had not yet bore any command in the army, without any orders from the generals, he attacked, with a small body of *Megalopolitans*, his countrymen, the enemies horse, and obliged them to give ground. This forced the mercenaries, b who had fallen on the *Illyrians* rear, to hasten to the relief of the cavalry; for *Cleomenes* had posted them at first near the cavalry on purpose to support and cover them. By this means the *Illyrians* being disengaged, resolutely marched up the hill against *Euclidas*, who, instead of moving towards the enemy, and thereby improving the advantage of the shock which the descent of the hill gave him, remained in the place where he was first posted. The *Illyrians* having gained the top of the hill without any opposition, now advanced against *Euclidas* on even ground, and attacked him with such resolution, that he was obliged to abandon the top of the hill and retire to the rocks and precipices where he was soon defeated and most of his men cut in pieces. This success against *Euclidas* was entirely owing to *Philo-* c *pœmen*, as *Antigonus* himself acknowledged, for after the battle, having asked the officer that engaged the enemy's horse how he came to fall upon them before the signal, and the officer excusing himself by saying that a young man of *Megalopolis* had done it without his direction, the king replied that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander and gained the victory, but that he had acted like a raw soldier [n].

DURING this variety of action the cavalry of both armies had likewise engaged on the plain by the river. The *Achæans* behaved with uncommon bravery, being sensible that this battle would decide their liberties. *Philopæmen* distinguished himself above the rest, for his horse being killed under him he afterwards fought among d the foot, killing with his own hand great numbers of the enemies till he was with a javelin struck through both thighs at one stroke.

BUT the sharpest encounter was on mount *Olympus*, where the two kings engaged with their light-armed troops and mercenaries, consisting of about five thousand on each side. As they fought under the eye of their princes every man strove to signalize himself, and perform something worthy of such spectators. It was a long time before victory inclined to either side; but at last *Cleomenes* receiving notice that his brother was defeated on the hill, and that his cavalry began to give ground on the plain, being apprehensive that the enemy would pour in upon him from all quarters, thought it adviseable to level all the intrenchments before his camp, and e order his troops to march out in front. The trumpets therefore having sounded the signal for the light-armed troops to retire, the phalanxes advanced on both sides with equal animosity; but the *Lacedæmonian* phalanx not being able to sustain the shock of the double *Macedonian* phalanx, gave ground, and soon fell into the utmost confusion. The overthrow then became general; the *Lacedæmonians* were every where cut in pieces, and those who found means to make their escape fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. *Cleomenes* with a small party of horse retreated to *Sparta*, whence he departed the night following to *Gythia*, where he embarked on a vessel that attended him there according to his directions, and sailed to *Alexandria* accompanied by a small number only of his intimate friends [o]. f *Plutarch* assures us that most of the foreign troops in both armies were slain in this engagement, and that of five thousand *Lacedæmonians* two hundred only outlived that action.

Cleomenes *defeated.*

*Cleomenes* had scarce set sail when *Antigonus* arrived at *Sparta*, and made himself master of it without resistance; for *Cleomenes* had advised the citizens to receive *Antigonus*, assuring them at the same time, that whatever might be his own condition he would always promote the welfare of his country. The conqueror treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, declaring to them that he had not engaged in a war against the *Spartans*, but against *Cleomenes*, whose flight had disarmed his

[n] Idem, ibid. [o] POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Cleom.

resentment. He added that nothing could render his memory so glorious in future a ages as to have it said, that *Sparta* had been preserved by the prince, who alone had the good fortune to conquer it. Having in this friendly manner addressed the citizens, he declared them free, and restored them to the full enjoyment of their ancient privileges. He shewed an inclination to continue some time among them, but was obliged to leave the city three days after he had entered it. His departure was occasioned by the intelligence he received that the *Illyrians* had invaded *Macedonia*, and were committing there dreadful ravages. If *Cleomenes* had respited giving battle three days only, or had fortified himself in *Sparta*, and held out for so short a space of time, he would have preserved his dominions. From *Sparta Antigonus* marched to *Tegæa*, which city he likewise declared free, and from thence to b *Argos*, where the general assembly of the *Achæan* confederacy was then sitting. There he was thanked by the deputies of each city of the *Achæan* league, and by a decree of the council declared the protector of *Achaia*. From *Argos* he proceeded by long journies to *Macedon*, where he gained a signal victory over the *Illyrians*; but on that occasion straining his voice to animate his men, he burst a vein, and having voided a great quantity of blood, he fell into an ill state of health, which soon after took him out of the world [p]. Thus ended the *Cleomenic* war, leaving all *Greece* in a profound tranquillity.

*The war of the confederates.*

But the *Ætolians* were soon weary of peace, which obliged them to live honestly and abstain from plunder and rapine, which they used to subsist on, leading much the c same life on land as pirates do at sea; they had no sense of friendship or alliance, accounting all those as enemies whom they could prey upon, and believing they had a right to any thing they could take away. However, during the life of *Antigonus*, the fear they were under lest he should fall upon them kept them in awe. But he was no sooner dead, and *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, who was then very young, placed on the throne, than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the territories of the *Messenians*, and carrying off their cattle and whatever else they could meet with. Complaints were made to their chief magistrates of such proceedings; but they seemed rather enclined to encourage than restrain such robberies, being sharers in the booty. The chief author of all these disorders was one *Dorimachus* of d *Trichonia*, a turbulent young man, and, as our author calls him [q], every way an *Ætolian*, who being sent to *Phigalia*, a city in *Peloponnesus*, but of the *Ætolian* confederacy, to be as a spie upon the *Achæans*, encouraged the loose rabble of that place to plunder their neighbours with a view of enriching himself with their spoils. To him therefore chiefly the *Messenians* had recourse, demanding reparation for the damages they had suffered, and begging he would not give countenance to the disturbers of the public tranquillity. *Dorimachus* told their deputies that he would come himself to *Messena* and there hear their complaints, and see all their grievances redressed. He went to *Messena* accordingly, but application being made to him by the chief sufferers, he dismissed them with reproachful language and menaces; nay, while he e still remained in the city, a band of *Ætolian* robbers from *Phigalia* attacked in the night a certain country-house called *Chyron*, killed all those who made resistance, bound the rest, and carried them off together with cattle and furniture. Hereupon the *Messenians* having cited *Dorimachus* to appear before their assembly, arrested him on his entering the council, and kept him in prison till he promised in the most solemn manner that reparation should be made for all the injuries they had suffered, and the authors of the late slaughter put into their hands. But he was no sooner returned to his own country, than he prevailed upon the *Ætolians* to revenge the treatment he had met with at *Messena*, by declaring war against the *Messenians*, which being proclaimed, the *Ætolian* pyrates began to infest the neighbouring seas, taking all the f ships they met with; they even made prize of a ship belonging to the king of *Macedon*, and carrying her to *Cythera*, sold there both the ship and her company. In short they plundered all the coast of *Epirus*, made an attempt on *Thyrea*, a city of *Acarnania*, and conveying some troops privately into *Peloponnesus*, surprised and kept possession of a strong hold called *Clarium* in the *Megalopolitan* territory, making use of it to lodge and secure their plunder. And now having a place of retreat in the very heart of *Peloponnesus*, they began their march towards *Messena*, plundering the cities of *Patræ* and *Pharæ*, which were of the *Achæan* alliance, and laying waste all

[p] Polyb. lib. ii. [q] Polyb. lib. iv.

the

a the countries through which they passed, till they came to *Phigalia*, which they made their place of arms, making from thence frequent inroads on the lands of the *Messenians*[t].

THE *Achæans* in the mean time assembling according to custom at *Ægium*, the complaints of the *Patræans* and *Pharæans* were heard, and the deputies of the *Messenians* sent to implore the assistance of the *Achæans* against the common enemy. After the assembly had deliberated on these matters, it was agreed that the state had been affronted by this insolent proceeding of the *Ætolians*, who had presumed to enter *Achaia* in a hostile manner contrary to the treaty of peace. Whereupon justly provoked by these infractions, they resolved to send succours to the *Messenians*, and b that as soon as the prætor should have raised them, they would then proceed further to execute what should be thought expedient by the assembly. *Timoxenus*, who was then prætor of the *Achæans*, was not at all pleased with the decree of the assembly; for his authority not being yet expired, he had no mind to head the army, which duty was annexed to his office, as having a very mean opinion of the *Achæan* soldiery. But *Aratus*, provoked at the indignities they had suffered by the audacious *Ætolians*, lost no time in putting the *Achæans* under arms, being determined to come speedily to a battle with the enemy. Five days before he entred on his charge, he dispatched orders to all the towns and cities, appointing them a day when all their young men fit for the service should assemble at *Megalopolis*. All the *Achæan* youth being drawn c together pursuant to his orders at the place of rendezvous, he sent a messenger to the *Ætolians*, requiring them to depart the territories of *Messena*, and not to march into *Achaia* on peril of being treated as enemies. The *Ætolians* not being at that time in a condition to make head against the army of the *Achæans*, complied with his demand. Whereupon *Aratus* dismissed the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians*, who had joined him, marching only with three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to observe the motions of the enemy, and prevent them from plundering the country. As he drew near them he observed that they were marching off with an immense booty, which so provoked him, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the disadvantages imaginable. The dispute was long and obstinate, but at last d the *Achæans* having the disadvantage of the ground, and being over-powered with numbers, were obliged to retire. The *Ætolians* pursued them close with great shouts and acclamations, and made such a slaughter of the fugitives, that they must have all been cut off had they not had at hand the safe retreats of *Orchomenus* and *Caphya*. The *Megalopolitans*, who had drawn all their forces together in order to join *Aratus*, arrived the day after the battle, and proved of no other use than to bury those whom they hoped to have relieved. And now the *Ætolians* having gained a complete victory contrary to their expectation, marched without fear or danger quite cross the *Peloponnesus*, made an unsuccessful attempt on *Pellene*, plundered the territory of *Sicyon*, and encamped on the isthmus.

*Battle of* Caphya *lost by* Aratus. *Year of the flood* 2782. *Before Christ* 221.

e IN the mean time the *Achæans* having called their general assembly, complaints were made against *Aratus* by all the allies as the cause of the loss and dishonour which they had sustained. And indeed there was no dispute, but *Aratus* had greatly erred in having, we may say, usurped the magistracy, by taking it upon him before he was regularly elected into his charge; and he could not deny but what he had undertaken thereupon had succeeded very ill. However, he endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle was not his fault; adding, that if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon, and hoped that in regard of his past services they would not censure him with more rigour than humanity. His submission on this occasion changed the minds of the whole assembly, f and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers, who, privately withdrawing, left *Aratus* in greater esteem among all ranks of people than he had ever been to that time: the assembly gave themselves entirely up to his counsel and conduct, and re-instated him in the command of the allied army. However, the remembrance of his defeat had thrown a great damp on his courage; so that he behaved as a prudent civil magistrate, rather than as an able warrior; and though the *Ætolians* often gave him opportunities to distress them, he made no

*Aratus accused before the assembly of the* Achæans.

[t] POLYB. lib. iv.

advantage

advantage of them, but suffered their parties to lay waste almost the whole country [s] (D). a

The *Achæans* were therefore forced to address *Macedonia* again, and call in *Philip*, in hopes that the affection he bore to *Aratus*, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to send them speedy succours. For *Antigonus* on his death-bed had above all things entreated *Philip* to join with *Aratus*, and follow his counsel in all things relating to *Greece*; he had also sent him when very young into *Peloponnesus* to learn the art of government under the eye of so great a statesman. *Philip* having given audience to the *Achæan* deputies, and understood by their speech the injuries they had suffered from the *Ætolians* contrary to the articles of peace agreed on in the reign of *Antigonus*, promised to assist them with the whole strength of his b kingdom, and accordingly soon after set out for *Greece*, and arrived at *Corinth*. Upon his arrival the embassadors of the confederates, who were already met at *Corinth*, began to concert with him what measures they should take with relation to the *Ætolians*. Complaints were made to the king by almost every city in *Peloponnesus* against them, and war unanimously declared both by the king and the confederates. It was moreover enacted by the assembly with the concurrence and approbation of *Philip*, that all those who had been sufferers by the *Ætolians* since the death of *Demetrius*, father to *Philip*, should be received into the confederacy, and that if any city or state had been awed into an alliance with the *Ætolians*, and paid them tribute, they should be forthwith set at liberty, the security of their respective go- c vernments committed to their own hands, and all garisons withdrawn. This decree was sent to all the confederate towns, to the end that it being every-where received and ratified by the suffrages of the people, they might jointly in their different states proclaim war against the common enemy. Which was done accordingly, and the war from thence called the *Confederate war* [t].

The *Ætolians* on the other side prepared for war, and chose for their prætor one *Scopas*, who had been the chief author of all the violences they had committed. *Philip* having concerted with the *Achæans* the operations of the ensuing campaign, marched his army back into *Macedon*, where he employed all the winter in making the requisite military preparations. He won over *Scerdilaidas* to the *Achæan* league. d He was a petty king of *Illyria*, and had engaged in an alliance with the *Ætolians*, but was at that time highly incensed against them for refusing to give him, according to the articles agreed upon between them, share of the spoils which had been got at the taking of *Cynætha*. This breach of articles so disgusted him, that he was easily prevailed upon by *Philip* to enter into the common alliance, and furnish a fleet of thirty ships on the terms of being paid yearly the sum of twenty talents [u]. The *Achæans* likewise sent to invite all their allies to join them in the confederacy. The *Acarnanians* without any hesitation declared war against the *Ætolians*, though they were most exposed to the enemy's insults, as lying nearest the *Ætolian* territories, and noways in a condition to defend themselves. Our author bestows the highest enco- e miums on this people, telling us that there is no nation among the *Greeks*, with which friendship may be more safely contracted, there being none that profess more regard to public or private faith, or will venture further for the love of liberty; that both in public and private treaties they prefer honour to all other considerations, and that, however weak, they have often in defence of their reputation engaged in the greatest dangers [w]. The *Epirots* refused to declare war, till *Philip* should first proclaim it. The *Messenians*, for whose sake the war was undertaken, declared that they would not engage in it, unless *Phigalia*, which commanded their frontiers, were first drawn off from the *Ætolian* league. The *Lacedæmonians* had declared at first for the *Achæans*, but the contrary faction prevailing, they joined the *Ætolians*. Thus

[s] Polyb. ubi supra. Plut. in Arat. [t] Polyb. ibid. p. 294, 299. [u] Idem, ibid. p. 305, 306. [w] Idem, ibid. p. 330.

(D) *Aratus* was accused in the assembly, first of having taken the command upon him before he was duly elected: secondly, he was blamed for having dismissed the *Achæan* troops, while the *Ætolians* were still in the heart of *Peloponnesus*, notwithstanding he had before been well assured that they did all they could to engage *Peloponnesus* in a war. The third article against him was his venturing to join battle with so few troops, when he might have made with great ease a safe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The last and heaviest charge against him was, that after he had resolved to give the enemy battle, he did not make one soldier-like step in the whole conduct of the action.

all

a all things falling out to the wish of the *Ætolians*, they entred on the war with great hopes of success, while the *Achæans* had but a melancholy prospect of their affairs. For *Philip*, on whom chiefly they relied, was yet but forming his army; the *Epirots* were slow in their preparations, and the *Messenians* continued neuter, while the *Ætolians*, assisted by the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, attacked them on all sides [x], and gained very considerable advantages. Embassadors were therefore dispatched to *Philip*, who hearing the danger his allies were in, marched out to their relief with fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, and crossing *Thessaly*, arrived in *Epirus*. Here he was prevailed upon by the *Epirots* to lay siege to *Ambracia*, which took him up forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare against his coming; b whereas if he had led his army directly into *Ætolia*, he would in all likelihood have at once put an end to the war. While *Philip* was employed at *Ambracia*, *Scopas*, at the head of a numerous body of *Ætolians*, took his march through *Thessaly*, and entering *Macedonia*, ravaged the country without the least opposition, returning home in a short time with an immense booty. However, this did not hinder *Philip* from pursuing the siege of *Ambracia*, and after the surrender of that city, entering *Ætolia*, and seizing on a great many important places. He would have soon reduced all *Ætolia* had he not been obliged to repair to the relief of his own country, which the *Dardanians* were upon the point of invading. At his departure he assured the embassadors of the *Achæans*, that assoon as he should be able to com- c pose his affairs at home, he would return into *Greece* and assist them to the utmost of his power. His unexpected arrival so terrified the *Dardanians*, that they dismissed their army after they had got near the frontiers of *Macedonia*, and retired home. Whereupon *Philip* returning to *Thessaly*, spent there the remaining part of the summer in the city of *Larissa* [y].

In the mean time *Dorimachus*, whom the *Ætolians* had just before appointed their prætor, drawing together their troops, led them into the upper *Epirus*, laying waste the whole country, not so much in prospect of profit to himself, as out of malice to the *Epirots*. He did not even spare the temple of *Dodona*, but laid it in ashes, carrying home all the ornaments and rich furniture of that stately edifice. d *Philip* having notice of these ravages, though it was now the depth of winter, left *Larissa*, and taking with him three thousand *Chalcaspides*, so called from their carrying brazen shields, two thousand buckler-men, three hundred *Candiots*, and about four hundred horse, marched through *Thessaly* and *Eubœa* to *Corinth*, where he arrived without any one's having the least notice of his march. On his arrival he sent for *Aratus*, and dispatched letters to his son, who bore the same name, and was that year prætor, and commander in chief of the *Achæan* forces, requiring him to assemble the troops assoon as possible, and appoint a place of rendezvous. *Caphya* was the place agreed on, whither while *Philip* was marching he met with a detachment of two thousand *Eleans*, who, under the command of *Euripidas*, were advancing to plun- e der the territory of *Sicyon*, and having attacked them unexpectedly, for they were quite ignorant of *Philip*'s return, he took about twelve hundred of them, and cut the rest in pieces. Three days after he arrived at *Caphya*, where he halted two days to refresh his troops, and then together with *Aratus* the younger, who had there drawn together ten thousand *Achæans*, he advanced to *Psophis*, with a design to besiege it. This was a bold attempt, for the city was accounted impregnable both on account of its natural situation, and the many fortifications which had been added to it (E), and besides was furnished with a strong garison commanded by *Euripidas*, who had escaped from the late defeat. *Philip* encamped on an eminence at a small distance from the town, and after viewing the fortifications and situation of the place, f was a long time doubtful whether he should attempt it or not; but at length reflecting on the great importance of such a fortress, he resolved at all adventures to begin the siege. Having therefore ordered his troops to refresh themselves, and be in a readi-

Psophis *taken by the confederates.*

[x] Idem, ibid. p. 334. [y] Polyb. ibid.

(E) *Psophis* was the most ancient city of *Arcadia*, situated in the very heart of *Peloponnesus*, and on the west borders of *Arcadia* towards the frontiers of *Achaia*. It was surrounded on the west side by a rapid stream, which during the winter was no where fordable; on the east by the *Erymantus*, a great and violent river; on the south by a torrent which emptied itself into the *Erymantus*; on the north it was defended by an eminence very strong by nature, and greatly improved by art, which served for a citadel; and besides, the walls and works about the town were very considerable both for their height and thickness.

ness under their arms by break of day, he commanded them to march down and pass a
the bridge over the *Erymanthus*; which they did without opposition, the garison not suspecting they would venture on such a dangerous enterprize. Having crossed the river they approached the town, and lodged themselves at the very foot of the wall. This struck *Euripidas* and the garison with great terror; for they never imagined that the enemy would be so bold as to make an essay of their strength against a place so well fortified and provided, or to undertake a long siege by reason of the winter and bad weather. What they chiefly apprehended was, that *Philip* might become master of the place by intelligence. But when these fears were over, there being none in the town so much as inclined to the king's party, they betook themselves to the defence of the works, the greatest part of the *Ætolians* mounting the b
walls, while the *Elean* mercenaries made a sally by a gate in the upper part of the town in hopes of surprising the enemy on that side. In the mean time the king having appointed three several attacks to be made, ordered ladders to be raised by men destined for that particular service against each place, with a strong guard of *Macedonians* to support them; then commanding the signal to be given, they advanced to the assault on all quarters of the town. The garison for some time made a brave resistance, overturning many of their ladders; but their darts beginning to fail them, and the *Macedonians* bravely maintaining the attack, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, they deserted at length their posts, and betook themselves by flight to the citadel, leaving the *Macedonians* possessed of the walls. At the same time the *Candi-* c
*ots*, who had engaged the party that had made the sally, beat them back, and in the pursuit entered pell-mell with them into the town; so that it was taken in all quarters at once. The inhabitants with their wives and children took sanctuary in the citadel, as did *Euripidas*, and such as had time to provide for their safety[a]. *Euripidas* foreseeing what must inevitably befal him, capitulated with *Philip*, and yielded up the citadel, after having obtained indemnity for all that were retired thither both townsmen and strangers. The king being obliged by the bad weather to take up his abode here for some days, he assembled all the *Achæans* that were with him, and after shewing them of what importance the city of *Psophis* was to them in the war they had on their hands, generously gave it up to their deputies, assuring them at the same d
time that he would let no occasion pass of shewing them the strongest proofs of his affection to their nation, and zeal for their interest.

From *Psophis* the king led his army to *Lasion*, which he found abandoned both by the *Elean* garison and the inhabitants. This town likewise he delivered up to the *Achæans*, as he did the city of *Stratus* to the *Telphussians* whom the *Eleans* had driven out. From *Stratus* he continued his march to *Olympia*, where after he had allowed his troops three days rest, he entered the territories of the *Eleans*, sending detachments abroad to plunder and lay waste the country, while he encamped with the main body of the army in the neighbourhood of *Artemissium*. This territory had been formerly accounted sacred in regard of the *Olympic* games, which were solem- e
nized there every fourth year; and all the nations of *Greece* had agreed never to turn their arms against it. But the *Eleans* had forfeited this privilege by engaging in the wars of *Greece*, and adhering to one party against another. As the territory of the *Eleans* was the best peopled, and the most fruitful of all *Peloponnesus*, and the inhabitants so fond of a country life, that they could never be prevailed upon to inhabit their towns, the allied army found here so great a booty that they could scarce carry it off, the soldiers being over-loaded with the rich moveables of their country-houses, besides the many prisoners and numerous herds of cattle which greatly embarassed them in their march. *Philip* therefore found it necessary to retire out of the *Elean* territory, and re-encamp at *Olympia*, taking on his march the fortress of *Thaleme*, whither many of the *Eleans* had conveyed their most valuable effects[b]. f

*Disturbances raised by* Apelles.

While *Philip* was thus employing his arms in defence of the *Achæan* liberties, one of his courtiers formed a project of reducing them to a state of slavery. Among the many tutors and governors left by *Antigonus* to king *Philip*, who came a child to the crown, *Apelles* held the chief rank, and had preserved a powerful influence over the young prince. This minister took it into his head to reduce the *Achæans* to the same condition, in which the *Thessalians* were at that time; that is, to subject them to the caprice of the ministers of *Macedon*, leaving them only the bare name of liberty,

[a] Polyb. ibid. p. 336. [b] Idem, ibid.

which

a which was the case of the *Thessalians*. To compass this design, his first essay was on the patience of the *Achæan* soldiery, whom the *Macedonians* by his orders often dislodged, taking possession of their quarters, when they found them better provided than themselves, and depriving them of their plunder; when they complained of this hard usage he caused them to be put under arrest and severely punished by the common executioner, imagining that by this sort of usage he should be able by degrees to bring the *Achæans* to bear any burden the king should think fit to lay upon them. But *Aratus* complaining to the king of this injurious treatment, and imparting to him the project of *Apelles*, that prince assured him that care should be taken for the future to prevent any such injuries. And accordingly he ordered *Apelles* never to lay b any commands on the *Achæans* without the concurrence of their prætor or chief officer. The *Achæans*, over-joyed at the favour the king shewed them, and the orders he had given for their peace and security, were ever bestowing the highest encomiums on his equity and other exalted qualities. And indeed, if our author is to be credited, he was possessed of all those virtues which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, an uncommon understanding, a happy memory, an agreeable utterance, an unaffected grace in all his actions, and a beautiful aspect heightened by a majestic air, which bespoke the greatness of his mind; but his brightest virtues were the sweetness of his temper, his affability, and a great desire to please and content all who lived under his government[b]. How he forfeited this great character c our author gives him, and from a glorious king became an inhuman tyrant, we refer to a more proper place.

The king having thus settled matters between the *Macedonians* and *Achæans*, decamped from *Olympia*, and having caused a bridge to be laid over the *Alpheus*, entered the territory of the *Triphalians* (F), reduced the city of *Aliphera* (G), and in a few days brought all that country under subjection. The rapidity of his conquests struck such terror into all the neighbouring states, that most of them voluntarily submitted, and the rest, after a faint resistance, were forced to receive the yoke. Having thus greatly weakened the *Ætolian* confederacy, he returned loaded with spoils and glory to *Argos*, where he passed the remainder of the winter[c].

d *Apelles* had not yet so given over his project as to be without hopes of bringing by degrees the *Achæans* to a servile subjection. But he well knew that both the *Aratus*'s, father and son, withstood his design, and that the king held them in great esteem, especially the father, in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. He therefore resolved to attack them both, and by fraud and address put them, if possible, in disgrace with the king. With this view he sent for all those who were of the opposite faction among the *Achæans*, and enemies to *Aratus*, and having instructed himself in their several interests and characters, he employed all his arts to engage them in his friendship, acting in their favour with the king, whom he endeavoured to persuade, that if he continued to treat *Aratus* with so much deference, he e could never hope to gain any thing on the *Achæans* further than was stipulated by the articles of confederacy. But if he would be pleased to countenance those he should recommend, he might soon compass whatever he desired, and dispose of all matters in *Peloponnesus* at his pleasure. The new friends enforced these reflections, and improved on the arguments of *Apelles*. As the time of electing a new prætor was drawing near, he prevailed with the king to be present at the *Achæan* assembly, and to employ all his interest in favour of one *Eperatus* a declared enemy to *Aratus*, who was accordingly elected in preference to *Timozenus*, whom *Aratus* had set up. Thus *Philip*, notwithstanding his excellent parts, became the tool of his prime minister; what

Apelles *endeavours to put* Aratus *in disgrace with the king.*

[b] Polyb. ubi supra, p. 338, 339. [c] Idem, p. 343.

(F) This country, which took its name from an *Arcadian* youth, lies on the sea-coast of *Peloponnesus* between the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, on the north-west skirts of *Achaia*. Its towns were *Sanstieum*, *Lepreum*, *Hypana*, *Typanæa*, *Pyrgus*, *Æpyium*, *Bolax*, *Stylagium*, and *Phryxa*. All these places the *Eleans* had lately reduced to their obedience, together with *Aliphæræa* a town of *Arcadia*, and *Megalopolis* itself, a city at that time of great note (3).

(G) *Aliphera* was seated on the top of a high and steep hill, which was defended by a strong fortress. In this fortress was to be seen a brazen statue of *Minerva*, famous for its size and the excellence of the workmanship. The inhabitants themselves, as our author tells us, could give no clear account why it was placed there, nor at whose charges. It was the work of *Hecabodorus* and *Sostratus*, and generally esteemed the most beautiful and finished piece they ever performed (4).

(3) *Polyb. lib.* ii. *p.* 339, 343. (4) *Idem, ibid. p.* 343.

then

then can be expected from a weak prince that devotes himself to the will of a crafty in- a
triguing *Apelles?* And now *Apelles* began to think that he had advanced far in his enterprize, having obtained an *Achæan* prætor of his faction. He therefore renewed his attempts, being determined totally to destroy the interest of *Aratus* with the king. An incident which happened at that time armed him with new calumnies. *Amphidamus*, chief of the *Eleans*, who had been taken prisoner, persuaded the king that it would be no difficult matter to procure him the friendship of his countrymen, and that he could easily make them covet his alliance. Hereupon the king discharged him without ransom, impowering him to assure the *Eleans* that on condition of their entering into an alliance with him, he would suffer them to live in the entire enjoyment of all their privileges, and exempt them both from garisons and tribute. b
But the *Eleans* would not listen to any conditions how advantageous soever, declaring that no consideration should be capable of inducing them to abandon their ancient allies. This so unreasonable a refusal *Apelles* ascribed to the ill services done clandestinely by *Aratus*, telling the king, that he had kept *Amphidamus* from enforcing, as he had engaged to do, his offers to the inhabitants of *Elis*, and that on *Amphidamus*'s departure from *Olympia* towards *Elis*, he had conferred with him and made him change his mind, being by him persuaded that it would be no ways for the interest of *Peloponnesus* that *Philip* should acquire any power over the *Eleans*. The king immediately sent for *Aratus*, and insisted upon *Apelles*'s charging him to his face with what he had brought against him in private. This *Apelles* did not scruple c
to do, and that with such an air of assurance as might have disconcerted innocence itself. He even added, that since the king had discovered his insincerity, by which he had rendered himself so unworthy of his kindness and good offices, the whole matter should be referred to the general assembly of the *Achæans*, and the king in the mean time return with his army into *Macedon*. This was what he wanted, not doubting but he should get him condemned there by the powerful influence of his authority. *Aratus* beseeched the king not to give credit over-hastily to what he heard, shewing that it was a piece of justice owing by a king more than by any other man to a person accused, to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of impeachment, and till then suspend his judgment. In consequence of this d
he required that *Apelles* should be obliged to produce those who were witnesses to the conference, whereof he had been accused, and likewise the person who had given *Apelles* the information, and that in short nothing ought to be omitted whereby the king might arrive at the certain truth of the matter, before he discovered any thing to the assembly. The king thought *Aratus*'s request very just and reasonable, and engaged his royal word that he should be gratified in it. Not long after *Amphidamus* being suspected by the *Eleans* to favour the king's party was obliged to fly his country, and retire to *Dymas*, whither the king was come to settle some affairs. *Aratus* laid hold of this opportunity, and begged the king that he himself would examine *Amphidamus*, since the secret was said to have been e
imparted to him. He complied with his request, and upon a strict examination found that there was not the least grounds for the charge. Accordingly *Aratus* was pronounced innocent, and restored to the king's favour and confidence [d].

As *Philip* began to want both money and provisions for his army, he prevailed upon the *Achæan* magistrates, by means of *Aratus*, to convene a general assembly at *Sicyon*, where on the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent want he was in of money to maintain his forces, it was decreed that the instant his troops should set out on their march, fifty talents should be advanced to the king, with ten thousand measures of wheat; and that afterwards so long as he should carry on the war in person in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive fifteen talents a month. f
This renewed his esteem for *Aratus*, to whom he was indebted for so large a supply, as he himself acknowledged in a private conference which he had both with the father and the son after the council was dismissed. On this occasion he imputed all that had passed to the artifices of *Apelles*, begging them to forget their wrongs, and continue to him their affection in the same degree as heretofore, since he considered them now more than ever [e].

And now the armies beginning to move from their winter quarters, it was resolved to prosecute the war likewise by sea, in order to divide the ene-

[d] Idem, ibid p. 344, 349. [e] Idem, l. v. p. 350.

mies

a mies forces, and be able to carry their arms with more eaſe whitherſoever they ſhould judge it moſt expedient, for they had to do at once with the *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Eleans*. Purſuant to this reſolution the king ordered the fleet, both his own and the *Achæan* ſhips to rendezvous at the port of *Lechæum*, where he commanded the *Macedonian* phalanx to be inſtructed in the uſe of the oar.

*Treaſonable practices of* Apelles.

While *Philip* was thus employed in training up his *Macedonians* for naval expeditions, *Apelles*, who could not brook the diminution of his credit with the king, nor ſuffer that the counſels of *Aratus* ſhould be followed, and not his, took ſecret meaſures to defeat all the king's deſigns. He agreed with *Leontius* and *Megaleas* two chief officers who were to act in the army, that they ſhould ſecretly thwart and ob-
b ſtruct all his meaſures, while he making his abode at *Chalcis*, ſhould take care to ſhorten and retard his ſupplies, ſo that he ſhould be obliged for want of money and proviſions to paſs the whole ſummer in a ſtate of inactivity. His view was to make himſelf neceſſary to his ſovereign, and to force him by the ill poſture of his affairs to throw himſelf into his arms. With this proſpect he acted his own part ſo well, that by ſtopping the convoys of money and proviſions that were ſending to the king, he reduced him to ſuch ſtraits that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to ſupply his wants.

*Philip* thinking his *Macedonians* now ſufficiently inſtructed in the uſe of the oar, embarked with ſix thouſand of them, and twelve hundred mercenaries, ſteering
c his courſe towards *Patræ*, where he arrived the next day. From *Patræ* he diſpatched meſſengers to the *Epirots*, *Meſſenians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Scardilaides*, requiring them to haſten with their ſhips and join him at *Cephalenia*. He then left *Patræ* and came to *Paleis* a ſtrong city in the iſland of *Cephalenia*. Here finding plenty of corn on the ground to maintain his army, he diſembarqued and ſet down before the place drawing his veſſels aſhore, and ſecuring them with a good ditch and palliſadoe. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was mighty deſirous to become maſter of it before their arrival. It was of great uſe to the *Ætolians*, who from thence made all their deſcents in *Peloponneſus*, and plundered the coaſts of *Epirus* and *Acarnania*. *Philip* therefore having viewed the ſituation of the town, cauſed the
d military engines to be planted before it, ordering his *Macedonians* to undermine the walls. They went chearfully to work, and in a very ſhort time undermined great part of the wall, propping and ſupporting it with great wooden ſtakes. The king then ſummoned the town to ſurrender, which the gariſon refuſing to do, fire was ſet to the poſts that ſuſtained the walls, and a breach made ſix hundred fathoms wide. *Leontius* was ordered to mount the breach, and enter the town over the ruins of the wall. But he, mindful of his agreement with *Apelles*, having corrupted ſome of the chief officers that ſerved under him, attacked the enemy ſo faintly, that he was repulſed with great loſs, when he had the faireſt opportunity that could be wiſhed for of taking the town. This obliged the king to raiſe the ſiege, though he
e was joined by the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, *Meſſenians*, and by fifteen veſſels ſent him by *Scardelaidas*[f].

Paleis *beſieged*.

*Treachery of* Leontius.

While *Philip* was thus employed at the ſiege of *Paleis*, *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* marched at the head of a numerous army into the territories of *Meſſenia*, and *Dorimachus* the *Ætolian* with a ſtrong detachment into *Theſſaly*, both with the ſame deſign of obliging the king by this double diverſion to break up the ſiege. Whereupon embaſſadors were diſpatched to him from the *Acarnanians* and *Meſſenians*, the former adviſing him to make an inroad into *Ætolia*, and thereby oblige *Dorimachus* to return to the defence of his own country; and the latter entreating him to ſail directly to *Meſſenia*, where he might eaſily ſurprize *Lycurgus*, who was not under
f any apprehenſion of being attacked. *Leontius* ſtrongly ſeconded this advice, foreſeeing that if the king followed it he would be obliged to ſpend the whole ſummer there, while the *Ætolians* would be at liberty to put all to fire and ſword in *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*; for during the ſeaſon of the *Eteſian* winds which continued moſt part of the ſummer, it was impoſſible to return back, as they were not in thoſe days very expert mariners. *Aratus* therefore did not fail to declare in favour of the former opinion, ſhewing how advantageous it would be to fall on the *Ætolians*, while their country was unfurniſhed with troops, and adding that the opportunity of making deſcents was not to be neglected now, that *Dorimachus* with the *Ætolian* troops was

[f] Idem, ibid. p. 350, 365.

employed elsewhere. The king, who ever since the cowardly behaviour of *Leontius* a at *Paleis* began to suspect his fidelity, followed the advice of *Aratus*, and having wrote to *Eperatus* the *Achæan* prætor to assemble his troops and march to the relief of the *Messenians*, he himself weighed anchor, and arrived the next day at *Leucas*. There he landed his forces, and having caused his vessels to be carried over the isthmus of *Dioryctus*, he passed into the gulph of *Ambracia*, which runs far up into *Ætolia*, and came before day-break to *Lemnæa*. Here he commanded the soldiers to take a short refreshment, and to be in a readiness to march without any baggage, but what was absolutely necessary. While the king was on the point of setting out from *Lemnæa*, *Aristophontes*, the *Acarnanian* general, came to join him with all his forces; for that people, having been great sufferers by the *Ætolians*, greedily em- b braced so fair an opportunity of repaying them in their own coin; and on this occasion not only such as were obliged by their laws to bear arms, but even those who were exempted in regard of their age or long services, took the field. The *Epirots* incited by the like motives were not less forward, though by reason of the extent of their country, and the sudden arrival of king *Philip*, they had not been able to draw all their forces together. The king being thus reinforced, departed from *Lemnæa* in the close of the evening, leaving the baggage under a strong guard, and arrived by day-break at the river *Achelous*, intending to surprize the important town of *Thermæ*. *Leontius* foreseeing that this enterprize would be attended in all likelihood with success, advised the king to encamp on the banks of the *Achelous*, and allow c the army some rest after so fatiguing a night's march, being willing that the *Ætolians* should have some time to bethink themselves and provide for their defence. But *Aratus*, being now sensible that *Leontius* opposed all promising designs, pressed *Philip* by no means to consent to any delay, nor upon any reason whatsoever respite his march, the success whereof lay in dispatch. The king followed his advice, and setting out that instant, marched directly to *Thermæ* through a very rugged and almost impracticable road, cut between two steep rocks, and exceeding narrow. *Thermæ* was the capital of *Ætolia*, and the place where their yearly assemblies and fares were held. As it was reckoned impregnable by reason of its situation, and no enemy had ever before dared to approach it, the *Ætolians* had lodged in it all their d most valuable effects. So great therefore was their surprize when they saw *Philip* all on a sudden appear before it, that they had not so much presence of mind as to shut the gates, or make the least resistance. The *Macedonians* and allies were permitted to plunder the town, which abounded with all sorts of provisions, military stores, and valuable moveables. The army remained that night in the town, and the next morning every one chusing out of the booty what was most valuable and easy to be carried away, they made a heap of the rest and burnt it before the camp. They likewise saved the best arms which were found in their armories, exchanging them with such of their own as were less serviceable, and burning the rest to the number of fifteen thousand suits [g]. e

Thermæ *the metropolis of* Ætolia *surprized and plundered.*

The *Macedonians* did not stop here; but calling to mind what the *Ætolians* had done at *Dium* and *Dodona*, they set fire to the portico's of the temple, and levelled that magnificent structure with the ground, throwing down, defacing and breaking in pieces to the number of two thousand statues of exquisite workmanship, and at that time greatly esteemed even in *Greece*. They respected however such as were known either by their form, or the inscription to represent any of the gods. The desolation was such as to strike the king himself and those about him with a kind of terror, though at the same time they believed that they had not over-acted their revenge for the sacrilegious impieties of the *Ætolians* at *Dium*.

*Philip* having plundered the town marched back the same way he came; the f booty he placed in the van guarded by his heavy-armed troops; the *Acarnanians* and mercenaries were posted in the rear, and the king himself with a body of light-armed *Macedonians* ready to face the enemy in what part soever they should appear; for he was extremely sollicitous to pass the straits before the *Ætolians* could draw together a body of troops to oppose his passage. But he had scarce begun his march when three thousand *Ætolians*, headed by *Alexander* the *Trichonian*, fell on his rear, and put them in great confusion. This *Philip* had foreseen, and accordingly placed a detachment of *Illyrians* in ambush behind a rising ground. These unexpectedly ap-

[g] Idem, ibid. p. 365, & seqq.

peating,

a pearing, fell on the enemy, who had charged beyond them, and having killed about a hundred of them, and taken as many prisoners, obliged the rest to save themselves by flight among the rocks and woods. He was again attacked near *Stratus*, but having repulsed the enemy with great courage and resolution, he arrived safe and unmolested at *Lemnæa*, where he had left his baggage and vessels. Here he sacrificed to the gods by way of thanksgiving for the success that had attended his arms in that expedition, and at the same to express his joy gave his officers a royal entertainment. *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were present, but every one soon perceived by their behaviour, that they looked with an evil eye on the good fortune of their master. During the whole entertainment they could not help throwing out against *Aratus* the most injurious and shocking railleries. But words were not all; at the breaking up of the banquet, being heated with wine, and fired with anger, they pursued him with stones till he got into his tent. This put the whole army in an uproar, not only the *Achæans*, but the *Macedonians* themselves running from all quarters to his assistance. The noise soon reached the king's ears, who after a strict enquiry into the whole affair, condemned *Megaleas*, for *Leontius* absconded, in a fine of twenty talents, and put him under arrest. The next day he sent for *Aratus*, and after expressing his sense of the violence that had been offered him, he gave him new assurances of his protection. *Leontius* in the mean time being informed how the king had proceeded with *Megaleas*, came boldly with a crowd of soldiers to the royal c tent, thinking thereby, as the prince was but young, to put him into some apprehension, and awe him into another resolution touching the offenders. Being come into the king's presence, *Who has been so bold*, says he, *as to lay hands on* Megaleas? *It was I*, replied the king in a majestic tone, *and whatever has been done is by my express command.* This resolution in the king so frightened *Leontius*, that he immediately retired from his presence. He no sooner withdrew, but the king called a council to examine into the affair, and hear what was alledged against *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and their accomplices. *Aratus* charged them with all those criminal practices we have already taken notice of, and discovered the whole conspiracy of *Apelles*. As he urged nothing against them but what was vouched by competent witnesses, they were d all found guilty. The king however by an unseasonable clemency, pardoned them, and even set *Megaleas* at liberty, *Leontius* binding himself for the payment of the fine the king had laid on him [h].

During *Philip*'s expedition into *Ætolia*, *Lycurgus* king of *Sparta* made an inroad into the territories of the *Messenians*, but did nothing worth recording. *Dorimachus* likewise, who had led a considerable body of *Ætolians* into *Thessaly* with a design to lay waste the country, and thereby oblige the king to raise the siege of *Palæis*, returned without compassing either, having found the *Thessalians* ready to give him a warm reception. He therefore kept on the mountains till he heard that the *Macedonians* had invaded *Ætolia*, when he left *Thessaly* and hastened to the relief of his own e country. But before he arrived the king was retired [i].

*The confederates enter the country of the* Lacedæmonians.

In the mean time *Philip* having embarqued his troops at *Leucas*, and plundered the coast of *Hyanthes* in his way, arrived at *Corinth*, where landing his forces, and ordering the vessels to be carried over to *Lachæum*, he dispatched messengers to the confederate towns of *Peloponnesus*, appointing them to rendezvous their troops at *Tegæa*. He then marched from *Corinth*, and came the next day to *Tegæa*, whence he proceeded with such of the *Achæan* horse as were there ready, holding his rout over the mountains with a design to fall by surprize on the *Lacedæmonian* territories. After four days march through a desart country, he gained the top of those hills that command the city of *Sparta*, and thence advanced to *Amycla*, a town distant f from *Sparta* about four miles. The *Spartans*, who had heard of the success he met with at *Thermæ*, were strangely alarmed when they saw the young monarch appear so suddenly in their territories, and approaching to the very gates of their metropolis. Several skirmishes were fought, in which *Philip* was always victorious; but we shall omit the particulars, which would swell the history to an undue length, and only say, that this expedition proved no less glorious to the king's arms than that of *Ætolia*; for he laid waste the enemy's country far and near, took and destroyed several towns, beat *Lycurgus*, who with a body of two thousand *Lacedæmonians* had attempted to cut off his retreat, and returned with an immense booty to *Corinth*.

[h] Polyb. ubi supra, p. 368, 376. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049. [i] Idem, p. 372.

Here

Here he found embassadors from *Rhodes* and *Chios*, who came to offer their mediation, and incline both parties to a peace. The king dissembling his real intention, told them that he was willing to conclude a peace with the *Ætolians* on reasonable terms, and charged them on their return to dispose his enemies to it. The king at that time had formed a project of making a descent on the territories of the *Phocians*, and executing there an enterprize of great importance. Having therefore dismissed the embassadors, he hastened to *Leontium*, proposing to embarque his troops there.

Leontius, Megaleas, *and* Ptolomy *raise a tumult among the troops.*

But he was scarce gone when *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolemy*, who was also one of *Philip*'s chief officers, began to employ the authority they had over the forces that remained at *Corinth*, to draw off their affections from their prince, and win them over to their own interest. They represented to them, chiefly to the light-armed troops, and the king's guards, that they, who were the first in all hazards, and secured the rest of the army from all danger, were not treated according to their merit, and that instead of being distinguished by any particular reward for their service, they had been even deprived of the booty which they had taken; notwithstanding the constant custom in like cases to the contrary. The soldiers, especially the youth, were so inflamed by these seditious discourses, that assembling in parties they plundered the houses of the king's chief favourites, and carried their insolence to that height as to force the gates of the king's own palace. The king receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to *Corinth*, and assembling the *Macedonians*, made them sensible of their fault in a long harangue intermixed with gentleness and severity. The tumult being appeased, some advised the king to seize on the authors of the sedition, and punish them with the utmost *severity*; others thought it more adviseable to gain them by gentle methods, the king being still young, and his authority not yet entirely fixed in the minds of the people. This advice he followed for the present, stifling his resentment, and pretending to be very well satisfied, he returned to *Lachæum* after exhorting his troops to union and concord. But it was now too late to undertake any thing against the *Phocians*, who had drawn together their forces, and were prepared to receive him.

In the mean time *Leontius* being well apprised that the king, though he carried it very fair with him as to outward appearance, would not fail in due time to vent his just resentment upon him, had recourse to *Apelles*, giving him notice of the danger he was in, and pressing him to leave *Chalcis*, and hasten to court. *Philip* had been informed by *Aratus* of the whole conduct of *Apelles*, but had kept his thoughts so close, that no body could discover from his behaviour any change in him with respect to his prime minister, who continued to govern at *Chalcis* more like a sovereign prince than a subject (H). He therefore no sooner heard of the danger his client was in, but he left *Chalcis*, not doubting but he should be received at court after the usual manner, and change the king's mind at his pleasure. As he drew near to *Corinth*, *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolemy*, who were the chief officers in the army, prevailed by their authority on the flower of the king's forces to meet him and attend him by way of guard into the town; so that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. But the officer who was on duty at the gate of the royal palace, and had received orders to that effect, stopped him and told him that he must wait, for the king was not then at leisure. *Apelles* was thunder-struck at so unexpected a reception, and after having waited some time in silence retired to his lodgings attended only by his own domestics, all the rest having already deserted him (I). *Megaleas* seeing the prime minister, on whose protection he relied, fallen into disgrace, made his escape to *Athens*, leaving *Leontius*, who was his surety for the sum of twenty talents, to shift for himself. Here-

Apelles *how received by* Philip.

(H) *Apelles* during his residence at *Chalcis* governed all things with an arbitrary sway, as if he, and not *Philip*, had been invested with the sovereign power. Wherefore the magistrates, and such as had charge of the affairs in *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, applied to him alone, and took his directions in all matters of importance. When any of the *Greek* towns had occasion to publish new laws or ordinances, or confer honours or preferments, there was scarce ever any mention made of the king, but of *Apelles* (5.)

(I) Behold the uncertain state of mortal greatness, says our author; in one and the same moment men are raised to the highest preferments, and *sunk* to the lowest ebb of fortune; and this chiefly in the courts of princes, where, like counters, their value rises and falls according to the place they are set in; for those, who follow the court, are great and little at the pleasure of their master, who carries their fortune in his hands (6).

(5) *Idem, l. v. p.* 350, *& seq.*

(6) *Idem, ibid. p.* 351.

upon

a upon the king having sent the buckler-men, whose chief officer was *Leontius*, to *Triphalia*, under the command of *Taurion*, pretending to have some extraordinary occasion for their service, caused *Leontius* to be accused, giving out that it was for the payment of the twenty talents which he was bound for, but in reality to have him in his power, and to sound the disposition of the soldiery. The troops which he commanded no sooner received notice of his arrest, but they sent a petition to the king, importing, that if the commitment of *Leontius* was on any other account than that of his being surety for *Megaleas*, the king would be pleased not to determine any thing against him during their absence; and that they should interpret any sentence in his prejudice as an injury done to them, and resent it accordingly; but b in case *Leontius* was under arrest to secure the payment of the money due on account of *Megaleas*, they would readily contribute towards satisfying the debt. But their affection shewn to *Leontius* proved unseasonable, and was taken by the king so ill, that it became the occasion of his death sooner than was expected [k].

*Leontius arrested.*

DURING this interval the embassadors returned from *Ætolia*, bringing with them proposals for a truce of thirty days; they assured the king that the *Ætolians* were inclined to peace, and that they had appointed a day for their general assembly to meet at *Rhium*, where they prayed the king to be present, promising all the advances possible on their part towards a general pacification. *Philip* accepted of the truce, and sent his dispatches to the confederates, requiring them to send their respective c deputies to *Patræ* to negotiate a peace with the *Ætolians*. He himself immediately set out from *Lechæum* in order to assist at it, and arrived the next day at *Patræ*. There letters were delivered to him directed by *Megaleas* to the *Ætolians*, encouraging them to pursue the war against *Philip* and the *Achæans*, since the king was in the utmost distress for want of money and provisions. They contained likewise most reproachful and injurious reflections on the king, which shewed his hatred to him, and convinced him that the whole faction of *Apelles* sought his destruction. He therefore ordered him immediately to be taken into custody together with his son and a youth his favourite, and so sent to *Corinth*. At the same time he enjoined the magistrates of *Thebes* to prosecute *Megaleas*, who had retired thither from d *Athens*; but he prevented his trial by laying violent hands on himself. Not long after *Leontius* received sentence of death, and likewise *Apelles* with his son and favourite. History can scarce furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of his sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. It was with the utmost difficulty that *Aratus* roused the king from his irresolution and servitude, and prevailed upon him at last to exert himself after he had been so long deaf to the repeated complaints of his subjects, and blind to all the faults of his favourite minister [l].

*A thirty days truce granted to the Ætolians.*

*Megaleas lays violent hands on himself.*

Leontius *and* Apelles *put to death.*

AS to the *Ætolians* they were sincerely disposed to peace, being grown weary of a war, in which all their projects had succeeded quite otherwise than they expected. e They had flattered themselves that they had to do with a young unexperienced prince, *Philip* not being yet arrived, as they imagined, at an age of conduct and experience; but they found him an able and enterprizing leader, and well qualified both for counsel and execution. However, when they came to hear of the mutiny of the troops, and the conspiracy of *Apelles*, hoping these troubles would beget distractions at court, they postponed their meeting at *Rhium*. *Philip* and the confederates, who had a hopeful prospect of the issue of the war, and wished for nothing more ardently than to break off all negotiations of peace, were glad of the opportunity which the enemy furnished them with, and accordingly animated each other to the prosecution of the war. As winter was drawing near, *Philip* after engaging f the allies to meet him with their forces early in the spring, weighed anchor and returned to *Corinth*. There he gave the *Macedonians* leave to return to their winter quarters in their own country; while he coasting *Attica* went to *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, where *Ptolomy*, the only conspirator that remained, was sentenced to die, and executed accordingly.

*The confederates resolve to pursue the war.*

BY this time *Eperatus*, who had been chosen prætor of the *Achæans* by the influence of *Apelles*, as we have related above, was become universally despised, as being no ways qualified for that trust, which is commonly the case in forced elections. No one would pay obedience to his orders, and the country being open and defence-

[k] Idem, p. 373, 374.

[l] Idem, ibid. p. 376.

less, great havock was made in it by *Pyrrhias* at the head of three thousand *Eleans* a and *Ætolians*. The *Achæan* troops being in arrear of their pay, refused to obey the prætor's orders when at any time they were commanded to march out to the relief of the country, and deserted in great numbers. All this was owing to the insufficiency of *Eperatus*; but, happily for the *Achæans*, his authority was almost expired, and early in the summer *Aratus* appointed to succeed him [a]. The new prætor found the *Achæan* mercenaries corrupted by an universal decay of military discipline, and the cities no ways disposed to contribute towards the carrying on of the war. In the general assembly, after having warmly exhorted their deputies to the prosecution of the war, he wrested from them a decree empowering him to levy eight thousand mercenary foot, and five hundred horse, besides three thousand foot b and three hundred horse which were to be raised at home. By the same decree the *Megalopolitans* were to contribute three hundred foot and fifty horse, and the *Argians* the like number [a].

While the *Achæans* were thus preparing for the prosecution of the war, *Lycurgus*, and *Pyrrhias* prætor of the *Eleans*, taking the field, made an inroad into the territories of the *Messenians*, but were soon forced to retire by *Aratus*, who advanced with the mercenaries to cover the frontiers of *Messene*, *Megalopolis*, *Tegæa*, and *Argos*, which were most exposed to the insults of the *Lacedæmonians*. Not long after *Lycus*, whom *Aratus* had appointed to command the troops while he assisted at the general assembly, gained a considerable victory over the *Eleans*, who under the c conduct of *Euripidas* their new prætor, had advanced as far as *Pharæa* plundering and laying waste the whole country. The plunder which he got on this occasion produced a great sum of money; so that the troops took better heart in prospect of better pay, and the people conceived hopes that they should now be exempt from taxes and contributions towards the war.

Thebes of Phthiotis taken by the confederates. Year of the flood 2786. Before Christ 217.

In the mean time *Philip* having ordered such stores and provisions as he had provided during the winter to be brought from *Larissa*, set out on his march towards *Greece*, with a design to begin the campaign with the siege of *Thebes* called *Phthiotis* (L), whence the *Ætolians* used to make continual inroads into the territories of *Demetrias*, *Pharsalia*, and even *Larissa*. Accordingly having divided his army into three d bodies, he invested the town, and with an hundred and fifty catapults, and other engines for casting of stones, began to batter the walls night and day without intermission. The inhabitants at first made a vigorous resistance; but great numbers of them being killed by the many darts and stones that had been cast into the town, and the rest quite tired out by incessant attacks which kept them continually in action, their resolution began to fail, and the *Macedonians* advancing their mines, and now preparing to give the assault, they thought fit to surrender at discretion. *Philip* plundered the town, sold the inhabitants, and re-peopling it with a colony of *Macedonians*, changed the name of *Thebes* into that of *Philippopolis*.

Not long after the town had surrendered, new embassadors came to him from e *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and from *Ptolomy* king of *Egypt*, to propose the concluding of a peace. The king replied as he had done before, that he was inclined to put an end to the war, and that they needed but apply to the *Ætolians* to know whether they were willing to concur with him in restoring *Greece* to its former tranquillity. *Philip* was in reality very far from being inclined to a peace; but as he did not care to declare his true intentions, he only told the embassadors, that in the mean time he was determined to pursue his enterprizes.

He afterwards set out with his friends and favourites for *Argos* to be present at the *Nemæan* games. While he was one day assisting at one of these public sports, he was interrupted by an express sent him from *Macedon*, with advice that the *Romans* f had lost a great battle in *Tuscany* near the lake *Thrasymenus*, and that *Hannibal* was master of all the open country. This news *Philip* imparted to none but *Demetrius* of *Pharus*, enjoining him all possible secrecy. *Demetrius*, glad of this opportunity, advised him to put a period to the *Ætolian* war with what expedition he could, in

[a] Idem, p. 377. [a] Idem, p. 378.

(L) This city was situate near the sea about eight and thirty miles distance from *Larissa*; and was on the frontiers of *Magnesia* and *Thessaly*, its territory bordering on *Magnesia* towards *Demetrias*, and on *Thessaly* towards that tract which was inhabited by the *Pharsalians* and *Phereans*.

order

a order to invade *Illyricum* (M), and afterwards cross over into *Italy*. He added that such a design would gain him the affections of the whole *Greek* nation, that the *Achæans* would join him out of the affection they bore him, and the *Ætolians* through fear after the calamities they had suffered in the present war; that such an expedition would be his first step to universal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himself; and that the present distress of the *Romans* offered him a favourable opportunity of executing so mighty a project. Such council as this could not but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and of a race which had always grasped at universal empire.

*Philip inclined to conclude a peace.*

b HOWEVER, as no man could better conceal his real intentions, a very rare quality in so young a prince, he did not shew that strong inclination for peace which he had in reality conceived. He only dispatched letters to the confederates, exhorting them to send their deputies to the assembly to negotiate a peace; and in the mean time the better to hide his inclinations, he advanced with his forces to *Lofion*, and after taking a small fortress which was built on the ruins of that place, he made as if he intended to possess himself of *Elea*. Both parties were grown so tired of the war, that his summons was received every where with great joy, and plenipotentiaries from all parts hastened to *Naupactus* which was the place appointed for the conferences. The king, to give a more expeditious issue to the affair, came at the head of his ar-
c my, and encamping within less than a league of the place, attended there the result of their conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the *Ætolians* by the embassadors of the confederate cities was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests; which article being agreed upon, the rest met with no difficulty, so that the treaty was soon concluded and ratified by *Philip* and the *Achæans* on one side, and the *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Eleans* on the other *.

*The speech of* Agelas *of* Naupactus *at the opening of the assembly.*

AT the first opening of the assembly, *Agelas* of *Naupactus* made a speech before the king and the confederates, which deserves a place here, since *Polybius* has thought it worthy of relating at length in his history. He told them, that the *Greeks* ought above all things to shun all occasions of war among themselves, and render thanks
d to the gods, that, becoming now of one mind, and leading each other, as it were, by the hand, like those who ford a river, they had a prospect of uniting in a mutual defence of themselves and their cities against the barbarians, whose designs they had so much cause to apprehend. That though they could not give perpetuity to the present union, it behoved them at least in that juncture to agree as one man in the preservation of their liberties, since none could be ignorant of the great power of the barbarians, and the mighty war they were like to have on their hands with that people. That it was evident to every one who was ever so little skilled in politics, that the conquerors, whether *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, would not confine themselves to the empire of *Italy* or *Sicily*, but extend their conquest further, even to *Greece* itself.
e Wherefore he exhorted them, especially *Philip*, to keep a watchful eye on the danger that threatned them; saying, that this prince would be able to avert it, if, instead of impairing the strength of the *Greeks* as he had hitherto done, and rendering them by that means an easier prey to their enemies, he would now take their affairs to heart, and act for the whole *Greek* nation as if *Greece* were his inheritance. That by this means he would win the affection of the *Greeks*, who would be inviolably attached to him, and concur in all his measures. That if his mind was bent on great enterprizes, and he thirsted after glory, he should extend his prospect towards the west, and keep an eye on the war which had set all *Italy* in a flame; that he should watch the event of it, improve it to his advantage, and generously aspire
f to the dominion of the world. That if he had any disputes with the *Greeks*, he should leave the decision of them to another season; for if he once suffered the storm, that was gathering in the west, to reach *Greece*, it might justly be feared, that it

* POLYB. ibid. p. 435.

(M) *Scerdilaidas*, a petty king of *Illyria*, whom we have mentioned above, thinking himself ill treated by *Philip*, who had not yet paid him the money that was due to him according to the treaty agreed on by both parties, fitted out a squadron with orders to take by reprisal what was due by agreement. This squadron being admitted into the port of *Leucas*, for *Scerdilaidas* was in alliance with the *Achæans*, seized there some *Macedonian* vessels, and sent them together with the *Macedonians* that were aboard into *Illyricum*. From thence they sailed to *Malea*, taking all the king's vessels they could meet with. A war with this prince *Demetrius* thought would prove very favourable to his present project.

would

would then no longer be in their power to make war, conclude a peace, or manage a their affairs as they pleased.

*A peace concluded.*

This speech, which was a clear prediction of what happened afterwards to *Greece*, inspired both the confederates and *Philip* with an eager desire of peace. And this is the first time that the affairs of *Italy* influenced those of *Greece*. For after this neither *Philip*, nor the other powers of *Greece*, regulated their conduct from the state of their respective neighbours, but kept their eyes fixed on *Italy* as the only object of their attention. The *Asiatics*, and the inhabitants of the islands did the same soon after, having no more recourse in their disputes to *Antiochus* or *Ptolemy*, to southern or eastern princes, but turning their eyes westward, and sending embassadors, some to the *Carthaginians*, others to the *Romans*. In like manner the *Romans*, awakened by b the growing power and enterprising genius of *Philip*, dispatched embassadors into *Greece*, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter, as will be seen in the sequel of this history [p].

As soon as the peace was ratified, the *Achæans* raised *Timoxenus* to the prætorship, and then returned to their ancient manner and custom of life, after having re-edified the walls of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, established their worship, and repaired the public and private damages which they had sustained during the war.

Philip *changes his conduct.*

But this happy state of tranquillity was soon disturbed by that very prince who had procured it. *Philip* having concluded an alliance with *Hannibal*, began to change c his conduct, and thinking it necessary to bring all *Greece* to an absolute subjection before he made any attempts upon *Italy*, he began with the *Messenians*, who had been lately admitted into the *Achæan* confederacy. The city of *Messene* was at this time rent into two factions, the nobility striving to humble the people, and the people to lessen the power of the nobility. These contentions became so violent, that both factions agreed to call in *Philip*, and refer their differences to his arbitration. The ambitious prince was glad of this opportunity, and flew to *Messene* with a design to make himself master of the city. On his arrival he found *Aratus* employing his best endeavours to compose their differences in a manner that no ways suited his private ends. He therefore did not think fit to advise with him, but held private confe- d

*Disturbances at* Messene.

rences with such of the *Messenians* as resorted to his palace. The nobility he encouraged to curb the insolence of the unruly rabble with the utmost severity of the laws; but used a quite different stile in talking with the heads of the popular faction, telling them that they were to blame for suffering themselves, being so many, to be oppressed by a few, as if they had no hands to defend themselves against tyrants. Thus both parties, presuming on the king's assistance, thought it adviseable to exert themselves before he was gone, since he seemed so well disposed to countenance them. Accordingly the nobility gave orders for the apprehending of some orators, who stirred up, said they, the people to sedition; this alarmed the populace, who falling upon the nobility, murdered in their rage above two hundred of them. This e was what *Philip* had proposed from the very beginning, being well apprised, that if one party were destroyed, it would be no hard task for him to get the better of the other. Neither did *Aratus* the younger forbear reproaching him with it in very bitter and offensive terms. But the king, who on such occasions had a marvelous command of his temper, smothered his resentment, and taking *Aratus* the elder by the hand, he asked him whether he would not attend him up to the castle of *Ithome*, where he intended to sacrifice. This castle commanded the city of *Messene*, and kept the further parts of *Peloponnesus* in awe, as *Acro-Corinth*, which he was already possessed of, did the hither. *Ithome* was held by some of the popular faction, who looking upon *Philip* as their deliverer, admitted him without the least jealousy. f While the sacrifice was performing, the entrails of the victim being, according to custom, put into his hands, he shewed them to *Aratus*, and with a smile asked him, whether they prognosticated, that being now in possession of so important a place, he should tamely part with it, or rather keep it for his own use. *Aratus* made no reply, but *Demetrius Pharius*, though the king had not asked his advice, gave this officious answer: If you are a soothsayer you must quietly be gone from hence; but if you are a king you must not let slip so fair an opportunity, but hold the ox fast by both his horns; alluding thereby to *Ithome* and *Acro-Corinth*, which

[p] Idem, ibid. p. 436, 437.

were

a were called the two horns of *Peloponnesus*. The king however would have *Aratus* by all means to give his opinion, who told him, that if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it; but if by seizing of *Ithome* he must lose the strongest castle he had, his credit, he thought it far more adviseable to deliver it up to its owners. This advice *Philip* followed for the present, but ever after maintained a private grudge against *Aratus*, which he perceiving, retired from court, and led a private life at *Sicyon*, where he had leisure to repent his ever calling the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*. *Philip* having now got rid of so troublesome a censor, marched his forces into *Epirus*, where he seized on the town of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*, which he was soon forced to raise in a most shameful b manner, his camp being surprized by the *Roman* prætor *Lævinus*, and he forced to make his escape half naked. After this disappointment he returned to *Peloponnesus*, not having yet laid aside the thoughts of subjecting the *Messenians*. But they being now on their guard, refused to admit him into their city; whereupon calling them his enemies, he laid waste the whole country, and retired without being able to reduce the city, the *Achæans*, who were his confederates, refusing to lend him any help for such an enterprize; for *Messenæ*, as we have observed above, was at that time a member of the *Achæan* body. This backwardness of his confederates he ascribed to *Aratus*, and therefore as he did not now scruple to commit the most heinous crimes, he resolved to sacrifice both the father and son to his resentment. He dared not em- c ploy open force and violence in regard of their great reputation, and the respect which was universally paid to their virtue, and therefore charged *Taurion*, one of his officers, to dispatch first the elder *Aratus* secretly during his absence. *Taurion* obeyed the wicked command, though not without some reluctance; he insinuated himself into *Aratus*'s friendship, and often invited him to dinner, which gave him an opportunity of poisoning him with a poison which was sure, but slow in its operation. *Aratus* was not ignorant of the cause of the lingering distemper which he fell into; but reflecting that complaints would only stir up the *Achæans* against him, and create new disturbances, he bore it patiently as if it had been a common and natural disease. One day only happening to spit blood before one *Cephalion*, who d was his bosom friend, and seemed somewhat surprized, he said, *Behold, my dear* Cephalion, *the effect of friendship with kings*. This brought him to his end in *Ægium*, being then in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and prætor of the *Achæans* the seventeenth time. The *Achæans* were for burying him in the place where he died; but the *Sicyonians* claimed this honour as due to the place where he was born. Accordingly changing their grief into mirth, they went crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clad in white robes, to bring the body of their deceased hero to *Sicyon*, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in commendation of his eminent virtues, and exalted qualities. He was interred with the utmost pomp and solemnity in the highest part of the city, which was ever after called *Aratium*. The *Achæans* decreed that e divine honours should be paid him, and appointed a priest for that purpose. *Plutarch* tells us, that in his time two solemn sacrifices were still offered him annually; the first on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, and this sacrifice was called *Soteria*, the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice the young men and children walked round the altar singing odes to the lyre in honour of their deliverer, and the senate crowned with garlands of flowers followed the procession. To this they are said to have been encouraged by an oracle of *Apollo*[9].

Aratus *retires from* Philip's *court.*

Philip *causes him to be poisoned.*

*Year of the flood* 2787. *Before Christ* 216.

*Aratus* was without all doubt one of the greatest men of his time, and may justly be styled one of the founders of the *Achæan* republic, he having brought it to that form and splendor by which it became one of the most powerful states of *Greece*. f However, his talent lay more in contriving a warlike stratagem, in forming and projecting extraordinary enterprizes, than in executing them. In his administration he was guilty of one very great error, which was the calling in the kings of *Macedon* to the assistance of the republic, an expedient which no well-wisher to his country could approve of, and was the more dishonourable in him as he was prompted to it out of jealousy to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*. For that prince after having reduced the *Achæans* to the last extremity was willing to restore them their prisoners, and all the places he had taken, on condition they would create him prætor of *Achaia*. The *Achæans* were inclined to accept of a peace on these terms: But *Aratus* thinking it

[9] Polyb. lib. viii. p. 518, 519. Plut. in Arato.

would be very dishonourable for him, who had bore for many years the chief sway a in the republic, to be thus supplanted by a young man, used his utmost efforts to dissuade the *Achæans* from yielding to the conditions proposed by *Cleomenes*; and because they could no longer hold out against that warlike prince with their own strength, he had recourse to *Antigonus* king of *Macedon*, put him into possession of *Acro-Corinth*, and thereby enabled him and his successors to manage the affairs of *Greece* at their pleasure[r]. But for this he atoned both with his own death, and with that of his son, which was more deplorable; for *Philip* growing compleatly wicked, as *Plutarch* expresses it, commanded a kind of poison to be given him, which deprived him of his understanding, and prompted him to commit such abominable actions as would have reflected eternal ignominy on his name, had they been b done deliberately, and while he was in his senses; insomuch that though he was then in the flower of his age, his death was looked upon not as a misfortune, but as the greatest blessing that could befal himself and his family[s].

These inhuman and tyrannical proceedings in *Philip* highly incensed the *Achæans* against him, as he afterwards found by experience when they were more at liberty to act as they pleased. At present they were not in a condition to support themselves without him, the *Ætolians*, their irreconcileable enemies, having entered into an alliance with the *Romans* against the king and his confederates. The main article of this new alliance was, that the conquests should belong to the allies, but the booty and slaves to the *Romans*. Their calling in thus the *Barbarians*, for so the *Greeks* c styled all nations except their own, provoked them more against the *Ætolians*, than all the mischief *Philip* had done them. Wherefore they resolved in their general assembly to join the king against the *Ætolians* and their confederates. Thus a new war was kindled in *Greece*, between *Philip* and the *Achæans* on one side, and the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Eleans*, king *Attalus*, and *Scerdilaidas* on the other. The *Ætolians* immediately began hostilities, invading and laying waste the *Achæan* territories. Whereupon the *Achæans* dispatched deputies to *Philip*, who was then in *Thrace*, imploring his assistance. *Philip* readily complied with their request; but the *Ætolians* being joined by some *Romans*, and the forces which *Attalus* had brought with him out of *Asia*, marched out to meet him before his con- d junction with the *Achæans*. Both armies met near *Lamia*, a city of *Thessaly*. The *Ætolians* were commanded by *Pyrrhus*, who had been that year appointed their general in conjunction with king *Attalus*. *Philip* proferred him battle, and he thinking it would be disreputable in him to decline it the very first year of his command, rashly engaged, and was entirely defeated. However, to retrieve his reputation, he gathered together the scattered remains of his army, in hopes of performing some worthy action before the end of the campaign. But *Philip* attacked him the second time, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to shut themselves up in *Lamia*. This double overthrow so disheartened the *Ætolians*, that they sent embassadors to treat of a peace with *Philip* and the *Achæans*; for the *Romans* after e having put the *Ætolians* in motion were retired to *Corcyra*, fully persuaded that the king had so much business upon his hands at home, that he could not have time to think of *Italy* or *Hannibal*. *Philip* put off the negotiations of peace till the next assembly of the *Achæans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. When the assembly met, the *Ætolian* embassadors being introduced made such unreasonable proposals as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Whereupon *Philip* and the *Achæans* being resolved to pursue the war at all events, began to make greater preparations than ever, having so many enemies to oppose at the same time. The king leaving four thousand men with the *Achæans* to defend their country, went to assist at the *Nemæan* games in the city of *Argos*, and from thence f returning into *Achaia*, marched in conjunction with *Cycliadus* the *Achæan* prætor against the city of *Elis*, which had received an *Ætolian* garison. After they had plundered the territory, they advanced in battle-array to the very gates of the city, hoping thereby to draw the *Ætolians* to an engagement. Accordingly they sallied out, when *Philip* was greatly surprized to find that the garison partly consisted of *Romans*. For *Sulpitius* having left *Naupactus* with fifteen gallies, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city the night before the engagement. The fight was very bloody, and many fell on both sides. In the heat of the combat *Damo-*

*New troubles in* Greece. *Year of the flood* 2792. *Before Christ* 211.

*The* Ætolians *defeated.*

[r] Plut. in Cleom. & Arat. [s] Plut. ibid.

*phantes*,

a *phantes*, general of the *Elean* horse, spying *Philopæmen*, who commanded that of the *Achæans*, advanced against him with great ardor and fury. The latter waited for him without stirring from his post, and having unhorsed him at the first encounter, fell upon the enemy's cavalry with such resolution, that they quickly betook themselves to flight. But the *Romans* charging the *Macedonians* with great vigour, the latter began to give way, which *Philip* observing, spurred on his horse, and rushed headlong into the midst of the *Romans*, where his horse being wounded threw him. The *Macedonians* then returned with new vigour to the charge, each party signalizing themselves in a very extraordinary manner, the *Romans* with a view to take the king prisoner, and the *Macedonians* to save him. The king was b carried off in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Romans*, and the *Macedonians* obliged to retire at a greater distance from the town. The next day *Philip* invested and took a strong hold of the *Eleans*, where he found a great booty consisting of twenty thousand head of cattle, besides four thousand *Eleans* whom he sold for slaves. This made amends for his disappointment at *Elis*[t]: But in the mean time news was brought him that the *Dardanians* had made an incursion into *Macedon*; whereupon he immediately set out to defend his own country, leaving with the *Achæans* a body of two thousand five hundred men. At the same time *Sulpitius* sailed back with his fleet to *Ægina*, where he joined king *Attalus*, and passed the winter. During the king's absence the *Achæans* gained a considerable victory over the *Ætolians* and c *Eleans* near the city of *Messenæ*.

*Philopæmen's gallant behaviour.*

EARLY in the spring *Sulpitius* and *Attalus* quitting their winter quarters, sailed with their fleets to *Lemnos*, and thence advanced to *Oreum*, a chief city of *Eubœa*, which was treacherously delivered up to them by *Plator* the *Macedonian* commander. *Attalus* laid siege to the city of *Opus* in *Achaia*, which *Philip* having notice of, advanced with incredible diligence to the relief of his allies, having marched upwards of sixty miles in one day. The city had surrendered a little before his arrival, but *Attalus* the instant he heard of his approach abandoned it, and retired with precipitation to his ships[u].

*Oreum in Eubœa betrayed to the Romans. Year of the flood 2796. Before Christ 207.*

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed against *Attalus* and the *Romans*, *Machanidas*, d who had succeeded *Lycurgus* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, advanced at the head of a powerful army to the borders of *Achaia* with a design to lay waste the country, and by that means oblige *Philip* to leave the enemy and relieve his allies. He could not have chose a more improper season for such an expedition; for *Philopæmen* had been that year appointed for the first time commander in chief of the *Achæan* forces. As we shall often have occasion to mention this great warrior, it will not be improper to say something here of his extraordinary parts, which rendered him worthy of all those honours that were afterwards heaped upon him by the *Achæan* republic. He was born in *Megalopolis*, a city of *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus*, and from his very infancy discovered a strong inclination to the profession of arms. He was nobly e educated by *Cassander* of *Mantinea*, a man of great probity, and uncommon abilities. He was no sooner able to bear arms but he entered among the troops, which the city of *Megalopolis* sent to make incursions into *Laconia*, and in these inroads never failed to give some remarkable instance of his prudence and valour. When there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, and such other manly exercises. Thus he spent his time till he attained the thirtieth year of his age, when *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* attacked *Megalopolis*. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less some time after in the battle of *Selasia*, where *Antigonus* gained a complete victory over *Cleomenes*. *Antigonus*, who had been an eye-witness of his prudent and f gallant behaviour, made him very advantageous offers to gain him over to his interest. But he rejected them with scorn, having an utter aversion to a court life, which he compared to that of a slave, saying that a courtier was but a slave of a better condition. As he could not live idle and unactive, he went over to the isle of *Crete*, which was then engaged in war, and served there as a volunteer till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art; for the inhabitants of that island were in those days accounted excellent warriors, being scarce ever at peace among themselves. *Philopæmen* having served some years among the troops of that island returned home, and was upon his arrival appointed general of the horse,

*Philopæmen appointed prætor of the Achæans. His character.*

[t] POLYB. lib. x. p. 612, & seq. LIV. lib. xxvii. n. 29. 33. PLUT. in Philop. [u] LIV. ibid.

in

in which command he behaved so well, that the *Achæan* horse, heretofore of no a
reputation, became in a short time famous all over *Greece*. He was soon after appointed general of all the *Achæan* forces, when he applied himself in good earnest to the re-establishing of military discipline among the troops of the republic, which he found in a very poor condition, and universally despised by their neighbours. *Aratus* indeed was the first that raised the *Achæan* state to that pitch of power and glory to which it arrived. But the success of his enterprizes was not so much owing to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence and politics. As he depended on the friendship of foreign princes, and their powerful succours, he neglected the military discipline at home. But the instant *Philopœmen* was created prætor, or commander in chief, as he was a great captain, he rouzed the courage of his countrymen, b
in order to put them in a condition to defend themselves without the assistance of or dependance on foreign princes. With this view he made great improvements in the discipline, changing the manner of their exercise, and likewise their arms, which were both very defective. He had thus for the space of eight months exercised his troops every day, making them perform all the military motions and evolutions, and accustoming them to manage with dexterity their new arms, when news was brought him that *Machanidas* was advancing at the head of a numerous army to invade *Achaia*. He was glad of this opportunity to try how the troops had profited by his discipline, and accordingly taking the field, met the enemy in the territories of *Mantinea*. *Machanidas* had brought into the field a vast quantity of military engines c
to gall the *Achæans* during the engagement, and disorder their ranks. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* ordered his light-armed troops to advance a great way before the rest of the army, which *Machanidas* observing, thought proper to send his light-armed foot to make head against them, and observe their motions. Thus the battle began, and each general sending new supplies, the mercenary foot came to a close engagement, being so far advanced before the main bodies of their respective armies, that they could know only by the dust they raised which party advanced, and which gave ground. By this means the engines which *Machanidas* chiefly relied upon were hindered from doing execution by the interposition of his own men. The first onset was very furious, and the success a long time doubtful, but at last the mer- d
cenaries in the tyrant's army prevailed, their numbers, and the skill they had acquired by being so long inured to a military life, giving them the superiority. The *Illyrians* in *Philopœmen*'s army being but lately come, and not yet well exercised in the use of their arms, could not withstand so furious an onset, and were therefore entirely broke, and obliged to save themselves with the utmost precipitation under the walls of *Mantinea* about a mile from the field of battle. *Philopœmen* was so far from being discouraged at the ill success of the first attack, that turning to those who were about him, *The flight of our mercenaries*, said he, *will give us a complete victory*. He observed, that *Machanidas* instead of making use of this disadvantage, and falling that instant on the main body, suffered himself to be hurried away by the fire and im- e
petuosity of his soldiers in pursuit of those who were flying. He was no sooner out of sight, but *Pholopœmen* advanced against the *Lacedæmonians* that were drawn up before him. The two armies were parted by a ditch, dry at that time, and therefore easily passable, especially by the foot. The *Lacedæmonians*, elated with the success of their mercenaries, and despising the *Achæans*, ventured over the ditch to meet them; but as that put them into some disorder, *Philopœmen* taking advantage of their confusion, charged them with such vigour that they were drove into the ditch again; which so disordered their ranks, that not being able to make head against the *Achæans*, who pursued them close and in good order, they betook themselves to flight. *Philopœmen*, who knew better how to use his victory than *Machanidas* had done, suffered only f
part of his army to pursue the flying enemy; a strong body he kept with himself to guard a bridge that lay over the ditch, knowing that *Machanidas* must return that way. Accordingly on his return he made directly to the bridge, but was greatly dispirited when he found that the enemies were masters of it, and his own army driven out of the field. However, with a strong body of horse he attempted to make his way through and join the rest of his army; but he met with so warm a reception from *Philopœmen*, that his horse were at the first onset put to the rout. *Machanidas* himself attended only by two horsemen rode along the ditch looking for a convenient place to get over. He was easily known by his purple mantle, and the costly trappings of his horse. *Philopœmen* therefore appointing another to command at the bridge

*He defeats* Machanidas *tyrant of* Sparta. *Year of the flood* 2797. *Before Christ* 206.

Philopœmen *kills* Machanidas.

a bridge in his room, followed *Mechanidas* at a small distance waiting till he should attempt to cross the ditch, which he no sooner did than *Philopæmen* spurring on his horse attacked him in the ditch, and there slew him with his own hand. His head he struck off, and carried it from rank to rank to encourage his victorious *Achæans*, who continued the pursuit with great slaughter and incredible ardor to the city of *Tegea*, which they entered together with the fugitives. The *Lacedæmonians* lost on this occasion above eight thousand men, of which four thousand were killed on the spot, and as many taken prisoners. The loss of the *Achæans* was very inconsiderable, and those that fell were mostly mercenaries [w].

The *Achæans* to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which was entirely b owing to the conduct of their general, cast a brazen statue representing *Philopæmen* in the same attitude in which he killed the tyrant, and placed it in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*.

*A general peace concluded. Year of the flood 2799. Before Christ 204.*

This victory over the *Lacedæmonians*, and the many advantages gained by *Philip* over the *Ætolians*, inclined the *Ætolian* faction to sue for a peace in good earnest. King *Attalus* was returned home to defend his own kingdom against *Prusias* king of *Bythynia*, who had invaded it. The *Romans* had so much business on their hands at home, *Asdrubal* being ready to enter *Italy*, and join his brother, that they concerned themselves very little with the affairs of *Greece*, leaving their friends there to shift for themselves. The *Ætolians* therefore, finding themselves thus deserted by their c most powerful allies, concluded a peace with *Philip* and the *Achæans* upon very disadvantageous conditions. Scarce was the peace agreed on when *P. Sempronius* the proconsul arrived with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five gallies, to succour the *Ætolians*. When he heard how affairs went in *Greece*, he was very much offended at the *Ætolians* for concluding a peace without the consent of the *Roman* senate, contrary to the express words of the treaty. However, he was easily prevailed upon to come into their measures, and in the name of his republic strike up a peace with *Philip* and his allies, For the year following it was agreed by the mediation of the *Epirots* and *Acarnanians*, that the *Romans* and *Philip* should be included in the treaty, and thenceforth live in amity. *Philip* caused the king of *Bithynia*, the *Achæ-* d *ans*, the *Bœotians*, the *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians* and *Epirots*, to be included in the treaty; the *Romans* on their side named king *Attalus*, *Pleuratus* a petty prince of *Illyricum*, *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta*, the people of *Elis*, the *Messenians*, and the *Athenians*. This peace was very acceptable to both parties; to *Philip*, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his own kingdom; to the *Romans*, that they might carry on the war against the *Carthaginians* with more vigor [x].

The peace thus concluded was not of long continuance. *Philip* having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the *Carthaginians* his friends in the west declined apace, began to study how he might enlarge his dominions in the east. Accordingly he invaded at the same time the *Rhodians*, the *Athenians*, e and king *Attalus*, contrary to the late treaty of peace. Whereupon war was declared against him by the *Romans*, and *Sulpitius* the consul appointed to carry it on. The *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* joined with *Philip*; the former he gained over to his interest by restoring to them the cities of *Orchomenos*, *Heræa*, and *Triphylia*, which he had formerly appropriated to himself. He likewise put the *Megalopolitans* in possession of the city of *Aliphera*, to which they laid claim, and by these means kept them for some time in his alliance [y]. The *Romans* watched all opportunities of engaging so powerful a people in their interest, and at last found a very favourable one. When the *Roman* consul *Sulpitius* arrived first in *Greece*, one *Cycliades* was prætor of the *Achæans*, a man entirely devoted to the *Macedonian* party, being supported in f his tyrannical government by the protection of *Philip*. The *Achæans*, suspecting that he aimed at an absolute power, and was concerting measures with the *Macedonians* to bring their republic under subjection, as *Nabis* had lately done at *Sparta*, expelled him, and put the government into the hands of *Aristenes*, who on all occasions had given signal proofs of his affection to the *Romans*. This opportunity the consul laid hold of to bring *Achaia* into an alliance with *Rome*, but left the execution of the design to his brother *Quinctius*, who immediately sent a deputation to the *Achæans*, offering to put them in possession of *Corinth*, which had formerly belonged to them, if they joined with the *Romans*. This was a powerful attractive. How-

*The* Achæans *join* Philip *against the* Romans.

*The* Achæans *solicited by* Quinctius *to declare for the* Romans.

[w] Polyb. l. xi. p. 629, 631. Plut. in Philop. [x] Liv. l. xxix. n. 12. [y] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 5.

ever as *Philip* had done them many important services, they were unwilling to dis- a
oblige him. Besides, they were under no small apprehension of *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who had openly declared for *Philip*. At the same time they were afraid of the *Romans*, who seemed to be an over-match for the *Macedonians*. These were the dispositions of the *Achæans*, when they assembled at *Sicyon* to hear the *Roman* embassadors, who came attended with deputies from king *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*, on purpose to dispel their fears, and make the strongest impressions on the minds of so wary a people. *Philip* likewise sent an embassador to the assembly, named *Cleomedon*, whose intrigues the *Romans* had reason to fear, he being a man of great interest in *Achaia*. The embassadors being introduced, *L. Calpurnius*, who spoke for the *Romans*, was first heard; after him the deputies from *Attalus*, b
and the *Rhodians*, and then *Cleomedon*. What the latter said was heard with great attention; but the *Athenians*, who spoke the last, effaced in a great measure the prejudices, which *Cleomedon* had raised. All these different speeches divided the *Achæans* more than ever; insomuch that they broke up the session, which had lasted the whole day, without coming to any resolution.

The next day the assembly met again, the deputies only of the *Achæan* cities being admitted to give their opinions, and come to some final resolution. An herald, as was the custom, invited those to speak, who had a right of voting; but they all continued in a deep silence gazing at one another; and not daring to pronounce in so perplexed an affair. At last *Aristenes*, president of the assembly, broke silence, c
and addressed the deputies in this manner: What is become of that warmth and vigour with which you used to dispute at your banquets, sometimes contending for *Philip* against the *Romans*, and sometimes for the *Romans* against *Philip*? You were then decisive, and now in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and reasons on both sides, you are mute. If the love of your country cannot extort a word from you, will not your inclination for one or the other party loose your tongues? especially as you know that it will be too late to speak after the resolution shall be once taken [a].

These reproaches, however reasonable and judicious, could not prevail with any of the members to give their opinion. There was an universal silence in the assem- d
bly, till *Aristenes* resumed the discourse, and in a long harangue represented to them the situation of their affairs, urging the necessity of their joining the *Romans*, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance which they had condescended to request. But his discourse did not bring the *Achæans* to an agreement among themselves. The disputes grew warm, some applauding what *Aristenes* had said, and others opposing it with great violence. Even the demiurgi or heads of the deputies were not unanimous. Five of the ten were for decreeing an alliance with the *Romans*. The other five protested against it, declaring that it was against law to decree any thing in the assembly with relation to their alliance with *Philip*. And indeed that prince had caused a clause to be inserted in his treaty with the *Achæans* to e
this effect, that the affair of his alliance should no more be canvassed in the general assembly. The assembly was to sit but one day longer, and even this short time was spent in warm disputes, the father disagreeing with the son, and the deputies of one and the same city being ready to fall upon one another. *Memnon* of *Pellene* was steady for *Philip*, and his father, whose name was *Rhiasius*, no less sanguine for *Rome*. The father conjured him a long time not to oppose the welfare of his country; but finding that his prayers did not avail, he openly protested that he would treat him as an enemy, and put him to death in case he did not yield to his opinion. Such menaces uttered by a father made so deep an impression in the mind of *Memnon*, that he immediately came over to the party of *Rome*. At last the majo- f
rity were for the *Romans*; but before the decree was passed, the deputies of *Dymæ*, and *Megalopolis*, and some of the *Argians* withdrew from the assembly; which no one took offence at, because they had particular obligations to *Philip*. The deputies of the other cities followed the most prudent advice, and immediately concluded an alliance with *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, but deferred the entire conclusion of that with the *Romans* till the return of the embassadors they sent to *Rome* to obtain the ratification from the senate [b].

*After long debates the* Achæans *conclude an alliance with the* Romans.

[a] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 22. [b] Liv. ibid.

But

a But in the mean time the *Achæans* lent assistance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*. The city was attacked on the side of *Cenchrea* by *Quinctius*, at the gate *Sicyon* by the *Achæans*, and on the side of the port *Lechæum* by *Attalus*. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, hoping that a quarrel would soon arise between the garison and the inhabitants. But *Androsthenes*, who commanded in the place for *Philip*, had gained the affection of the *Corinthians*, and being supplied with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and a great many *Roman* deserters, who expected no quarter if the city should be taken, he obliged the besiegers to drop the enterprize[b]. Corinth *besieged by the* Romans *and* Achæans.

They were no sooner retired than *Philocles*, one of king *Philip*'s generals, marched his troops into the heart of *Achaia*, which had so lately joined the *Romans*, and drew near the city of *Argos*. He was not ignorant that the citizens still retained an affection for the *Macedonian* party; for they had very lately given a signal proof of it. It had long been a custom among the *Argians* to invoke *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*, on the first day of their assembly, and add to the names of these gods that of the king of *Macedon*. But after the *Achæans* had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, the herald, who pronounced the form, thought it his duty to omit *Philip*'s name. This omission displeased the *Argians*, who loudly demanded that the king's name should be joined to those of the tutelary gods of their country. *Philocles* therefore depending on this affection for his master, advanced his troops near *Argos*, and in the night posted them on an eminence which overlooked the city. But the city was defended by a strong garison which the *Achæans* had placed there under the command of one *Ænesidemus*, who was greatly attached to the *Roman* interest. To him therefore *Philocles* sent a messenger summoning him to deliver up the city which he could not defend against the *Macedonians* without, and the citizens within the walls, who were all of the same mind, and determined to shake off the *Roman* yoke. This summons did not move the brave commander, who thought himself in a condition to withstand the menaces of the *Macedonian*, though his garison consisted only of five hundred men. But he was not a little surprised, when he saw all the citizens take up arms, and in a tumultuous manner command him to march out of the city. *Ænesidemus* well knew it was a rash and fruitless attempt to oppose the multitude with such an handful of men; he had also compassion for the brave youth under his command; and therefore having agreed that they should march out unmolested, continued himself in the city with a small number of his friends and clients. *Philocles* was surprised to see the commander remain in his post after the soldiers were gone, sent to ask him, *Why he continued in the city, and what he intended to do?* To which the brave *Achæan* answered, *To die in the place committed to my care*; whereupon *Philocles* ordered his *Thracians* to discharge their arrows at him, which they did accordingly, and he fell dead upon his buckler. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the *Achæans* had concluded with the *Romans*, *Philip* still possessed two of their strongest cities, *Corinth* and *Argos*[c]. *The siege raised.* *The* Macedonians *possess themselves of* Argos. *Year of the flood* 2806. *Before Christ* 197.

e It was of the utmost importance for *Philip* to preserve the city of *Argos*; but the difficulty was how to continue master of a place in the heart of *Achaia*, and at so great a distance from his hereditary dominions. He therefore delivered it up to the famous *Nabis*, who had usurped the sovereignty of *Lacedæmon*, and was in a condition to defend it; the conditions upon which he delivered it were, that he should possess it as his own, if *Philip* lost his life in the war, but restore it if he were alive at the concluding of a peace. The tyrant willingly complied with these conditions, having nothing in view but to plunder the place, and enrich himself with the spoils of the unfortunate *Argians*, who foreseeing what must befal them, refused to admit the *Lacedæmonians* within their walls. But *Nabis* by the help of *Philocles* was brought into the city in the night, and before the inhabitants were aware had possessed himself of all the advantageous posts, and caused the gates to be shut. Some of the chief magistrates made their escape in the tumult, and this the tyrant made use of as a pretence to begin his depredations. He confiscated the estates of those that had fled; and then knowing that no body was able to oppose him, set no bounds to his oppressions. He commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, silver, and jewels, putting to the rack, and treating like slaves, such as he suspected to conceal any part of their riches. He assembled the magistrates, and at their first meeting notified to them two decrees, which he obliged them to pass; by Argos *delivered up to* Nabis.

[b] Liv. ibid. n. 25. [c] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 25.

the

the first he cancelled all old debts; and by the second ordered a new division to be a made of the lands, whereof every citizen should have an equal share. Thus he set the rich against the poor, and put the whole city in a flame [d].

Nabis *joins the* Romans.

*Nabis* was sensible he could not keep *Argos* without a powerful protection, and therefore forgetting on what conditions he held it, embassadors were sent to *Flaminius* and *Attalus* inviting them to an interview. The proconsul and *Attalus* accepted of the invitation without examining over-nicely into the injustice and treachery of the tyrant, and a place near *Argos* was appointed for their conferences. In the interview *Flaminius* insisted upon two conditions; first, that *Nabis* should put an end to the war in *Achaia*; and secondly, that he should furnish the confederates with his contingent of troops to act against *Philip*. The tyrant agreed to the second article, b but would allow only a four months truce with the *Achæans*. The treaty however was concluded, and *Nabis*, who was so infamous for his cruelty and injustice, joined in confederacy with the *Romans*, which reflected no small dishonour on their general [e].

The *Achæans* continued steady in the *Roman* interest during the whole course of this war, and their prætor *Nicostratus* signalized himself on the following occasion. *Philip* had left one *Androsthenes* with a body of six thousand men in *Corinth* to protect that city and its districts from the insults of the *Achæans*, and other *Greeks* of the *Roman* faction. *Androsthenes* thinking it beneath him to be thus confined within the narrow bounds of the *Corinthian* territory, marched out at the head of his little c army, and over-run great part of *Achaia*. *Nicostratus* the *Achæan* prætor had but two thousand men under his command, and these were too few to oppose the superior forces of the *Macedonian*, who advanced to the very walls of *Sicyon* to insult the prætor there in garison. As *Androsthenes* was under no apprehension of being attacked by so contemptible a foe, his troops were often dispersed in small bodies, and his army scarce ever in one place. This gave *Nicostratus* hopes of being able to surprise him. And accordingly he sent orders to the garisons of the neighbouring cities to appear at a general rendezvous on a day appointed at a little city called *Apelaurum* in *Argolis*. His orders were obeyed, and the prætor set out from thence at the head of five thousand seven hundred foot, and three hundred horse. d The horse he detached to observe the enemies motions, and by them received advice, that they were encamped on the river *Nemea* (N), between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, and that the *Macedonian* having divided his army into three bodies, had detached one into the territory of *Sicyon*, another into that of *Pellene* (O), and the third towards *Phlius* (P). Upon this advice *Nicostratus* placed his mercenaries in a forest, through which the *Macedonians* were to pass in their return to *Corinth*; while he led the rest in two bodies to attack *Androsthenes* in his camp. The *Macedonians* were greatly surprised when they saw the *Achæans* making directly to their camp. *Androsthenes* ordering the trumpets to give the signal for assembling the troops that were straggling about in the villages, drew up the small body he had with him on the e banks of the river. But the parties that were out not returning soon enough to join him, he was easily defeated. This advantage encouraged *Nicostratus* to fall upon the *Macedonians* that were laying waste the territory of *Sicyon*; there few of them escaped, being surrounded on all sides before they knew that the enemy had taken the field. As for those who were ravaging the country about *Pellene* and *Phlius*, they were either murdered by the inhabitants, or cut in pieces by the mercenaries, who lay concealed in the forest. This action freed *Achaia* from all fear of the *Macedonians*, and doubled *Philip*'s concern, who heard of it a few days after the great overthrow which he received in the plain of *Cynocephalæ* [f].

*The* Macedonians *defeated by the* Achæans.

[d] Liv. ibid. c. 28. [e] Liv. ubi supra. Polyb. l. xiii. sub finem. Plut. in Flamin. [f] Liv. ibid.

(N) The river *Nemea* watered part of *Peloponnesus*, and discharged itself into the gulph of *Corinth*. It is now called the *Largia*.

(O) *Pellene*, called by *Stephanus Pellina*, was a city of *Achaia Propria*, and bordered upon the territory of *Sicyon*. *Genistus* calls it *Cercoba*, and *Le Noir* gives it the name of *Zaracha*. The natives now call it *Diacopton*. It is about sixty furlongs distant from the gulph of *Corinth*.

(P) This city *Livy* calls *Phlasius* (7). We must take care not to confound it with another bearing the same name in *Argolis*. The *Phlius* here spoke of was in *Achaia*.

(7) *Liv. lib.* xxxiii. *c.* 14.

These

a THESE repeated losses obliged *Philip* at length to accept of a peace on such conditions as *Rome* and her allies were pleased to impose. The main article relating to *Greece* was, that *Philip* should evacuate all the places he possessed in *Greece*, and withdraw his garisons before the celebration of the *Isthmian* games (Q). Pursuant to this article ten commissioners were sent from *Rome* to settle the affairs of *Greece*, and restore each city to the full enjoyment of its former rights and privileges. All *Greece* received the news of this peace with the greatest transports of joy. The *Ætolians* alone were discontented, and inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*, because among the cities that were to be set at liberty, no mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Oreos*, *Eretria*, and *Demetrias*, which were all in the hands of the *Romans*. The b *Ætolians* suspected that *Rome* designed to appropriate them to herself, in which case *Greece*, said they, would indeed change its masters, but not its condition. The suspicion of the *Ætolians* was not ill grounded; for the ten commissioners, pursuant to the instruction of the senate, had omitted the names of these cities with a design to keep them, as they were the keys of *Greece*, and thereby prevent *Antiochus* from entering that country. But the proconsul prevailed with them to extend the decree to all the cities in *Greece*, not one excepted. By this means the *Achæans* were put in possession of *Corinth*. Nevertheless it was resolved in the council of the ten commissioners, that the citadel of *Corinth*, and the two cities of *Demetrias* and *Chalcis* should be held by the *Romans* as long as they were under any apprehensions of a war c with *Antiochus* [s].

*A peace concluded with* Philip. *Year of the flood* 2807. *Before Christ* 196.

AND now the time of the *Isthmian* games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be transacted there kept every body in suspense. The decree of the *Roman* commissioners was not yet divulged, and the future fate of *Greece* was the topic of all conversations. Some, but very few, hoped well; most of that numerous assembly could not be persuaded, that the *Romans* would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude were in this uncertainty, when the appointed day came for beginning the games. The proconsul *Flaminius* attended by the ten commissioners took his place; silence was proclaimed by sound of trumpet; and the herald advanced into the middle of the arena, as it were to pronounce the usual form of words; d but the *Greeks* to their great surprize heard him pronounce the following words: *The senate and people of* Rome, *and* Quinctius Flaminius *proconsul, after having overcome* Philip, *and quieted* Macedon, *declares the* Corinthians, *the* Phocæans, *the* Locri, *all the* Eubœans *in the island, the* Magnesians, *the* Thessalians, *the* Perrœbi, *the* Achæans, *and* Phthiotes, *free from all kind of servitude. All these nations shall live in an independent state, and be governed only by their own laws.* In this vast assembly all had not heard equally the voice of the herald by reason of the noise and confusion which immediately arose. Such as were at a greater distance left their places to ask those who were nearer what they had heard. At last there was an universal outcry from all corners of the stadium, demanding that the herald should repeat the proclamation. e Then the trumpet sounded again, and the herald with a more distinct and loud voice proclaimed liberty to all the *Greeks* without exception. He was heard with the most profound silence, and not a single word of the decree was lost. And now being fully assured of their happiness, they expressed their satisfaction with such transports of joy as are not to be conceived or imagined (R). They all crouded round *Flaminius*, calling him the deliverer of *Greece*, and pressing to kiss his hand. The croud was so great, and they threw so many crowns and garlands upon him, that he would have run the hazard of being stifled, had not the vigour of his age, being then in his thirty-third year, and that joy which so glorious a day raised in his breast, enabled him to undergo so great a fatigue. At length the games began, but the spectators f could look at nothing but the protector and restorer of their liberties, admiring the disinterestedness of the *Romans* in general, and the conduct of the proconsul in par-

*The* Greeks *declared free by the* Romans.

s LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 30, 35. POLYB. excerp. Legat. p. 795, 800. PLUT. in Flam.

(Q) On the *Isthmus* of *Corinth* some games were annually celebrated, and thence called *Isthmian*. They are said to have been instituted by *Theseus* in honour of *Neptune*. The most skilful athletæ in *Greece* came thither to dispute the prize in running, leaping, wrestling, *&c.* This was one of the most numerous assemblies of *Greece*.

(R) *Plutarch* tells us, that the air was put into such a violent agitation by the acclamations and shouts of so numerous a body of people, that some crows which were accidentally flying over the assembly, fell down in the arena (8).

(8) *Plut. in Flamin.*

ticular[h]. But after all, *Rome* found her account in these acts of generosity; for they gained her the hearts of the *Greek* nation, and by that means increased her power without enlarging her dominions.

Demetrias, Chalcis, *and* Acro-Corinth *evacuated by the* Romans.

After this the proconsul, to complete the work, convened a general assembly at *Corinth*, and there declared that he would evacuate *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and *Acro-Corinth*, which he did accordingly, and then began to prepare for his journey to *Rome*. The *Greeks*, with tears in their eyes, assured him that they should ever retain a grateful remembrance of so gracious a protector; and to give him before his departure some pledge of their affection, they sought for all the *Romans* that were reduced to slavery on the coasts of *Greece*, and delivered them up to him. They amounted to twelve thousand in number, the greatest part of them having been taken by *Hannibal* in *Italy*, and sold to the *Greeks*. The *Achæans* alone bore the charge of their redemption, which came to a hundred talents. With this attendance the proconsul, after having withdrawn the *Roman* forces from *Acro-Corinth*, *Demetrias*, and *Chalcis*, embarked at *Oricum* on his return to *Italy*, leaving *Greece* to enjoy the happiness which he had procured it[i].

Nabis *left in possession of* Sparta.

The only thing that reflected some dishonour on *Flaminius*, and stained his reputation, was his leaving the usurper *Nabis* in possession of *Lacedæmon*, without ever once mentioning in the treaty of peace the unhappy *Agesipolis*, who was the lawful heir, and had fought during the war under the *Roman* standards. *Plutarch* accounts for this strange proceeding, and tells us, that *Flaminius* proposed only such conditions as he hoped the tyrant would not reject, being impatient to return to *Rome*, because the reputation of *Philopæmen* began to eclipse his. They were both in the same camp, and in the same confederacy, and the soldiers in their discourses often compared them together, always preferring the *Greek* general to the *Roman*. They imputed the proconsul's successes to the bravery and intrepidity of his legions; but unanimously agreed that *Philopæmen*'s victories were entirely owing to himself. And truly, says our author, no one understood better than *Philopæmen* how to draw up an army, seize advantageous posts, suit the disposition of his troops to the ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack seasonably, or judge of the critical time for a retreat[k]. *Flaminius* on the other side, though inferior to the *Achæan* in the art of commanding armies, yet far surpassed him in all other virtues and qualifications. Nevertheless he was very uneasy to see himself surpassed by a *Greek* in that character, which most dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and this made him so zealous for putting an end to the war, contrary to the opinion of the most judicious among the *Greeks*, who were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last extremities, knowing that *Greece* would never enjoy a lasting peace so long as *Nabis* enjoyed the crown of *Lacedæmon*.

What they foresaw was soon brought to pass: For not long after the departure of the *Romans*, *Nabis* began to raise insurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. As they were garisoned by the *Achæans*, he attempted to drive them out, and even laid siege to *Gythium*, an important maritime city which *Flaminius* had taken from him. These hostilities obliged the *Achæans* to have recourse to the *Romans*, who sent the great *Flaminius* again into *Greece* to enquire into the state of affairs on the spot. At his arrival he found *Nabis* yet engaged in the siege of *Gythium*, and the *Achæans* assembled at their general diet, which was held at *Sicyon*: They had immediately recourse to him, and desired his advice. The assembly were for taking up arms immediately, and invading the *Lacedæmonian* territories; but *Flaminius* advised them to wait till the *Roman* fleet arrived, which the prætor *Bæbius* was ordered to bring to their assistance. Neverthelefs the assembly was still in suspense what part to act, and the leading men divided among themselves; some were for following the advice of *Flaminius*, others for falling on the *Lacedæmonians* without loss of time: they only waited for the decision of *Philopæmen*, who was then prætor, and presided in the assembly. But that prudent general was not in haste to give his opinion: *It is a wise institution of ours*, said he, *that our prætors shall not deliver their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your business to determine what to do, and mine to execute your orders; and I will take all possible care that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war or peace.* These words inclined the assembly more powerfully to a war, than if he had openly declared for it; and a decree was issued ordering troops

*The* Achæans *declare war against* Nabis *tyrant of* Sparta. *Year of the flood* 2812. *Before Christ* 191.

[h] Plut. in Flam. [i] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 4. Plut. in Flamin. [k] Plut. in Flamin. & Philopœm.

a to be levied without delay, and leaving the whole management of the war to *Philopæmen*[l].

The brave *Achæan* being invested with this power, was at first in doubt what to do; on one hand he thought it would be of great advantage to wait till the arrival of the *Roman* fleet, according to the advice of *Flaminius*; on the other side he judged it might be dangerous to suffer *Nabis* to pursue the siege of *Gythium*, and expose the *Achæan* garison to the rage of the tyrant. He therefore took a middle way, which was to get ready the *Achæan* ships with a design to give the besieged some relief, and suspend the attacks of the enemy at least towards the sea. But this design required a man of some experience in maritime affairs, whereas *Philopæmen*, tho' not b inferior to any land-officer whatsoever, had never been on board a ship but in order to go over to *Crete* as a passenger. However, he took upon him the command of the *Achæan* fleet, imagining that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land. But he found, to his cost, how useful experience is on all occasions; for *Nabis*, who had fitted out a few ships filled with rowers and soldiers used to sea-fights, fell upon him, and at the very first onset dispersed his fleet, took some of his ships, and sunk others. *Philopæmen* himself was very near being taken, but as he had the caution to go on board a light vessel before the engagement, he made his escape, and though pursued close by the enemy, got safe into the port of *Patræ*[m].

*Philopæmen defeated by sea.*

The shame of this ill-concerted expedition did not discourage the brave *Philo-* c *pæmen*, but only made him act with greater caution and prudence for the future. *Nabis*, elated with this advantage, thought that no more attempts would be made to throw any succours into *Gythium*, and therefore turning the siege into a blockade, left only the third part of his forces before the place, and with the rest guarded the passes through which succours might be brought to the besieged city, especially a port called *Pleiæ*. In this camp *Philopæmen* resolved to attack the *Lacedæmonians*. And accordingly having gathered together some boats, and manned them with *Achæans*, he ordered them to advance towards *Pleiæ*, while he himself marched along the shore to the same place. Both the boats and *Philopæmen* with his army arrived at *Pleiæ* in the dead of the night, and found the enemy fast asleep without any watch, as thinking d themselves in a secure place. Upon the first signal firebrands and burning matter were thrown from the boats, and the *Achæan* general at the same time surrounded the camp to fall on those who made their escape. As the *Lacedæmonians* were not furnished with tents, they had made barracks of branches of trees, which taking fire, obliged them to fly in great confusion. But such as escaped the flames were cut in pieces by the *Achæans*, who had seized on all the passes; so that very few got safe to the camp before *Gythium*. *Philopæmen* having thus retrieved his reputation, which had been somewhat lessened by his maritime expedition, assembled the *Achæans* in order to consult with them about the measures he should take for the relief of *Gythium*. It was resolved in the assembly that he should advance to *Lacedæmon*, as if he designed e to lay siege to that city. This, they thought, would be the only means to make a powerful diversion, and force *Nabis* to raise the siege. But in the mean time the attacks being carried on with great vigour, the place was taken the very day that the *Achæan* army appeared before *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* therefore without loss of time hastened to *Lacedæmon*, and found the *Achæans* marching through a narrow pass, their several bodies being at a considerable distance from each other. *Philopæmen* was not a little surprized at the sudden appearance of the enemy, and the narrowness of the place doubled his concern. However, without shewing any uneasiness, he drew up his men in the most artful manner possible. He posted his *Achæans* in the first line, and behind them the *Cretan* auxiliaries. His cavalry he drew up by the side of f a brook for the convenience of watering their horses. He placed his baggage on the top of a rock with a detachment to guard it. In this disposition he waited till the enemy came up without fearing the consequences of an engagement. In the mean time night drew on, and both armies remained in the same posture. *Philopæmen* in the night-time posted a strong body of his best troops in a valley, ordering his horse to retire till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade he had laid for them. Early next morning the action began, and the horse engaged first; the *Achæan* cavalry was commanded by *Lycortas* the father of *Polybius* the historian. At first the dispute was warm, and the advantage equal. But *Lycortas*, according to the orders

*He gains a complete victory over* Nabis *by land.*

[l] Plut. in Philop. Liv. lib. xxxv. c. 15. [m] Plut. & Liv. ibid.

he

he had received, in the heat of the engagement began to give ground, and retiring a in good order, drew the enemy into the ambuscade; and then facing about attacked them in front, while the troops that lay concealed flanked them with incredible fury. The victory was then no more doubtful; the *Lacedæmonian* cavalry betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and most of them would have been cut in pieces, had not the *Achæan* general, who was more afraid of the narrow roads than of the enemy, sounded a retreat. *Nabis* suspecting that *Philopæmen* designed to seize the passes leading to *Lacedæmon*, and thereby cut off his retreat, marched off with part of his troops to prevent him. This report *Philopæmen* had caused to be spread in the *Lacedæmonian* camp by one of his own men who fled thither as a deserter; and accordingly took his advantage of it. For *Nabis* was no sooner gone but he attacked his b son-in-law *Pythagoras*, who was left to guard the camp, and forcing the trenches, possessed himself of the baggage and warlike engines. He left a detachment in the enemies camp, and with the rest of the army pursued the fugitives with great slaughter. The *Lacedæmonians* being now entirely dispersed, he divided his army into a great many small bodies, ordering them to lie concealed on the roads that led to the gates of *Lacedæmon*, being well apprised that by the favour of the night such as were rambling in the woods would attempt to enter the city. His design succeeded, and the *Lacedæmonians* were either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners, as they were in the dead of the night making towards the city. Thus the tyrant lost the flower of his troops, and *Philopæmen* after having laid waste great part of *Laconia*, c returned home loaded with spoils and glory [a].

Sparta *joined to the* Achæan *league.* *Year of the flood* 2812. *Before Christ* 191.

But what most of all raised the fame and reputation of *Philopæmen*, was his joining the powerful city of *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæan* commonwealth, by which means the *Achæans* came to eclipse all the other states of *Greece*. This memorable event we have related at length in the foregoing chapter, and therefore shall only add here one circumstance, which in our opinion reflects greater lustre on *Philopæmen* than all his warlike exploits. The *Lacedæmonians*, overjoyed to see themselves delivered from the oppressions they had long groaned under, ordered the palace and furniture of *Nabis* to be sold, and the sum accruing from thence to the amount of a hundred and twenty talents to be presented to *Philopæmen* as a token of their gratitude. Deputies d therefore were to be appointed, who should carry the money, and desire *Philopæmen* in the name of the senate to accept of the present. And on this occasion it was, says *Plutarch*, that the virtue of the generous *Achæan* appeared in its greatest lustre; for so great was the opinion which the *Spartans* had of his probity and disinterestedness, that no one could be found who would take upon him to offer the present. Struck with veneration, and fear of disobliging him, they all begged to be excused. At last they obliged by a public decree one *Timolaus*, who had formerly been his guest, to go to *Megalopolis*, where *Philopæmen* lived, and offer him the present. *Timolaus* with great reluctance set out for *Megalopolis*, where he was kindly received and entertained by *Philopæmen*. Here he had an opportunity of observing the severity of his e whole conduct, the greatness of his mind, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, which struck him with such awe, that he did not dare once to mention the present he was come to offer him; insomuch that giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned home with the present. The *Lacedæmonians* sent him again, but he could no more prevail upon himself now, than the first time, to mention the true cause of his journey. At last going a third time, he ventured with the utmost reluctance to acquaint *Philopæmen* with the offer he had to make to him in the name of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philopæmen* heard him with great calmness; but the instant he had done speaking he set out with him to *Sparta*, where after expressing the greatest obligations to the *Spartans*, he advised them to lay out their f money in corrupting and purchasing the wicked, and such as divided the citizens, and set them at variance with their seditious discourses, to the end that being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. For it is much more adviseable, said he, to stop an enemy's mouth than a friend's; as for me, I shall always be your friend, and you shall reap the benefit of my friendship without expence [b]. Such was the disinterestedness of this brave *Achæan*.

*A great instance of* Philopœmen's *disinterestedness.*

The *Achæan* republic was now become formidable; the addition of *Lacedæmon* had greatly increased its power; but at the same time divisions arising among the

[a] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28. [b] Plut. in Philop.

confederate

a confederate cities, the *Romans* began to let them know that the republic of *Achaia* was in some degree subject to that of *Rome*. *Messene* and *Elis*, two cities of *Achaia*, had sided with *Antiochus*, and refused to come to the *Achæan* diet. Whereupon *Diophanes*, at that time prætor, raised some troops and advanced at the head of them into the territories of the two rebellious cities, laying waste the country in order to bring them to their duty. The inhabitants had recourse to *Flaminius*, who then resided at *Chalcis*, protesting that they had rather surrender themselves up to the *Romans*, than live subject to the *Achæans*. *Flaminius* immediately left *Chalcis*, and hastening to *Megalopolis*, sent orders from thence to *Diophanes*, enjoining him to desist from hostilities, and meet him at *Megalopolis*. The prætor obeyed, and *Flaminius* after b having gently reproved him for disturbing the peace, advised him to disband his troops, assuring him at the same time that he would settle the affair of the *Messenians* and *Eleans* to the satisfaction of the *Achæans*. Accordingly he subjected them to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the *Achæan* exiles they kept in their cities. This proceeding of *Flaminius* was greatly applauded by the *Achæans*, for the *Messenians* earnestly intreated him to put a *Roman* garison into the city, protesting that they had rather be subject to *Rome* than to *Achaia*. But *Flaminius* in so doing had another point in view, which was to persuade the *Achæans* to deliver up to him the island of *Zacynthos* (S), which they had lately purchased. *Diophanes* could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with it; whereupon *Flaminius* ordered c the assembly to be called, and there gave a signal proof of his abilities, convincing the *Achæans* that the parting with an island which they had lately purchased would prove very advantageous to their republic. The speech he made on this occasion is entirely accommodated to the genius of the *Greeks*. "I look on *Achaia*, said he, "as a sort of tortoise which nature has guarded with its shell. If it thrusts out its "head or feet ever so little beyond its armour, it is in danger of being trod upon "and hurt. The frontier cities, which surround you, *Achæans*, are your shell "and your natural defence. But as to any acquisitions beyond the continent, those "are parts of your state which are exposed to insults, and which you cannot "secure without being at a greater charge than they are worth." This speech, d which was founded on good sense, convinced the *Achæans* that their new purchase would prove rather prejudicial than useful to their republic, and therefore they all unanimously voted that it should be delivered up to the *Romans*[q].

*Messene and Elis revolt from the Achæans.*

It was not long ere new disputes arose among the *Achæans*, which gave the *Romans* a fair opportunity of exerting their authority even over their allies, and those very nations which they had declared free. The general assembly of the *Achæans* had been held time out of mind at *Ægium*; but *Philopæmen*, who was then prætor, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages which those assemblies brought to the places where they were held, among all the cities of the *Achæan* league, and had named *Argos* for the place of the next diet. But the inhabitants of e *Ægium* opposed this regulation, and had recourse to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who after having reduced the *Ætolians*, and made himself master of *Cephalenia*, resided in that island to decide, as he said, such disputes as should arise between any of the *Greek* cities or republics. Thus under the character of a peace-maker, he was in reality the sovereign of *Greece*, and gave laws to the whole country. The island of *Cephalenia* being now in the hands of the *Romans*, a way was open for the legions into *Peloponnesus*, which was only divided from it by a small arm of the sea about twenty-four miles over. *Fulvius* therefore upon the first notice of this dispute crossed over into *Peloponnesus*, and the whole matter was referred to his determination. His inclination indeed led him to favour the inhabitants of *Ægium*; but seeing that the f other party was far more numerous, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion. It was enough for him that the dispute had been brought to his tribunal[r].

*New disputes among the Achæans.*

[q] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 32. [r] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 28—30.

(S) *Zacynthos*, now *Zante*, is a pretty considerable island in the *Ionian* sea. It is said to be twenty-five miles in length, twenty in breadth, and sixty in circuit. It had for a long time belonged to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had given it up to *Amynander* king of the *Athamanes*. This prince made the famous *Philip* of *Megalopolis* governor of it, and he transferred it to *Hierocles* of *Sicily*, who after the defeat of *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ* sold it to the *Achæans*.

*The* Lacedæmonians *attempt to withdraw themselves from the* Achæan *league. Year of the flood* 2814. *Before Christ* 189.

The quarrel that arose between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* was of more con- a
sequence. *Flaminius* had given all the places on the coast of *Laconia* to the *Achæans*, who kept garisons in them even after *Lacedæmon* had acceded to the *Achæan* league. This some of the leading men among the *Lacedæmonians* could not brook, and therefore to deliver themselves from this slavery, they attacked in the night a small city on the coast called *Las* (T), but were repulsed by the inhabitants and the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, who there enjoyed quiet under the protection of *Achaia*. This attempt alarmed the exiles, who brought their complaints to the council of the *Achæans*. *Philopæmen*, who was an avowed friend and protector of the exiles, for they had been driven out for opposing the tyrant, was then prætor. He represented to the assembly the attempt upon *Las* as an insult offered to all *Achaia*, and caused a decree b
to be enacted, commanding the *Lacedæmonians* to deliver up the authors of that enterprize on pain of being treated as enemies. Embassadors were sent to *Lacedæmon* to give them notice of this decree; but this served only to exasperate the minds of a proud people. They immediately put to death thirty of those who were known to be in the *Achæan* interest, dissolved their alliance with *Achaia*, and sent embassadors to *Fulvius* the proconsul, intreating him to come and take possession of their city. But these proceedings, and the powerful protection which they were imploring did not deter *Philopæmen* from declaring war against *Lacedæmon*. However, as the season was far advanced, the *Achæans* contented themselves with plundering part of the *Lacedæmonian* territory, and harassing the inhabitants with frequent incursions. c

At the return of the spring both parties made preparations for war, and hostilities were carried so far that they forced *Fulvius* to leave *Cephalenia*, and come into *Peloponnesus*. On his arrival he ordered an assembly to be convened at *Elis*, to discuss the pretensions of *Achaia* over *Lacedæmon*. But after hearing both parties, he was so perplexed that he could come to no determination. He did all that lay in his power to reconcile the contending parties, but they were too untractable to come to an accommodation. He therefore advised them to send embassadors to *Rome*, and while the cause was trying there to suspend all hostilities. They followed his advice, and deputies were immediately dispatched to *Rome*. The *Achæans* appointed two great men to plead their cause, who were of a very different character. These d
were *Diophanes*, a man of moderation, and of a tractable disposition; and *Lycortas* the father of *Polybius*, a man entirely addicted to *Philopæmen*. *Diophanes* referred the decision of the cause to the arbitration of the senate. *Lycortas* maintained the decree of *Philopæmen*, and urged that it could not be reversed without making void the regulations of *Flaminius*, who had committed the care of the coast to the *Achæans*. The senate was unwilling to disgust the *Achæans*, but at the same time thought the *Lacedæmonians* worthy of compassion. They returned therefore a dark and ambiguous answer, which each party interpreted in their own favour. The *Achæans* pretended that it gave them full power to inflict on the *Lacedæmonians* the punishment they deserved. Whereupon *Philopæmen*, who was continued in his prætorship, take- e
ing the field, marched to the very walls of *Lacedæmon*, and there summoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon *Las*, promising that they should not be condemned without a fair trial. Upon this promise, all those whom *Philopæmen* demanded by name set out for the *Achæan* camp, attended by the chief citizens of *Lacedæmon*, who looked upon their cause as their own. Being arrived at the camp their malecontent countrymen crouded round them, and with an insulting air began to vent the most injurious expressions against them. Nay, from words they came to blows, and the *Achæan* officers had occasion to exert all their authority to appease the tumult. As the *Lacedæmonian* exiles continued complaining of their hard treat-
ment, they engaged the *Achæan* soldiers in their quarrel, and all on a sudden fell up- f
on the *Lacedæmonians* with such fury, that seventeen of them were killed upon the spot. Seventy-three were with the greatest difficulty rescued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. *Philopæmen* did not intend to pardon them, but was unwilling it should be said that they had been condemned without a trial. They were therefore the next morning produced before the multitude, who without scarce suffering them to answer for themselves, condemned and executed them all. This severe proceeding struck all the *Lacedæmonians* with such terror, that they surrendered at discretion; and *Philo-*

Lacedæmon *reduced by the* Achæans.

(T) *Las* was situated on the *Laconic* gulph south of *Sparta* on a stony soil, and in a country full of rocks, whence it borrowed its name; the word λᾶς signifying in *Greek* a stone.

*pæmen*,

a *pæmen*, whose main point in view was to humble the *Lacedæmonians*, treated them as if their city had been taken by storm. He commanded them to demolish their walls, disband all their mercenaries, drive out of their city all the slaves whom the tyrants had set at liberty, receive the exiles, and lastly renounce the laws of *Lycurgus*, and for the future govern themselves only by those of *Achaia*[t]. *Hard conditions imposed upon the city by* Philopœmen.

The *Lacedæmonians* readily demolished their walls; for *Lacedæmon* had long subsisted without any other defence but the bravery of its citizens. The recalling of the exiles was what they were most averse to; but *Philopæmen* and the *Achæans* were inexorable, and would by all means have the exiles re-instated in their ancient honours, from which they had been driven by the tyrants. But the most fatal b blow was the abolition of the laws of the wise *Lycurgus*, which, severe as they were, the *Lacedæmonians* had observed for the space of seven hundred years[t]. Such was the fate of one of the most illustrious cities of *Greece* (U).

The *Lacedæmonians* sent embassadors to *Rome* to complain of this cruel treatment; and *Lepidus*, who was then consul, writ a letter to the *Achæan* confederacy, acquainting them that the senate did not at all approve of such inhuman proceedings. Hereupon the *Achæans* immediately dispatched *Nicodemus* of *Elis* to *Rome* to justify their conduct. Upon his return he acquainted his republic that *Rome* was not pleased with the subversion of the government of *Sparta*, with the demolition of the walls, and the putting to death so many of the inhabitants; but at the same time did not e annul the decrees which the assembly had enacted. *Rome* had then affairs of greater importance on her hands, and therefore put off the discussion of this point to a more proper season[u]. *The* Lacedæmonians *carry their complaints to* Rome.

The *Achæan* league was at this time in great repute all over the east, and the friendship of so powerful a state courted by all the princes of *Asia*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* sent embassadors to renew his ancient alliance with the *Achæans*, and to offer the republic six thousand shields, and two hundred talents. His offer was accepted, and *Lycortas* with two others deputed to thank him for the present, and renew the alliance. King *Eumenes* also sent an embassy for the same purpose, offering a hundred and twenty talents, the interest of which should be settled on the members of d the public council. Embassadors came likewise from *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, offering the republic in the name of their sovereign ten ships of war completely equipped, and desiring to have the ancient treaty of alliance confirmed by the assembly. All these embassadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept at that juncture of the ships which the latter offered. As for *Eumenes*, *Apollonius* of *Sicyon* exhorted in a long speech the *Achæans*, not only to reject the present that was offered by his embassadors, but to look upon him as an enemy, since he attempted to bribe the members of that venerable assembly; which he would not have done, if he had not something in view prejudicial to their true interest. His speech was heard with great applause, e and the renewing of the alliance postponed till a farther opportunity[w]. *The friendship of the* Achæans *courted by the princes of* Asia.

The *Romans* having now got the better of all their enemies in the east, resumed the cause of the *Lacedæmonians* with a design to humble the *Achæans*, whose great power began to raise no small jealousy at *Rome*. Three commissioners were therefore named, of which *Q. Cæcilius* was the chief, to go first into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Achaia*, to examine matters on the spot. These having settled the affairs of *Macedon*, pursuant to their commission, hastened to *Peloponnesus*. *Aristenes*, who was then prætor, hearing of their arrival, assembled all the chiefs of the republic at *Argos*, and invited *Cæcilius* with his collegues thither. *Cæcilius* being introduced to the council, began his speech by commending the zeal of the *Achæans* f for the welfare of their country, and extolling the wisdom of their governors. He then added that he could not forbear telling them, that their behaviour towards the *The* Romans *jealous of their power.*

[t] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 30—34. [t] Liv. ibid. [u] Polyb. in legat. c. 41. p. 850, 852. [w] Polyb. ibid.

(U) This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as *Sparta* reflects no great honour on *Philopæmen*. *Plutarch*, who justly ranks him among the greatest commanders of *Greece*, seems in a certain manner to palliate this action, since he could not justify it. His insisting upon the re-establishment of the exiles was no way blameable; for most of them had been banished by *Machanidas*, *Lycurgus*, and *Nabis*, for attempting to place on the throne *Agesipolis*, to whom the kingdom of *Sparta* of right belonged. But all the other steps *Philopæmen* took on this occasion betrayed a great deal of passion, and a revengeful temper, which could not be satisfied but by the utter destruction of his enemies.

*Lacedæ-*

*Lacedæmonians* had been very much censured at *Rome*; and therefore he exhorted them a to atone some way or other for their imprudent conduct on that occasion. *Aristenes*, who acted under-hand in concert with *Cæcilius*, did not make any reply. *Diophanes* of *Megalopolis*, who was a professed enemy to *Philopæmen*, made other complaints against him; but took no notice of his proceedings at *Lacedæmon*. Upon this *Philopæmen*, *Lycortas*, and *Archon* spoke in their turns, and their Speeches in defence of the late proceedings at *Sparta* made such an impression on the council, that when *Cæcilius* withdrew they came to a resolution, that nothing should be altered in the decrees that had been enacted, and that this answer should be given to the *Roman* commissioners. When *Cæcilius* heard it, he desired that the general assembly might be convened. But they replied that he must first produce a letter from the senate of b *Rome*, whereby the *Achæans* should be desired to meet. As *Cæcilius* had no such letter, they told him plainly that they would not assemble. This exasperated the *Roman* to such a degree, that he left *Achaia* without making any further enquiries [x].

On his return to *Rome* he acquainted the senate with what he had transacted in *Peloponnesus*. Whereupon *Apollonidas*, whom the *Achæans* had sent to plead their cause before the senate, was introduced. He endeavoured to justify the conduct of *Philopæmen* and his Countrymen with respect to the *Lacedæmonians*, and told them for what reason they had refused to call, at the instance of *Cæcilius*, a general assembly. After the *Achæan* embassador those from *Sparta* were admitted. *Phi-* c *lopæmen*, as we have observed above, restored the *Spartan* exiles; and these very exiles were the men, who since their return had most zealously contended for the recovery of the ancient splendor and liberty of their native country. Two of these, *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, were on this occasion appointed by the *Lacedæmonians* to implore the justice of the *Roman* senate. They represented with great eloquence, and in a very moving manner, the miserable condition to which *Sparta*, once mistress of *Greece*, was reduced; how its walls were demolished, and the citizens dragged into *Achaia*, and there sold for slaves (W); how the sacred laws of *Lycurgus*, to which *Sparta* owed her grandeur and glory, were entirely abolished, *&c.*

The senate after hearing and weighing the reasons on both sides, ordered *Appius* d *Claudius*, and two others, who were soon to set out for *Macedon*, to put an end to this dispute, and referred the contending parties to the judgment which they should give on the spot in the assembly of the *Achæans*. In the mean time they required the *Achæans* to convene their general assembly whenever the *Roman* embassadors should desire it; since the *Roman* senate admitted them as often as they required an audience [y].

Sometime before the arrival of the *Roman* commissioners in *Peloponnesus*, *Lycortas*, at that time prætor, summoned the general assembly to examine the affair of the *Lacedæmonians*, that he might be ready to answer the questions which the commissioners should ask him, and at the same time know how his own countrymen stood e affected. He represented to them such things as they might fear from the *Romans*, who seemed to favour the interest of *Lacedæmon* more than that of *Achaia*; he expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, who, though they owed their return into their own country to the *Achæans*, had yet been so base as to speak in the senate against them, as if they had drove them from their country. He ended his speech with these words: "But after all they are our subjects, "and it is rebellion in them to bring a process against their masters. What punish- "ment then have they deserved?" At these words loud cries were heard from all parts of the assembly, desiring the prætor to put the affair to the vote, and nothing being listened to but passion, a decree passed condemning *Areus*, *Alcibiades*, and all f who attended them in their embassy, to be put to death. But in the mean time the *Roman* commissioners arrived, and the scene was changed. The assembly of the *Achæans* was then sitting at *Clitor*, a little city of *Arcadia*, and as soon as *Appius* appeared there he took the highest place, and acted rather as a judge than a private deputy. The harangue with which he began discovered his intentions, and

*The* Romans *espouse the cause of the* Lacedæmonians.

[x] Polyb. in legat. c. 41. p. 853, 854.

[y] Polyb. ibid. c. 42. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 33.

(W) *Philopæmen* ordered those slaves, who had been set free by the tyrants, to be sought out and sold; and with the money arising from the sale, he rebuilt a portico, which the *Lacedæmonians* had destroyed at *Megalopolis* his native city.

made

a made the *Achæans* fear the worst. He told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the *Lacedæmonians*, and could not but disapprove of all the steps that had been taken on that occasion. He inveighed against the perfidiousness and cruelty of those who had massacred the envoys from *Lacedæmon*, a city venerable for its antiquity, and exclaimed against the abolition of the laws of *Lycurgus*, which had been so much admired by all the nations of the world. *Lycortas* the prætor, who was a friend to *Philopæmen*, on whom the accusation fell, undertook to defend the common cause of the republic, and the conduct of a great man whom he loved. His speech, for which we refer our readers to *Livy*[a], was very apposite, and well becoming the head of a nation. But *Appius* was little affected b with it; without descending to particulars, or taking any notice of the arguments *Lycortas* had produced to justify their conduct, he desired them to restore *Lacedæmon* her ancient rights and privileges voluntarily, lest *Rome* should force them to it. These words drew sighs from the whole assembly; but fear had got the better of their resentment. They desired the commissioners to do what they thought fit, but not oblige the *Achæans* to break their oath by annulling themselves the decree which they had swore to observe. This submission appeased the anger of *Appius*, who contented himself at present with only repealing the sentence that was just before pronounced against *Areus* and *Alcibiades*. With this act of power and authority they put an end to the sessions, and leaving *Greece* returned to *Italy*[a].

c The commissioners having made their report in the senate, it was decreed, that those persons who had been condemned by the *Achæans* should be recalled and restored; that all sentences pronounced in the assembly of *Achaia* against *Lacedæmon* should be repealed; and lastly, that for the future the *Lacedæmonians* should be deemed members of the *Achæan* body, and treated accordingly. *Pausanias* adds an article that is not mentioned by *Livy*, *viz.* that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt[b]. *Q. Marcius* was appointed to go into *Greece* and see this sentence executed; which he did accordingly, obliging both parties to accept and sign the decree.

*The city of* Messene *withdraws itself from the* Achæan *league.*

But this storm was scarce appeased when a new one arose. The city of *Messene* d had been a member of the *Achæan* body ever since the war of the confederates, as we have related above. But one *Democrates*, who had a particular enmity to *Philopæmen*, drew it off from the league, and was arming the *Messenians* his countrymen in order to defend the city against *Philopæmen*, who was then prætor the eighth time. The brave *Achæan* no sooner heard of the revolt, but he made what haste he could to seize the city of *Corone* (X) before the rebel had made himself master of it. But as he was sick, and actually kept his bed with a fever when the first news was brought him of the disturbances at *Messene*, *Dinocrates* got to *Corone* before him. Then the *Achæan* general assembling the *Megalopolitan* youth, who had offered to follow him as volunteers, and making a counter-march advanced towards *Messene*, with

Philopœmen *marches against the rebels.*

e a design to fall upon the revolters while *Dinocrates* was busy at *Corone*. But on his march he met with *Dinocrates*, attacked him, and put him to flight at the first onset. *Philopæmen* on this occasion forgot his sickness, and the fatigues of the day before; for he had marched from *Argos* to *Megalopolis*, which was above sixty miles, in twelve hours. While the *Megalopolitans* were pursuing the rebels, a body of above five hundred men, whom *Dinocrates* had had the precaution to leave in the open country about *Messene* to defend it, came and joined him. The *Messenians* being encouraged by this reinforcement, faced about and renewed the action. The *Megalopolitans*, though led on by *Philopæmen* and *Lycortas*, were too weak to make head

*But it defeated.*

against such a body of fresh men; *Philopæmen* therefore made it his chief business to f retire in good order, which branch of the military art he understood better than any general of his age. To this end he marched into rough and narrow ways, whither the enemy could not without danger follow him; he placed *Lycortas* and the *Megalopolitans* in the van, and brought up the rear himself, facing about from time to time,

[a] Liv. l. xxxix. c. 35—37. [a] Liv. ibid. [b] Paus. in Achaic. p. 414.

(X) *Coron* or *Corone* was a city of *Messenia*, and is still in being in the province of *Belvedere*, and known by the same name. *Plutarch* (9) instead of *Corone* puts *Colonis* or *Colone*, which was also a city in the territory of *Messene*, as appears from *Ptolomy*.

(9) *Plutarch in Philop.*

and keeping the enemy at some distance. As his troops retreated with too great a precipitation, he was left quite alone in a defile, and surrounded by the enemy. However, they durst not even then attack him, but keeping at a distance drove him with showers of arrows into a narrow place, where he could not turn his horse. Yet still he supported himself, though quite wore out with sickness, the fatigues of his march, and old age, being then in his seventieth year. He spurred on his horse cross the rocks, and was very near rejoining the main body of his small army, when his horse stumbled and threw him. By the fall he received a deep wound on the head, and lay senseless till the enemies thinking him dead began to strip him. He then opened his eyes and seemed to revive, when *Dinocrates*, who never before had dared to look him in the face, ordered his hands to be tied behind b his back, and in that condition carried him to *Messene*. When the *Messenians* received the news of this victory, and heard that *Philopœmen* was taken prisoner, they all ran to the gates of the city to see what they could no otherwise believe. Great was the joy of the rebel city, when the news was confirmed by the relation of those very *Messenians* who had taken him. But upon the sight of the hero of *Greece* reduced to captivity more by an accident than any want of valour, most of the spectators were so much touched with compassion, that they could not refrain from tears; they remembered the exploits of this great man, under whom many of them had fought; they remembered the favours they had received at his hands, and how they had been by his means delivered from the oppressions of the tyrant *Nabis*. As many had not c been able to see him by reason of the croud, they desired he might be carried to the theatre, and there shewn to the multitude. But the magistrates fearing lest the esteem and love which the *Messenians* had formerly shewn him should revive, did not suffer the illustrious prisoner to be long exhibited in this manner. They hurried him away on a sudden to a vault called the *treasury*, without doubt, because the public money had been formerly kept there. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without, and was stopped by a large stone raised up and let down by a crane. In this cavern *Philopœmen* wounded, sick and fatigued, spent a miserable night. Early in the morning the senate and people met. The latter were for getting favourable terms in exchange for their prisoner, and sending him back to d his own country. But the senators, who had been the authors of the revolt, and consequently were afraid they should find in him an implacable enemy, agreed to put him to death. And accordingly without delay sent the executioner into the vault with orders to force the prisoner to drink a dose of poison. The moment the illustrious *Megalopolitan* saw him carrying a cup in his hand, he guessed what he was bringing him, and raising himself up with great difficulty, for he was very weak, he asked the executioner with great tranquillity, *Whether* Lycortas *and the* Megalopolitan *youth had got into a place of safety. Not one of them is killed*, answered the executioner, *they have all made their escape. That is enough*, replied *Philopœmen*, *I die content*. He then took the cup of poison with great chearfulness, and drank the fatal potion with e joy. Thus died one of the greatest heroes that *Greece* or any other country ever produced. He was no ways inferior in valour, military knowledge and virtue, to any of the boasted heroes of *Rome*. Had *Achaia* been nearer to an equality with *Rome*, he would have preserved his country from the yoke which the *Roman* republic forced it to bear. Both the *Greek* and *Roman* writers put him upon the level with *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, who were his contemporaries, and happened to die the same year. They all allow him to have been not only one of the greatest commanders, but one of the greatest statesmen of his age. To his valour and prudence *Achaia* owed all her glory, which upon his death began to decline, there being none after him in that republic able to oppose her enemies with the like steadiness and prudence; whence f *Philopœmen* was called the last of the *Greeks*, as *Brutus* was afterwards stiled the last of the *Romans* [c].

Philopœmen *taken prisoner.*

Philopœmen *put to death by the* Messenians.

*Year of the flood* 2820. *Before Christ* 183.

When the news of his death was spread among the cities of the *Achæan* league, the rage of the people against his assassins was as great as their grief for the loss of so great a man. The general assembly was immediately convened at *Megalopolis*, and *Lycortas*, at that time the most famous general in *Achaia*, put in the room of the deceased. The new general without loss of time entered the *Messenian* territory at the head of an army which was soon raised, all the young men that were fit to

[c] Liv. l. xxxix. c. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366, 368. Polyb. in legat. c. 52, 53.

bear

a bear arms, shewing a great eagerness to revenge the death of a man to whom their country owed all its splendor. *Lycortas* had been his particular friend, and therefore was determined at all events to bring the authors of his death to condign punishment. Thus both the general and soldiery breathing nothing but revenge, they advanced to the very walls of *Messene*, after having laid waste the whole territory, and summoned the rebellious city to surrender. The people in spite of the prætor and senate opened the gates to the *Achæan* troops, and put them in possession both of the city and castle. This submissive behaviour asswaged the wrath of *Lycortas*, who did not think it adviseable to treat the rebels as their furious revolt seemed to deserve. He only insisted upon their delivering up the ring-leaders of the rebellion, and such b as were any ways concerned in the death of *Philopæmen*. They readily complied with his request, and the assassins loaded with irons were brought before him; but *Dinocrates*, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on himself; the rest were afterwards carried to *Megalopolis*, in order to be sacrificed at the tomb of the deceased hero[d].

*Messene surrenders to the* Achæans.

And now nothing remained but to pay the funeral honours to the body of *Philopæmen*, which had been left unburied in the bottom of a dungeon. It was taken from thence with great pomp, burnt according to custom on a funeral pile, and his ashes deposited in an urn adorned with festoons and fillets. *Lycortas* being now to leave the conquered city, did not disband his troops, and send them to their respective c homes as usual. They all marched out of the city in good order as it were in funeral triumph. The infantry marched first crowned with laurel to shew their victory, but shedding floods of tears for the deceased hero. Next came the urn carried by *Polybius* the historian son of *Lycortas*, surrounded by the prime nobility of *Achaia*, and the *Messenian* prisoners bound in chains. The urn was followed by the cavalry in their richest apparel and caparisons. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the solemn procession; but it was visible in every one's countenance, that their joy for the victory was damped with real grief on this mournful occasion. In this manner they advanced towards *Megalopolis*, *Philopæmen*'s native city, and arriving there paid him the last honours with the utmost pomp and mag- d nificence. The *Messenian* captives were stoned at his tomb, and each city of *Achaia* gave some signal proof of the esteem they had for him while alive, and of the real grief they felt for the loss of so great a hero. Statues were erected to his memory in most cities of *Greece* with noble inscriptions. The magistrates of *Megalopolis* passed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly sacrificed at his tomb; during which sacrifice a panegyric was pronounced, and a company of young children sung hymns in his praise[e] (Y).

*Philopœmen's ashes carried in great pomp to* Megalopolis.

When news was brought to *Rome* that the *Achæans* had restored the city of *Messene* to the league, their embassadors there were addressed in quite different terms from those which had been used before. The senate told them that they had been careful e not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from *Italy* to *Messene*. This plainly shews the insincerity of the *Romans*, and the little regard they had to truth in their transactions with other nations. For when the *Achæans* demanded the succours which they were obliged to furnish them according to the treaty, and desired at least that they would not suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of *Italy* to *Messene*, it was answered, that when any city broke off from the *Achæan* league, the senate did not think themselves obliged to enter into those disputes, nor concern themselves with the claims and pretensions which each city might have. This was giving, as it were, the signal to all the cities engaged in the *Achæan* league to take up arms, and separate as they pleased from the alliance. But now they endeavour to persuade the f *Achæans* that they had prohibited the subjects of the republic from lending any kind of assistance to the *Messenian* rebels, and make a merit with them of what they had not done. The *Achæans* at this time were masters of all *Peloponnesus*, *Philip* king of *Macedon* was preparing anew for war, the *Ætolians* were disgusted with *Rome*, and

[d] Liv. Plut. Polyb. ubi supra. [e] Idem, ibid.

(Y) Several years after when *Corinth* was taken and destroyed by *Mummius*, a *Roman* brought articles of impeachment against *Philopæmen*, in order to have the statues and monuments erected all over *Greece* to the memory of this great man thrown down and abolished. He accused him of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and shewn on all occasions his hatred to the republic. The cause was heard in council before *Mummius*, and the charge refuted with great eloquence and solidity by *Polybius*.

*Antiochus*

*Antiochus* ready to pass over into *Greece*. No wonder then that *Rome* was very cautious of giving any umbrage to the league in so critical a juncture. a

We have observed above that the *Roman* senate had decreed among many other articles that *Sparta* should be admitted into the *Achæan* league, and that *Marcius* had been sent into *Greece* to see this decree put in execution. However, the *Achæan* embassadors on their return from *Rome* acquainted the assembly that the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude towards them, were not included in that decree, and consequently might be driven anew from the city without disobliging the senate. Upon their report the exiles were again ordered to depart the city, notwithstanding the strong opposition made by *Diophanes*, who undertook to defend their cause. Being thus reduced to their former state of misery, they sent embassadors to *Rome* imploring the protection of the senate. The senators were touched with their complaints, and wrote letters to the council of *Achaia*, desiring them to give the *Lacedæmonian* exiles leave to settle again in their native country. These letters were delivered to the exiles, and by them on their return to the council of *Achaia*, which returned no other answer than that the matter should be considered after the arrival of the *Achæan* embassadors from *Rome*. Not long after the embassadors returned, and declared before the council, that the senate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not out of any regard to them, but to redeem themselves from their importunities [f]. b

*The* Lacedæmonian *exiles recur to the* Romans.

After the embassadors had been heard, *Lycortas* was of opinion that no notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had wrote; but *Hyperbates*, who was then prætor, and *Callicrates* were of a different opinion. *Lycortas* however carried it, and it was resolved that embassadors should be sent to acquaint the *Roman* senate with the reasons which had moved them to adhere to their former resolutions, notwithstanding their recommendation. *Callicrates*, *Lysiades*; and *Aratus*, were appointed embassadors, and instructions given them agreeable to the deliberations that had been made. When they arrived at *Rome*, *Callicrates* acted in direct opposition to his orders; for being introduced to the senate, he exhorted them to exert their authority over his stubborn countrymen, telling them, that if the *Greeks* paid no regard either to their letters or decrees, they ought to blame themselves for it, such a neglect being entirely owing to their lenity and indolence. In our commonwealth, said he, "there are two parties, one of which maintains that an implicit obedience should be paid to all your orders; the other party pretends that "the laws of the country should prevail over your will; and this suits best with the "genius of the *Achæans*, and has a great influence over the populace. Hence such "as blindly comply with your ordinances are hated by the people, while those "who oppose them are honoured and applauded. We see at this present time "the first employments of our republic filled by men, whose only merit consists in "a pretended zeal for the laws of their country, in contradiction to the express orders of this august assembly. If you continue to shew such an indifference on this "head, all the chief men will certainly oppose you, this being a sure way to preferment. But if you shew favour to those only who espouse your interest, the "leading men in all the republics of *Greece* will declare for you, and the populace "soon follow their example. What I have said is plainly confirmed by the present "conduct of my countrymen. How long is it since you desired them to recal the "*Lacedæmonian* exiles? Nevertheless they are so far from complying with your request, that they have bound themselves by oath never to restore them [g]". Thus the *Greeks* began to forge their own chains, and ambitious men prostitute to their private interest that liberty which their ancestors had purchased and maintained at the expence of their lives. *Callicrates* was so transported with ambition, that he chose rather to betray and ruin his country, than suffer any other to have more authority in it than himself. c d e f

Callicrates *betrays his country to ingratiate himself with the* Romans.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of *Rome* could not but be very agreeable to the senate. As *Callicrates* had treacherously pointed out the methods by which they might easily weaken and crush the *Greek* republics, it was concluded that they should exert themselves in heaping favours upon such as maintained the authority of *Rome*, and humbling those who presumed to oppose it. Our historian observes, that this was the first time the fatal resolution was taken of depreciating

[f] Polyb. in Legat. c. 54. [g] Polyb. in Legat. c. 58.

those,

a those, who in their respective countries had the most noble way of thinking; and raising such as declared right or wrong for the *Romans*; a resolution which in all countries lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. Henceforth it was a constant maxim of the *Roman* policy to increase the power and authority of such as favoured their ambitious views in defiance of the laws and constitutions of their respective countries, and oppress by all possible methods those who were sincere friends to the liberty which they had received from their ancestors. This single maxim is sufficient to give us a true idea of the pretended equity and moderation which the *Romans* discovered on some occasions.

*The* Achæans *commanded to restore the* Lacedæmonian *exiles.*

FROM this period *Rome* began to treat the *Achæans* in a quite different manner b from what she had done in former times. Peremptory orders were sent them to restore the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, and pay a blind obedience to the decrees of the senate. Letters were at the same time directed to the *Ætolians*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and other free states of *Greece*, enjoining them to see the orders of the senate put in execution, and exhorting them to employ in their respective commonwealths men only of such noble sentiments as *Callicrates*. Thus the *Romans* requited the eminent services which the *Achæans* had done them in their wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*, and the inviolable fidelity, with which they had adhered to them, when they were despised by the other states of *Greece* (Z). *Callicrates* on his return to *Peloponnesus* spread so artfully the terror of the *Roman* name, and intimidated the people to such a degree c that he was elected prætor; in which employment he restored the *Lacedæmonian* and *Messenian* exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways oblige his patrons the *Romans*.

BY these violent methods *Rome* got numbers of flatterers, but lost many of her best friends; and on the other side *Perses*, who had succeeded *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, spared no pains to win over to his party such as were dissatisfied with the *Romans*. That prince being determined to shake off the yoke which the *Romans* had laid on him, made it his whole business to draw off the *Greek* cities and nations from their alliance with *Rome*. To this end thinking his presence necessary among nations, who would perhaps sooner hearken to a neighbouring king, than a distant d republic, he advanced towards *Delphos* under pretence of discharging a vow, but in reality to make alliances in *Greece*. With this view he crossed mount *Oeta*, and surprized the *Greeks* with his sudden appearance among them. The terror spread into *Asia*, and alarmed *Eumenes* in *Pergamus*. But *Perses* after consulting the oracle returned into his own kingdom, passing through *Phthiotis* and *Thessaly* without committing any hostilities in his march. His father had formerly been guilty of great cruelties in all those countries, and therefore the son not only took care to commit no violence on his march, but sent deputies to all the free states, or circular letters remonstrating that they ought not to continue the hatred, they might have conceived against the father to the son, who courted their friendship [h].

*Perses endeavours to gain over the* Achæans. *Year of the flood* 2825. *Before Christ* 178.

e THE *Macedonian*'s chief attention was to gain over the *Achæan* republic, which had carried its hatred so far against the *Macedonians*, that they were not suffered upon any pretence to enter *Achaia*. It was not only hatred, but policy, that had induced them to make such a decree. For though *Philip* had greatly disobliged them, especially by putting the two *Aratus*'s to death, yet he had proved in many other respects very beneficent to them; whence they were with much ado prevailed upon to forsake him; and even after they had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, some of their leading men still favoured their ancient ally. Wherefore it was thought necessary for the preservation of concord among themselves to use great circumspection, lest by his agents he should foment divisions in the state. Besides, by hearkening to his mes- f sages they might give jealousy to their new allies. On these considerations the general assembly of *Achaia* had enacted a decree, forbidding any *Macedonian* on what pretence

[h] Liv. l. xli. c. 12.

(Z) *Polybius* ascribes this violent proceeding of the *Romans* to the compassion which the *Spartan* exiles raised in the breasts of the senators. The *Romans*, says he, are easily moved to pity by the complaints of the miserable, and think it their duty to relieve all who fly to them for protection. And this it was that inclined them to espouse the cause of the *Lacedæmonian* exiles. But we must remember that this in other respects impartial historian wrote this in *Rome*, and under the eyes of the *Romans*, after they were absolute lords of *Greece* (10).

(10) *Polyb. legat. c.* 58.

forever to enter into *Achaia* on pain of being treated as an enemy to the state. This a decree cut off all intercourse and means of reconciliation with the *Macedonians*, and thereby quashed at once the *Macedonian* faction. But at the same time it proved very prejudicial both to the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*; for the slaves on both sides used to fly to the enemies of their masters, where they found a sure asylum, knowing they should not be followed or claimed after that general prohibition. However, *Perses* made the first step towards a reconciliation, by sending back to the *Achæans* such of their slaves as had taken sanctuary in his dominions. With this acceptable present he sent an obliging letter, exhorting them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from finding for the future refuge in his dominions. This was courting their friendship, and tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient b commerce. One *Xenarchus*, who was then prætor of *Achaia*, read the king's letter in a full assembly; it was heard with great applause, especially by those who had received their slaves, and most of the leading men were for annulling the decree, forbidding all commerce with *Macedon*. But *Callicrates* represented to them the bad consequences of repealing the decree in so critical a juncture; he told them that the *Romans* designed to make war upon *Perses*, that *Perses* had nothing else in view by sending back their slaves than to involve them and all *Greece* in this war, and that to enter into the least engagement with *Perses*, was to renounce their alliance with *Rome*, and draw all the west upon them. He therefore exhorted them as they tendered the welfare of their country to refuse the dangerous presents, live as utter c strangers to *Macedon*, and confirm the decree forbidding all manner of commerce with her.

*Arcon Xenarchus*'s brother spoke after *Callicrates*, and endeavoured to prove that the fear of an imminent war was without foundation, since *Perses* had renewed his alliance with the *Romans*, was honoured by them with the title of friend and ally, and had lately entertained their embassadors with great demonstrations of kindness; why then might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Epirots*, *Ætolians*, *Thessalians*, and the other nations of *Greece*, reap the advantages of his neighbourhood? Why might not the *Achæans*, like the other free states, cease to be enemies to *Perses*, without ceasing to be friends to *Rome*? He concluded that it would be time enough to de- d clare against the *Macedonians* when they were come to an open rupture with *Rome*; but till then they had no reason to be more zealous for their friends, than their friends were for themselves[i].

*Arcon*'s discourse would have determined the assembly to comply with the request of *Perses*, had not *Callicrates* observed that the king had not vouchsafed to treat with them otherwise than by a short letter. This want of respect, as *Callicrates* stiled it, being artfully represented, made the assembly postpone the determination, and refuse for the present the king's offer. Assoon as *Perses* was acquainted with what had passed at the diet, he sent embassadors to make the same offers. But the advocates of *Rome* found means to render all their negotiations fruitless[k]. e

*The* Achæans *declare for the* Romans. *Year of the flood* 2834. *Before Christ* 169.

Some years after a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Perses*, great divisions arose in all the cities and free states of *Greece*, some favouring the *Macedonians*, and others adhering to the *Romans*. The assembly of *Achaia* was not exempt from these disturbances; but *Arcon* wisely prevented the ill consequences that might attend them, by engaging all the chiefs of *Achaia* to espouse the cause of the *Romans*. *Arcon* was not, as we have seen above, greatly inclined to the *Romans*, but rather favoured in his heart the *Macedonian* faction; however, as he foresaw that *Rome* would at last prevail, he was no sooner chosen prætor, but he got the diet to pass a decree, impowering him to raise what forces he pleased, and march with them to join the *Romans*. In the same assembly it was resolved, that embassadors should be f sent to *Marcius* the *Roman* consul, who had already penetrated into *Thessaly*, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know when and where the *Achæan* army should join him. *Polybius* the historian being named for this embassy, he immediately set out for the *Roman* camp, in order to suppress the reports that were spread, as if *Achaia* intended to assist the *Macedonians*. When he arrived he was received by the consul with great demonstrations of kindness. The good will of so powerful a nation at a time when so many others were wavering in their fidelity, could not but be acceptable to him. He therefore thanked them in the kindest terms,

[i] Liv. ubi supra, c. 27. [k] Liv. ibid. c. 28.

and

a and told them that they might spare themselves the trouble and expence of marching their troops to join him, since in the present posture of affairs he did not want any foreign succours. With this answer *Polybius* sent back his collegues, but remained himself in the *Roman* camp. In the mean time the *Achæans* acquainted *Polybius* that *Appius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Epirus*, had demanded of their republic five thousand men, which body they were ready to send into *Epirus*, if the consul approved of it. But *Marcius* was so far from consenting that any succours should be sent to *Appius*, that he immediately dispatched *Polybius* home with orders not to suffer any troops to be sent to *Appius*, nor his republic to be put to such useless expences. It is difficult, says our historian, to discover the real motives that induced b *Marcius* to act in this manner. Was he for saving the *Achæans* the trouble and charges of so long a march? or did he intend to put it out of *Appius*'s power to undertake any thing, since he had not been able to undertake any thing himself? Whatever was his motive, *Polybius* readily complied with the inclinations of the consul, and returned home. But when the matter was debated in the council of *Achaia*, difficulties were started by *Polybius*'s friends, and those of his party. For as he was sure to incur the displeasure of the consul, if he did not act agreeable to his charge; so on the other hand orders given him by word of mouth, and in private, did not seem sufficient to warrant the conduct of the council in refusing succours to *Appius*, who really wanted them. In this case therefore they had recourse to a decree which c had been lately published in all the cities of *Greece*, by two commissioners sent for that purpose from *Rome*. The purport of this decree was to forbid the *Roman* generals to exact any thing of the nations in confederacy with *Rome* without an express order from the senate, and prohibiting the allies to submit to any exaction or even demands of the consuls, prætors, tribunes, *&c.* without such an order. The tyranny which the commanders of the *Roman* fleets and armies exercised over their most faithful allies, gave occasion to this decree. For want of an order from the senate, the messenger sent by *Appius* was dismissed without the succours he demanded. Thus *Polybius* made his court to the consul, and at the same time consulted the interest of his country[l].

d The ensuing year *Paulus Æmilius*, who succeeded *Marcius* in the command of the army in *Macedon*, being informed that *Perses* was drawing together a mighty army with a design to come to a decisive battle, sent to sollicit succours from the allies, especially the *Achæans*, who upon the first summons sent him what troops he wanted under the conduct of the most experienced commanders they had. These distinguished themselves in a very particular manner at the famous battle of *Pydna*, which put an end to the *Macedonian* war, *Perses* being entirely defeated, and soon after reduced to such straits, that he was obliged to deliver up himself and all his children to the conquerors. And now the *Romans*, having by this victory triumphed over their enemies in the east, began to treat their friends in a quite different manner e from what they had used while they stood in need of their assistance. Ten commissioners were appointed to settle the affairs of *Macedon*, and inspect those of *Greece*, that is, to prosecute and punish without any regard to justice and equity all those who during the war had betrayed any inclination to the *Macedonians*. These haughty judges summoned all the heads of the *Greek* nations to appear before their tribunal at *Amphipolis*, in order to compose their differences, as they gave out, and restore *Greece* to its ancient tranquillity. The *Ætolians* appeared first in mourning habits, and making great lamentations. The subject of their complaints was, that two members of their assembly, *Lysiscbus* and *Tisippus*, whom the protection of the *Romans*, to whose interest they were devoted, rendered very powerful in *Ætolia*, had surrounded the senate with f soldiers lent them by *Bæbius*, who commanded in the country for the *Romans*, and put to death five hundred and fifty of their senators for no other crime, but because they were thought to favour *Perses*. The commissioners after hearing their complaints confined their enquiries to this point alone, whether those who had been thus massacred were for the *Romans* or *Perses*, and having found that they had spoke in the senate for *Perses*, the council passed a decree by which the murderers were acquitted, and those who had been put to death declared to have suffered justly. *Bæbius* alone was blamed for employing the *Roman* soldiers in an execution which had no relation to military affairs[m].

*The haughty behaviour of the* Romans *after the defeat of* Perses.

[l] Liv. ibid. Polyb. legat. c. 77. [m] Liv. l. xlv. c. 28, 32.

This

*Year of the flood 2836. Before Christ 167.*

This sentence spread great terror among those who had shewn any affection for a *Perses*, and increased beyond measure the pride and insolence of the partisans of *Rome*. In each city the leading men were divided into three factions. The first, and without doubt the most numerous, adhered to the *Macedonians*; the second was devoted to the *Romans*, and the third in opposition to the other two were neither for the *Macedonians* nor the *Romans*. The latter, whose party was the least numerous, as it consisted only of prudent men, were afraid that whatever party should prevail, their liberties might be in danger, and their concern was to preserve their country both from the *Macedonian* and *Roman* tyranny. These were in great esteem, and beloved in their respective cities, and had acted prudently in all the measures they had taken. But this was not sufficient, as we shall see, to screen them from the ven- b geance of the *Romans*. The commissioners first wreaked their anger on those who had favoured *Perses*, for the emissaries of *Rome* flocked to *Amphipolis* from all the countries of *Greece* to accuse them before the council. These treacherous men informed the commissioners, that besides those who had openly espoused the cause of *Perses*, there were many others, who were no less averse from the *Romans* in their hearts; adding, that they would never have their authority quietly settled in *Greece*, till they had utterly destroyed both the favourers of *Perses*, and those who had affected to stand neuter, and not to fall in with either party. The ten commissioners entirely approved what the informers advanced, and made it the rule of their conduct to quash in all the *Greek* cities, not only the *Macedonian*, but the neutral party, and c confer honours on those only, who preferred the interest of *Rome* to all other regards whatsoever. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to treat all those as criminals who were not of the *Roman* party, and confer employments on such only as declared themselves their accusers and enemies? We leave the reader to judge from hence of the so much boasted equity of the *Romans*. They were just and honest when they found their account in justice and honesty, but ever ready to sacrifice both to their boundless ambition.

The most sanguine of these informers were *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* both *Achæans*, and greatly attached to the *Roman* party. They laid claim to the chief employments of their republic, or were willing to maintain themselves in them with d the assistance of the *Romans*. With this view they informed against all those among their countrymen, who were in a condition to dispute the highest posts with them; and their accusations turned upon this, that their rivals had been friends and partisans of *Perses* before his overthrow. Besides the *Achæans Callicrates* accused a great many others, and gave in a long list of such as had either declared for the *Macedonians*, or stood up for the defence of their own rights and privileges in *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*. All these were ordered by *Paulus Æmilius* to follow him to *Rome*, and there give an account of their conduct. But as to the *Achæans* the commissioners thought it adviseable to judge them in their own country, and to send two of the chief members of the council into *Achaia* to try them there; and accord- e ingly *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were named and set out for *Achaia*. Three reasons induced them to act in this manner: the first was, because they apprehended that the *Achæans*, who were very powerful, and no less jealous of their liberty, would not obey their orders should they be commanded to justify themselves at *Rome*; the second, because they had not found any of their letters among *Perses*'s papers; and the third, because it was necessary to protect *Callicrates* and the other informers against the insults of their countrymen [a].

*Unwarrantable proceedings of the* Romans.

One of the two commissioners sent into *Achaia*, *Pausanias* does not say which, a man of a most vile character, complained in the assembly of the *Achæans* that many of the chief men of the league had assisted *Perses* against the *Romans*, and therefore f desired that all those might be condemned to die, whom he should name after sentence given. *After sentence given*, cried out the whole assembly, *What justice is that? Name them first, and let them answer for themselves; which if they cannot do, we engage to condemn them. Since you promise to condemn them*, replied the haughty *Roman* with an assuming air, *all your prætors, all who have bore any office in your republic, or commanded your armies, are guilty of this crime.* At these words *Xenon*, a person of great credit, and highly respected by the whole league, spoke to this effect: *I have*

[a] Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 416.

*commanded*

a *commanded the army, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league; I protest I have never done any thing contrary to the interest of* Rome; *and if any one can charge me with that crime, as it is now stiled, let him appear; I am ready to clear my self either in the assembly of the* Achæans, *or before the* Roman *senate.* The *Roman* took hold of this expression, and said, That since *Xenon* had named the senate, he and the rest could not appeal to a more impartial judge; then he began to name all those who had been accused by *Callicrates* as more in the the *Macedonian* than the *Roman* interest, ordering them to appear and plead their cause before the senate. They were above a thousand, all men of distinguished merit, and who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of their country; and this was the only crime that could be laid b to their charge. This sentence was a mortal wound to the liberty of *Achaia.* That unhappy republic was deprived at once of all those who had shewn any zeal for the preservation of her liberty. Such tyrannical proceedings had been unknown there even under *Philip* and his son *Alexander*; for neither of these princes ever thought of causing those who opposed them to be sent into *Macedon*, but referred their trials to the council of the *Amphictions* their natural judges. Upon the arrival of these unhappy men at *Rome*, they were banished into different towns of *Italy*, and kept there close prisoners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the assembly of the *Achæans.* When news of these tyrannical proceedings was brought into *Achaia*, the assembly sent embassy after embassy to acquaint the senate that their banished countrymen had not c been tried at home, but referred for their trial to the *Roman* senate; they begged that they would give them a hearing, condemn such as they should find guilty, and allow the others to return home. But the republic was inexorable; she obstinately insisted upon their having been found guilty in *Achaia*, and sent to *Rome* only to hear what punishment she was pleased to inflict upon them. Hereupon the *Achæans* sent a solemn embassy to the senate to protest that the pretended guilty persons had never been tried, or even heard by their assembly. *Euratas*, who was at the head of this embassy, being introduced to the senate, declared the orders he had received, earnestly intreating the senate in the name of his republic, that they would but once hear the persons accused, and not suffer them to perish without being condemned. It were to be wished, d said he, that the *Roman* senate, that august and venerable assembly which has never been known to swerve in its decisions from the strictest rules of equity, would take the cause of these unhappy men into their own hands; but if affairs of greater importance do not allow them leisure to examine the matter themselves, let them refer it to the assembly of the *Achæans*, who are ready to punish with the utmost rigour such as they shall find guilty of any crime that may be laid to their charge. As this demand was very equitable, the senate was greatly puzzled what to answer. They did not think it adviseable to try the cause, as knowing that the accusation was groundless. On the other hand to dismiss the exiles, and suffer them to return to their own country, was to disoblige their partisans in *Greece*, who placed all the hopes of their preferment in e the ruin of those who had a better title to favour than themselves. After several consultations, the senate for want of a better answer returned this, That they did not think it expedient for the welfare of *Achaia* that these men should return home. Such tyrannical proceedings caused an universal consternation in *Achaia*, all the inhabitants appeared in mourning habits, and lamented the loss of their countrymen no otherwise than if they had been their dearest relations. *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* became more than ever the objects of the public hatred. They were never mentioned in the assemblies but with horror and detestation. Even the children fell upon them in the public streets, calling them traitors and enemies to their country. Nay, the *Achæans* carried their rage so far, that when the two informers had one day gone into a public f bath at *Sicyon*, no body would wash with them, or even after them, till the water was let out, and the place purified. This general uneasiness made *Achaia* still the more suspected by the *Roman* senate, who kept the prisoners more closely confined than ever. These were the first seeds of a war, which we shall soon see break out between *Rome* and *Achaia*; the first sparks of that fire which consumed *Corinth* *.

*A thousand* Achæans *commanded to appear before the* Roman *senate.*

The *Achæans* however did not give over solliciting the senate for the release of the exiles. They sent new deputies to beg their return as a favour, lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem to oppose the will of the senate. The deputies appeared at *Rome* in the attire of suppliants, and took care not to say any thing in the

* Liv. l. xlv. c. 31. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 417. Polyb. legat. 105.

harangue they made before the senate that could give offence. Their speech was a modest, and extremely reserved; but the conscript fathers continued inexorable, declaring that they would not upon any account whatsoever alter the measures they had taken. The *Achæans* on the other hand would not give over soliciting and importuning the senate in behalf of their countrymen. They sent several embassies at different times, and made what interest they could among their friends at *Rome*, and elsewhere, to get their petition backed by persons who were better received than themselves. But all was to no effect; they could not be prevailed upon even to suffer *Polybius*, who was one of the exiles, and kept under close confinement at *Rome*, to appear before the senate and plead the common cause. This is the so much vaunted equity of the *Romans*; these the civilizers of barbarous nations, the asserters of the b rights and liberties of mankind.

Seventeen years were already past, and the far greater part of the unfortunate exiles dead in their confinement, when the senate at last was prevailed upon to suffer those few who were still alive, to return home. *Polybius*, as we have hinted above, was one of these unhappy *Achæans*; but had been kept at *Rome*, whither his reputation had reached before him, and procured him that distinction. During his confinement in that city, his merit, wisdom, and learning, gained the love and esteem of the greatest men in the senate. He was particularly dear to the two sons of *Paulus Æmilius*; the eldest of these had been adopted into the family of the *Fabii*, and the youngest into that of the *Scipio*'s. The latter, who afterwards destroyed *Carthage* c and *Numantia*, at the request of his friend sollicited *Cato* the censor to speak in the senate in favour of the *Achæans*, knowing that his opinion would be of great weight with the members of that assembly. *Cato*, out of complaisance to young *Scipio*, promised to back the petition of the new deputies that were then come from *Achaia* to intercede for the exiles. When they were admitted to audience, warm debates arose, as usual, among the senators, some few being for sending them home, and the others opposing it, when *Cato* rose up, and with great gravity said, "That to see the *Roman* "senate dispute with great warmth whether some poor old *Greeks* should be buried "in *Italy*, or in their own country, would make one think that they had nothing at "all to do". This pleasantry coming from so grave a man as *Cato*, made the sena- d tors ashamed of so long a contest, and determined them at last to send back the exiles into *Peloponnesus*. *Polybius* was for supplicating the senate, that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they had enjoyed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to hear *Cato*'s opinion, who told him smiling: "*Polybius*, you do not imitate the wisdom of *Ulysses*. "You are for returning into the cave of the *Cyclops* for some poor tatters you have "left there". Accordingly the exiles returned to their own country, but their number was much diminished; for of the thousand and upwards that came from *Achaia*, no more than three hundred returned thither. The rest had perished in *Italy* with hunger and grief, and some had suffered like criminals for attempting to make their escape[p]. e Such inhuman proceedings deserve no other name but that of the most wanton and oppressive tyranny. The republic of *Achaia* was not subject to, but upon a level with that of *Rome*. Those brave *Achæans*, who were thus barbarously treated, had most of them served under the *Roman* standards, and greatly contributed to that very victory, which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and over-bearing.

*The* Achæans *after seventeen years confinement are sent home.*

As for *Polybius*, he made no use of this permission, but remained in *Rome*, where that very virtue which had brought him into distress was not only the means of his relief, but of his exaltation to greater dignities than those he lost. He attended *Scipio Æmilianus* in all his military expeditions, and signalized himself no less in the service of *Rome*, than he had formerly done in that of *Achaia*. f

The exiles on their return found *Achaia* rent into different factions, and the minds of the common people entirely estranged from the *Romans*. They only wanted an opportunity to make *Rome* repent of the rigorous treatment she had shewn to the *Achæan* prisoners. This aversion was artfully fomented by their chief magistrates, and the leading men in the republic, who were for the most part professed enemies to the *Romans*. Such an universal hatred could not be long kept within the bounds of moderation; it soon broke out into an open war, which ended in the entire reduction of *Achaia*, and the dissolution of the *Achæan* league.

[p] Pausan. in Achaic. Plut. in Cato, censore. Polyb. in legat. 129, 130.

To

a To trace this war back to its first origin: a certain dispute arising between the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Oropus* (A), the latter had recourse to the *Achæans*. *Menalcidas*, by birth a *Lacedæmonian*, was then prætor of *Achaia*; to him the *Oropians* applied, agreeing to give him ten talents if he prevailed on the diet, in which he presided, to espouse their cause, and assist them with troops. The *Lacedæmonian*, who preferred his own private advantage to the good of the public, accepted the proposal, and in order to gain his point, promised to divide the money with *Callicrates* if he could by his interest extort from the general assembly their consent to send troops to the defence of *Oropus*. *Callicrates*, allured with this bait, prevailed on the assembly to take the city of *Oropus* under their protection; and accordingly *Menalcidas* b was immediately dispatched with a strong body of chosen troops to make head against the *Athenians*, who had already taken the field. But *Menalcidas* came too late, the *Athenians* had already plundered *Oropus*, and retired with an immense booty; however the avaritious prætor demanded the ten talents, as if his assistance had been effectual; but could not prevail on himself to divide them with *Callicrates*: he first put him off with fair promises, and at last told him in plain words, that he would keep the whole sum to himself. *Callicrates*, who was as revengeful as the other was deceitful, accused him, as soon as he was out of his office, of having used his utmost endeavours with the *Roman* senate to withdraw his country from the *Achæan* league. The process was carried on with such rigour, that *Menalcidas* would have c been sentenced to death, if he had not by a present of three talents prevailed upon *Diæus*, who succeeded him in the prætorship, to acquit him in spite of all the evidences that were produced against him. This drew on *Diæus* the hatred of all the nation, as if he likewise was inclined to the *Lacedæmonians*. This was a great stain on his reputation, which he endeavoured to wipe off by this bold step. He maintained in the general assembly, that the *Lacedæmonians* were subject to the *Achæan* league even in criminal cases. *Rome* had decreed the contrary; but this screened him from the hatred he had incurred by favouring *Menalcidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. When news was brought to *Lacedæmon* that *Diæus* was endeavouring to get this new law approved by the general assembly, the whole city was in an uproar, for the *Roman* senate had in d express terms allowed them to judge their criminals in their own private assemblies; they were for sending deputies to *Rome*, but *Diæus* pretended that only the general assembly of the whole nation had a right of sending embassadors thither [q].

*What gave rise to the war with the* Romans.

*New troubles in* Peloponnesus.

These arbitrary proceedings greatly exasperated the *Lacedæmonians*; but as they were no ways in a condition to make head against the whole strength of *Achaia*, they humbled themselves so far as to send deputies to *Diæus*, who was advancing at the head of a considerable army, intreating him not to use force till other means of a reconciliation proved fruitless. The prætor answered the deputies, that he had no quarrel with the *Lacedæmonians* in general, but only with a few disturbers of the public peace, whom he named to the number of twenty-four. Upon the return of e the deputies the council of *Lacedæmon* assembled, when *Agesisthenes*, a man of great authority, moved that those, who had been named by *Diæus*, should of their own accord abandon their country, as if they had been banished, and carry their complaints to *Rome*. The motion was applauded by the whole Assembly, and the persons, that had been named, withdrew without delay from their native country. When the council of *Lacedæmon* heard that they were got out of *Laconia*, sentence of death was pronounced against them in a full assembly, which assuaged the anger of *Diæus* and his *Achæans*. But when they heard that the exiles, together with *Menalcidas*, were embarqued for *Italy* to lay their complaints before the senate, *Diæus* and *Callicrates* made what haste they could after them to plead the cause of the *Achæans* f against the *Lacedæmonians*. But they did not both reach *Rome*; *Callicrates*, who had great interest in that city, died at *Rhodes*, whither his affairs had called him. *Diæus* therefore and *Menalcidas* only appeared before the senate, and by their *Greek* eloquence disguised the truth with such artifice, that the senators could not come to any determination. Commissioners were therefore appointed to determine the dispute on the

[q] Pausan. in Achaic.

(A) The ancient geographers mention three cities bearing this name; one, called by *Aristotle Græca*, stood in the island of *Eubœa*; another, the native city of *Seleucus Nicator*, belonged to *Macedon*; the third, which is the city we are now speaking of, stood in *Bœotia*, near the borders of *Attica*, forty-four miles north of *Athens*. It is now a village called by the natives *Ropo*.

spot.

spot. But as they were too dilatory in setting out, *Menalcidas* and *Diæus* arriving a in *Peloponnesus* long before them, put all the country in a flame, which they on their arrival could not extinguish. *Diæus* assured the *Achæan* assembly that every thing would be determined by the commissioners in their favour. On the other hand, *Menalcidas* brought the *Lacedæmonians* word, that in a short time their city and territory would be separated from the *Achæan* league, and declared an independent state. The *Achæans* hearing this resolved to take up arms, and force the *Lacedæmonians* to change their language[r].

Metellus *endeavours to oppose them.*

*Metellus*, who was then busy in settling the affairs of *Macedon*, being informed of the troubles in *Peloponnesus*, desired the embassadors, which *Rome* was sending into *Asia*, to take *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon* in their way in order to persuade the *Achæans* b to suspend all hostilities till the arrival of the commissioners, who had been nominated to compose their differences in an amicable manner. These embassadors arriving in *Achaia* found *Democritus*, who had succeeded *Diæus* in the office of prætor, in full march with a design to fall upon the *Lacedæmonians*. They exhorted him to disband his men and return home, but the prætor despising their advice advanced to the very walls of *Lacedæmon*, and there gained a considerable advantage over the *Lacedæmonians*, who having lost a thousand of their men, retired with such precipitation into the city, that if *Democritus* had warmly pursued them, he might have entered *Lacedæmon* with the fugitives. But he was over-hasty in sounding a retreat, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained; which so displeased the ge- c neral assembly, that they fined him in fifty talents, a sum which he not being able to raise, was obliged to lay down his office, and save himself by flight out of the *Achæan* territories. Then *Diæus*, who had been the author of all the troubles, and was a declared enemy to *Lacedæmon*, was again elected prætor. *Metellus* no sooner heard of his promotion, but he sent a deputation to him, intreating him to forbear hostilities, till the arrival of the commissioners. *Diæus* complied with his request, but was not in the mean time idle; for he gained over to the *Achæans* by secret negotiations all the cities that bordered upon *Laconia*, and having fortified them, kept that country and its capital in a manner blocked up. In this distress the *Lacedæmonians* thinking no man so proper to extricate them out of these difficulties as d *Menalcidas*, who had governed the whole *Achæan* republic, appointed him commander in chief of their troops. *Menalcidas* was a man of great valour, but betrayed want of prudence in the very first step he took. For to give some reputation to his arms, he immediately took the field, and surprising the city *Jasos*, which was within the borders of *Laconia*, but subject to the *Achæans*, plundered it, and divided the booty among his soldiers. This was breaking the truce which had been granted by the *Achæans* at the instance of *Metellus*, and drawing upon himself the resentment of the *Romans*. The *Lacedæmonians* themselves were well apprised that such unwarrantable proceedings might give a bad turn to their cause, and therefore would have punished their general with the utmost severity, had he not prevented them by lay- e ing violent hands on himself[s].

*Commissioners sent from* Rome *into* Achaia.

Not long after the death of *Menalcidas* the *Roman* commissioners arrived in *Peloponnesus*. As they were sent to put an end to a civil war, which was kindled in the heart of *Achaia*, they landed at *Corinth*, which was looked upon as the capital of the *Achæan* league. There they summoned the assembly, which *Aurelius Orestes*, who was at the head of the commissioners, opened with a speech calculated rather to create than compose divisions. *Polybius* is of opinion that he exceeded the instructions he had brought from *Rome*, and changed the menaces of the senate into absolute orders[t]; for he told them, that *Rome* had been long endeavouring to establish a happy union among the free cities of *Greece*, but was at last convinced that such an union could ne- f ver be effected so long as their present form of government subsisted. "*Flaminius*, said "he, set your cities at liberty, a blessing which they might have enjoyed separately; "but you chose to form a league among yourselves, a league which should depend "on a general assembly, and be governed by a prætor chosen by a plurality of "voices. In this you endeavoured to secure your common safety; but your pre- "caution has only produced troubles and divisions. Your deputies do not agree "among themselves; your assemblies make laws, which every particular city will

[r] Pausan. ubi supra, p. 421, 428. Polyb. legat. 143, 144 Id. in excerpt. de virt. & vit. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16. [s] Pausan Polyb. &c. ibid. [t] Polyb. legat. 143.

"not

a " not observe. This obliges you to have recourse to arms; and hence these eternal
" divisions, hence these hostilities, which makes it necessary for you to be always
" under arms, and to look upon your confederates as enemies. *Rome* is concerned
" to see so many intestine wars kindled among you, knows the cause of these evils,
" and is resolved to put a stop to them. When you are less united you will be
" more happy, and will never be completely so till you make the necessary sepa-
" rations. Attend then to the orders of the senate, which I am going to declare,
" and put them in execution with readiness. It is the will and pleasure of the
" *Roman* senate, and people, that all the cities, which were not formerly of the
" *Achæan* league, that is, *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Heraclea* (B), and *Orcho-*
b " *menos* (C), be separated from the general alliance, and governed by their own
" laws independently of the confederacy [u]".

*The commissioners ill used and insulted. Year of the flood 2856. Before Christ 147.*

No sooner had *Aurelius* pronounced these words, but the *Achæan* deputies, without giving him time to end his speech, left the assembly, and calling together the people of *Corinth* in the market-place, acquainted them with the decree which the commissioners had brought from *Rome*. The whole city was in an uproar, and the multitude being enraged to the highest degree, fell upon all the *Lacedæmonians* they could find in the city, and either stript them or put them to death. Even those who fled to the house of the commissioners for refuge, were dragged from thence, and treated like the rest. *Aurelius* and his collegues in vain cried out, that
c their republic would revenge the injuries done to the *Lacedæmonians*; the incensed multitude was deaf to their remonstrances; nay, they would have treated the commissioners themselves in the same manner, had they not saved themselves by a timely flight [v].

*New commissioners sent into* Achaia.

The commissioners on their return to *Rome* not only set the insults they had received at *Corinth* in the strongest light, but are said to have exaggerated them beyond measure; they represented the tumult, not as a sudden commotion, but as a premeditated plot. The senate was highly incensed at such proceedings, but thought it adviseable to use moderation: *Carthage* was not yet taken, nor the two pretended sons of *Perses* entirely subdued; they thought it therefore necessary to
d be very cautious in treating with so powerful a republic as that of *Achaia* in so critical a juncture. Hence they voted only for sending three new commissioners into *Achaia*, instructing them to complain in a very gentle manner, and only to exhort the *Achæans* not to give ear to bad counsel, lest by their imprudence they should draw upon themselves a war which it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. The commissioners embarked without delay, and after their arrival in *Peloponnesus* met a deputy sent by the *Achæans* to acquaint the senate with their proceedings against *Orestes*; but the commissioners carried him back with them to *Ægium*, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. *Sextus Julius*, a man of great prudence and moderation, was at the head of this new
e deputation; when he was introduced to the assembly, he spoke with that air of mildness which was natural to him, seasoning his reproaches with the most tender expressions. " We can excuse, said he, the first commotions of a multitude led astray by
" a mistaken zeal for their country; we are sensible that the magistrates cannot
" govern them on such occasions. If our embassadors have suffered any ill treat-
" ment in those blind transports, the fault may be easily repaired. The *Romans*
" will be appeased with the least signs of repentance. All the satisfaction *Rome* re-
" quires of you is, that you leave *Lacedæmon* in peace, and restore tranquillity to
" *Peloponnesus* [x]".

Critolaus *and* Diæus *stir up the people against the* Romans.

These moderate remonstrances, in which *Julius* designedly omitted saying one
f word of separating any cities from the *Achæan* league, was received with great applause by the major part of the assembly. But *Critolaus* and *Diæus* endeavoured to efface the impressions, which *Julius*'s speech had on the minds of the assembly, by insinuating that it was dangerous to trust the seeming moderation of the *Romans*; that *Rome* only suspended her revenge till *Carthage* was destroyed; that they would

[u] Idem, ibid. [v] Idem, ibid. [x] Idem, Legat. 144.

(B) This city of *Heraclea* stood in *Phthiotis*, a province of *Thessaly*, near the pass of *Thermopylæ*. It was called *Heraclea Trachinea*, to distinguish it from several other cities bearing the same name.

(C) *Orchomenes* was one of the largest cities of *Bœotia*, and famous for a temple dedicated to the three graces, which was one of the most ancient and wealthy of *Greece*.

soon see her legions laying waste *Peloponnesus*, as they had done *Africa*, and consequently that it was necessary to prevent such hostilities by raising up enemies against the *Romans*, and utterly destroying their friends. Such were the discourses of *Critolaus* and *Dicæus* in their private conventicles among men of their own stamp, and devoted to their faction. But in public they spoke a very different language, and treated the commissioners with great civility. *Critolaus*, who was then prætor, invited them to *Tegæa* to meet an extraordinary assembly, in which the affairs of *Lacedæmon* should be amicably adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. Accordingly *Julius* and his collegues went with the *Lacedæmonians* to the place appointed, where they waited a long time for the arrival of the deputies: but no *Achæan* appeared. While the *Romans* were thus attending in a corner of the province, *Critolaus* was sending expresses from city to city, forbidding them to send their deputies to the congress. *Julius* began to be impatient, and express his uneasiness, when *Critolaus* came all alone to *Tegæa*, and to the great surprise of the *Romans*, told them, that the dispute between the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* was of too great importance to be decided in a private assembly; that it was necessary to refer it to the general diet, which could not be assembled according to law in less than six months.

*Julius* was highly affronted at such deceitful proceedings; he dismissed the *Lacedæmonians*, and returning to *Rome*, complained that the republic had been insulted, and her embassadors personally ill used and derided. On the other hand the prætor gloried in having mortified *Rome* in her envoys, and took no one step to appease her wrath. He was out of hatred to the *Romans* desirous of war, but would not commit hostilities the first, for fear of being censured by his own nation. He therefore treated the embassadors in the manner we have related, being well apprised that contempt would as effectually exasperate that haughty people as open hostilities.

*Metellus endeavours in vain to bring* Critolaus *to reason.*

HOWEVER, *Rome* was not in haste to come to an open rupture; notwithstanding the loud complaints of *Julius* and his collegues, the senate would not resolve on a war, but contented themselves with referring the affair to *Metellus*, who was settling the province of *Macedon*, after having conquered the two false pretenders to that crown. The orders sent him were to treat with *Critolaus*, as of himself, in order to bring him to reason. *Metellus* immediately dispatched four *Romans* of distinguished birth, *viz. Cn. Papirius*, *Ælius Lamia*, *A. Gabinius*, and *Q. Fannius* into *Peloponnesus*, enjoining them to lay before the assembly of *Achaia*, the evils which *Critolaus* and his partisans were by their rash behaviour drawing upon them.

IN the mean time *Critolaus* ran from city to city, summoning assemblies under colour of communicating to them what had passed in the conferences at *Tegæa*; but in fact to vent invectives against the *Romans*, and put an odious construction upon all they had done. In order to increase his party he published an edict, forbidding all judges to prosecute or imprison any *Achæan* for debt, till the dispute between the assembly and *Lacedæmon* was at an end. By this means he disposed the multitude to receive willingly what orders he thought fit to give them; incapable of making suitable reflections on the future, they fell in with the passions of a madman, who neither foresaw his own misfortunes, nor those of his nation.

*His deputies insulted and abused.*

DURING these transactions the four deputies sent by *Metellus* landed at *Corinth*, where the general assembly was then sitting. This new embassy ought to have been received with respect, as it came from a victorious general, whose army was encamped in *Macedon*, within reach of *Greece*. But *Critolaus* treated them worse than those who had been sent from *Rome*. He would not suffer them to appear before the assembly, but commanded them to declare their business to the populace assembled in the market-place. To this factious assembly, consisting of artificers, and the refuse of the people of *Corinth*, *Cn. Papirius* spoke with, at least, as much moderation as *Julius* had done before the heads of the nation. His discourse tended to shew that it was the interest of *Achaia* to keep up a good correspondence with *Rome*; he took care not to mention the separation of *Lacedæmon*, and the other cities from the *Achæan* league. This was interpreted by *Critolaus* as a proof of their fear; and upon this prejudice a great croud of artificers fell upon the embassadors, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them with

a with all manner of affronts out of the market-place [y]. All the cities of *Achaia* were at that time seized, we may say, with a kind of madness, but *Corinth* was more furious than the rest. They were persuaded that *Rome* intended to enslave them, and absolutely destroy the *Achæan* league, which persuasion made them deaf to all the remonstrances of those who disapproved the wild measures of *Critolaus*.

THE turbulent prætor finding all things succeed to his wish, harangued the multitude in order to inflame them against such of the nobility as refused to enter into his views. He even named two men of unblameable characters, accusing them of informing the *Roman* embassadors of all that passed in the national assemblies. b One of these by name *Strategius* immediately gave the prætor the lie, and steadily insisted on his innocence. But the multitude was for the prætor, and *Strategius* condemned, notwithstanding he called the gods to witness that he had never discovered any thing transacted in the assemblies. This notorious piece of injustice convinced *Critolaus* that he had gained an absolute ascendant over the people; whereupon, carrying his fury to the utmost extremity, in the same assembly he caused war to be declared with *Lacedæmon*, and consequently with the *Romans* [z].

*War declared with the* Lacedæmonians *and* Romans.

UPON the declaration of war the embassadors parted; *Papirius* repaired to *Lacedæmon* to watch the enemies motions. *Ælius* set out for *Naupactus*, and the other two for the camp in *Macedon*, to excite *Metellus* not to delay revenging the affronts c offered to *Rome* in her embassadors. Accordingly *Metellus* without waiting for the orders of the senate put himself at the head of his army, and began his march towards *Achaia*, with a design to enter it by *Thessaly*.

THE cities of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* having been disobliged by *Metellus* since his abode in *Macedon*, joined the *Achæans*. The inhabitants of *Thebes* had been condemned by *Metellus*, to make the *Phocæans* satisfaction for the losses the latter had suffered by their frequent incursions, and moreover to deliver up to the inhabitants of *Amphissa* in *Locris* (D) the third part of their harvest, for having reaped the corn of their neighbours as if it had been their own. The inhabitants of *Chalcis* had ravaged part of *Eubœa*, and *Metellus* had obliged them to make restitu- d tion. Upon these motives the two cities entered into the rash measures of *Critolaus*, and joined him with their troops. With such feeble aids the *Achæan* prætor believed himself able to cope with the most powerful state in the world; so far had his rage and hatred against the *Romans* got the better of his reason. Both *Critolaus* and *Diæus* had been of the number of those exiles, whom the *Romans* had kept so long in *Italy* in a kind of slavery, and were therefore determined to revenge themselves even at the expence of their country.

Heraclea *besieged by the* Achæans.

*Critolaus* being joined by the troops of *Thebes* and *Chalcis* took the field, and marched against *Heraclea*, a city of the *Achæan* league, which refused to send its contingent to the prætor. While he was besieging this town, news was brought e him that *Metellus* was drawing near, which struck him with such terror that he immediately broke up the siege, and withdrew into *Achaia*. He might easily have seized the pass of *Thermopylæ*, and there stopped at least, if not defeated, the *Roman* army. But his courage failed him all at once, and his retreat had all the appearance of a flight. *Metellus* pursued him close, and at last came up with him, and routed him. Historians have not told us the particulars of this battle, but we may well conclude that it cost the *Achæans* dear, for their army was entirely defeated, and above a thousand of them taken prisoners. *Critolaus* himself lost his life on this occasion; for he never appeared afterwards, neither was his body found in the field of battle: some say he poisoned himself in some remote corner of *Greece*, f others that he threw himself down from mount *Oeta* into a marsh, and was drowned [a].

*The siege raised, and the* Achæans *defeated.*

Diæus *succeeds* Critolaus, *and makes great preparations for war.*

IT was an established law among the *Achæans*, that when their prætor died, during his office, his immediate predecessor should succeed him, and govern the republic till the next general assembly, which met at a stated time. By this law *Diæus* took upon him the government of the republic, and the command of the

[y] FLOR. in Epit. FLOR. l. 2. c. 16. PAUSAN. ubi supra. OROSIUS, &c. [z] POLYB. Legat. 144. PAUSAN. in Achaic. [a] POLYB. PAUSAN. ibid.

(D) *Amphissa* stood on the banks of a little river, bearing the same name, and was one of the greatest cities in *Locris*. Some think it stood where *Solona* now stands; but *Niger* thinks its ancient situation agrees better with that of a little village now called *Lambino*.

scattered

scattered army. But scarce was he invested with this dignity, when news was a brought him, that a body of above a thousand *Arcadians*, who had joined the *Achæans*, and after the battle retired to *Elatea* in *Phocis*, had been all to a man cut in pieces by *Metellus*. This was a melancholy piece of news; however, as he had been the chief author of the war, it behoved him to maintain it; he therefore sent deputies to all the cities of *Achaia*, enjoining them to raise new troops with all possible expedition, and caused an edict to be published in all the places that were subject to the *Achæan* league to this purport; That no less than twelve thousand slaves, who had been born in the country, should be enlisted; and that, if it was necessary, some of the slaves that had been brought from foreign countries, should be taken into the service to complete that number; that all those who were fit to bear arms, b whether in *Achaia* or *Arcadia*, should repair to *Corinth*, and there take the military oaths; that all persons of substance, whether men or women, should bring all the gold or silver into the public treasury. This convinced all *Achaia* of the danger that threatened them; but as they were imbarked in a war with an enemy, whom they had so highly provoked, they blindly pursued the mad scheme. The cities of *Elea*, *Messene*, and *Patræ*, were so terrified when they heard that a consular army was coming from *Rome*, and that a consul with new legions was to take the place of the prætor *Metellus*, that the inhabitants gave themselves up to despair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themselves, through fear of falling under the conqueror's power. These cities were exposed to the first attacks of the c enemy after their landing, and expected the most severe treatment. Some had recourse to the clemency of *Metellus*, flying to his camp for refuge. There they informed against the most factious among their countrymen, though no enquiry was yet made after them [b].

Thebes *taken by* Metellus.

In the mean time the *Roman* prætor entered *Arcadia*, and drew near *Thebes*, which had openly declared for the *Achæan* league. *Pythias* the chief magistrate of that city had stirred up all the inhabitants against the *Romans*, and treated with great severity such as were unwilling to enter into his measures. It was chiefly with a view to seize him that *Metellus* turned his arms against *Thebes*; but *Pythias* had retired from his native country with his wife and children before the arrival of the army. d Most of the citizens had followed his example, and abandoned the city, which *Metellus* entered without opposition. The few citizens that remained he treated with great clemency, and saved the temple and houses from being plundered, but set a price on *Pythias*'s head. This mixture of mildness and severity was very pleasing to the people, but struck the magistrates with new terror. From *Thebes* the *Roman* general marched to *Megara*, which important post was guarded by one *Alcamenes*, with a detachment of four thousand men. But the cowardly governor at the approach of the prætorian army left the place, and retired to *Corinth*, where he joined *Diæus*. The inhabitants of *Megara* opened their gates to the *Romans*, and put them in possession of the most fruitful territory of *Achaia*. e

Megara *submits.*

Metellus *sends new deputies to treat of a peace.*

And now *Metellus* seeing most of the *Achæans* struck with terror, and inclined to peace, thought that such a favourable opportunity of gaining *Diæus* and his faction was not to be neglected. He had been informed, that the consul *Mummius* was charged with the war in *Achaia*, and had already set out from *Rome*, with orders from the senate to settle affairs in *Greece*, by the destruction of *Corinth*. To deprive therefore *Mummius* of this glory, and at the same time save that noble city, he sent new deputies to treat of a peace. For this embassy he did not chuse *Romans*, but three *Achæans* of great distinction and credit in their own country, who had taken sanctuary in the *Roman* camp. These were *Andronidas*, *Logius*, and *Archippus*, men well affected to the *Romans*, but strongly touched with the misfor- f tunes which threatened their country. Upon their arrival at *Corinth* they found the people in general inclined to peace, but the prætor and his faction more than ever bent upon a war. They were by his order thrown into prison after he had produced them before the assembly of the people, and declared them traitors and enemies to their country. Neither could he be prevailed upon to alter his measures, either by the remonstrances of *Philo* an *Achæan* of great authority, who came on purpose from *Thessaly*, or by the entreaties of *Stratius* a man of distinguished merit, and his particular friend. In spite of all their efforts the mad prætor sentenced the

*They are treated as enemies.*

b Polyb. & Pausan. ibid.

three

a three deputies to die, and prevailed upon the chief members of the council, who were devoted to his faction, to confirm the unjust sentence; nay, they joined with them in the same condemnation one *Sosicrates*, a venerable senator, whose only crime was his having voted for treating of a peace with the *Romans*. *Sosicrates* was executed a few days after, and no kind of torture spared to extort from him such a confession as *Diæus* wanted; but he maintained to the last, that peace was preferable to war, and this inflexible constancy made no small impression on the minds of the people. As for *Andronidas* and his collegues, the avaritious prætor sold them their deliverance at a great price. A few days before *Diæus* had caused one *Phillius* and his children to be put to death, only because they were suspected of corresponding b with *Menalcidas* at *Lacedæmon*, and inclining to favour the *Roman* faction. Thus were the unfortunate *Achæans* governed by magistrates, who had no other rule of conduct but their passions, and no other talent for war but a savage fierceness, and a blind desire of revenge [c].

An account of the many advantages gained by *Metellus* being transmitted to *Rome* by one *Posthumius*, without the general's knowledge, the consul *Mummius* hastened his departure for *Achaia*, which had fallen to his lot. Why the senate would not suffer *Metellus* to finish a war, which he had prosecuted so far, is what we find no where recorded. When the consul landed the numerous army he brought with him, *Metellus* was advancing to *Corinth*, with a design to use his utmost efforts, c in order to bring *Diæus* to accept of a peace before the arrival of the consular army, and thereby deprive *Mummius* of the glory of finishing the war. But the obstinate prætor would hearken to no conditions how advantageous soever, which gave *Metellus* great concern, and made him lose all hopes of settling *Achaia* in peace before the arrival of the consul.

*The consul* Mummius *arrives in* Greece. *Year of the flood* 2857. *Before Christ* 146.

This was the posture of affairs in *Achaia*, when *Mummius* appeared before *Corinth* with a consular army, consisting of three thousand five hundred horse, and twenty-three thousand foot, besides a body of *Cretan* archers, and the *Pergamean* troops sent by *Attalus* the son of *Eumenes*. His first care was to send back *Metellus* and his forces into *Macedon*, lest he should share with him the glory of concluding the war. d He then drew near the city, and encamped on the isthmus of *Corinth*, posting advanced-guards round the town. But as no enemy appeared, the *Achæan* army being shut up in the city, the *Romans* straggled about the fields, and neglected their posts; which the *Corinthians* observing made a vigorous sally, fell upon the legionaries, and pursued them with great slaughter to their camp. This small advantage encouraged the *Achæans*, and inspired *Diæus* with hopes of conquering the consul, who on his side did all that lay in his power to confirm him in his foolish persuasion; he kept his legions close in the camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the sight of the enemy. *Diæus* now becoming audacious and sure of victory, assembled all those who were able to bear arms, and formed them into a phalanx, which with the e auxiliaries from *Chalcis* made up an army equal, if not superior, in number to that of the *Romans*. They wanted experience and discipline; but *Diæus* thought that despair and the importance of their cause would supply that want. He therefore advanced with his troops, and offered the consul battle, which he declined in order to draw the *Achæans* into a valley called *Leucopetra*, at the extremity of the isthmus which joined *Attica* to *Peloponnesus*. Accordingly the prætor fell into the snare, and repaired thither long before the consul. *Diæus* was so sure of victory, that he had invited the women and children of *Corinth* to be spectators from the neighbouring hills of the slaughter he was going to make of the enemy; he had also ordered a great number of waggons to follow the army, which were to be loaded with the spoils f of the *Romans* [d].

*The* Achæans *defeated by* Mummius.

Never was there a more rash and ill-grounded confidence. The faction of *Diæus* had removed from the service, and from the public councils, all those who were capable of commanding the troops, or directing affairs, and had substituted in their room others who had no experience in civil or military concerns: the soldiers had never before seen the face of an enemy, and were quite unacquainted with military discipline; and nevertheless the rash prætor promised himself victory over a consular army, inured to the greatest dangers. While the *Achæans* were thus triumphing in the plains of *Leucopetra*, and only sollicitous lest the consul should

[c] Idem, ibid.

[d] Pausan. ubi supra. Auth. de vir. illustr.

find means to make his escape, he unexpectedly appeared with his army drawn a
up in battalia. He had the day before placed in an ambuscade, a strong body of horse, with orders to sally out in the heat of the action, and attack the *Achæan* phalanx in flank. The *Achæans* advanced furiously, but their cavalry was soon put to the rout. The phalanx made a vigorous resistance; but at length being attacked in front by the legionaries, and by the cavalry in flank, it was broke and dispersed. The slaughter then was dreadful; we are told that the two seas which were divided by the isthmus of *Corinth*, were dyed with blood. If *Diæus* had retired into *Corinth*, he might have held it a long time, notwithstanding the loss of the battle, and obtained an honourable capitulation from *Mummius*; for *Corinth* was at that time one of the strongest places in the world, and the consul's b
sole aim was to deserve a triumph by putting a speedy end to the war. But *Diæus* abandoning himself to despair rode full speed to *Megalopolis* his native country, and entering his house set fire to it, threw his wife into the flames, lest she should fall into the enemy's hands, and put an end to his unhappy life by poison [e].

After this defeat all things were in the utmost confusion at *Corinth*. The inhabitants finding themselves without council, leaders, or courage, fled to other places for safety, leaving the city deserted. The gates were open, and no body appeared on the walls to defend them. The consul hearing this could scarcely believe it, and fearing some ambuscade restrained the ardour of his soldiers, who were very eager to enter *Corinth*, and enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city. c
*Mummius* was thus in suspense for the space of three days, at the end of which after having taken all proper precautions, and narrowly observed all places, both within and without the city, he entered it at the head of his troops, and gave it up to the rage and avarice of his soldiers. The men, who had not been able to prevail upon themselves to forsake their native country, were all put to the sword, and the women and children sold for slaves to the best bidder. Then the town was ransacked by the greedy soldiers; and who can reckon up the immense treasures they found? There were more vessels of all sorts of metals, more fine pictures, and statues of the greatest masters, in *Corinth*, than in any city of the world. All the princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, who had any taste in painting and sculpture, furnished d
themselves here with their richest moveables; here were cast the finest statues for temples and palaces, and all the liberal arts brought to their greatest perfection. Many inestimable pieces of the most famous painters and statuaries fell into the hands of soldiers, who not knowing their value either destroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachma's. *Polybius* was an eye-witness of the want of taste in the *Romans* of those days. This brave *Achæan*, upon the first news that his countrymen had taken up arms again *Rome*, left *Africa* where he was attending *Scipio* at the siege of *Carthage*, and hastened to *Achaia* to do his country what service he could. He was in the *Roman* army when *Corinth* was plundered, and had the mortification to see the *Roman* soldiers playing at dice on a picture e
of *Aristides* (E), which was accounted one of the wonders of the world. They set no value on that master-piece, and therefore willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon. But when the spoils of *Corinth* were put up to sale, *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus*, offered for it six hundred thousand sesterces, that is, near five thousand pounds of our money. The consul surprized that the price of a picture should be carried so high, thought there was some magical virtue in it, and therefore interposing his authority retained it, notwithstanding the complaints of *Attalus*. He was not actuated in so doing by his private interest, for he did not appropriate it to himself, but placed it in the temple of *Ceres*, where *Strabo* had the pleasure of seeing it before it was consumed in the fire, which reduced that f
temple to ashes [f]. *Mummius* was a great warrior, but seems to have had no taste for painting or sculpture; for when he put the pictures and statues he had taken in

Mummius *enters* Corinth, *and plunders it.*

[e] Pausan. in Achaic. Zonaras, l. 9. c. 31. & 10. Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 76, 77.

[f] Strab. l. 8. p. 381. Plin. l. 35. c. 4, 10.

(E) *Aristides*, who was contemporary with *Apelles*, flourished at *Thebes* about the 122d Olympiad. He is said to have been the first that attempted to represent the passions of the soul in colours. The piece here spoke of was a *Bacchus* so exquisitely done, that it was proverbially said of any extraordinary performance; *It is as well done as the* Bacchus *of* Aristides (11).

(11) *Plin. l.* 35. *c.* 4, & 10.

Corinth

a *Corinth* on board the transports, he told the masters of the vessels very seriously, that if any of them were either lost or spoiled, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost. As if any other pieces could have supplied the loss of those inestimable originals done by the most celebrated masters in *Greece*[g]. Were it not to be wished, says the historian who has transmitted this fact to posterity, that this happy ignorance still subsisted? would it not be far preferable to that delicacy of taste for such rarities which prevails in the present age[h]? He spoke at a time when the governors of the provinces used all manner of frauds and extortions to enrich themselves and their families with such valuable moveables.

*Corinth* being thus pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to ashes, pursu- Corinth *reduced to ashes.*
b ant to the decree of the senate, which the consul was obliged to put in execution. Fire was set to all the corners of the city at the same time, and the flames growing more violent as they drew near the centre, at last united there, and made one general conflagration, which is said to have produced that famous mixture, which art could never imitate. The gold, silver and brass, which the *Corinthians* had concealed, were melted and ran down the streets in streams. Some of the greedy soldiers in attempting to save part of those metals perished in the flames. When the fire was extinguished, a new metal was found composed of several different ones (F), and greatly esteemed in the following ages. The walls of the city were demolished and razed to the very foundations. Thus was *Corinth* destroyed the same year that
c *Carthage* was laid in ashes. By the destruction of two such cities the *Romans* intended to strike terror into the rest of the world, and keep all nations steady in their obedience to *Rome*. *Corinth* was destroyed nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation, by *Aletes* the son of *Hippotes*, sixth in descent from *Hercules*. *Cicero*, who approved of the destruction of *Carthage* and *Numantia*, wished that *Corinth*, where the arts of painting and sculpture seemed to have taken up their habitation, had been spared[i].

It does not appear that the *Achæans* had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of their country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate on the measures it was necessary to take. No one took upon him to propose any remedy for the
d public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the *Romans* by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought that the *Achæan* league had been buried under the ruins of *Corinth*; so much had the dreadful destruction of this city alarmed, and universally dismayed the whole confederacy.

It was now necessary to determine the fate of the *Achæans* in general. As to the *Corinthians* and such slaves as had taken up arms against *Rome*, they were all condemned to slavery, and carefully sought out in all the places whither they had fled. After this the whole nation was ordered to assemble in the open fields, where they were surrounded by the *Roman* legions; and because they were all afraid of being involved in one common misfortune, proclamation was made, that only the na-
e tives of *Corinth*, and such slaves as had served in the troops should be made captives, and be sold. The consul granted the rest of the inhabitants of *Achaia* their liberty, and sold the lands of the citizens of *Corinth*, which were in great part purchased by the *Sicyonians*. *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, and some other cities that had joined the *Achæans*, were by the consul's orders dismantled. *Achaia* was condemned to pay the *Lacedæmonians* two hundred talents for the damages they had suffered during the war. Soon after ten commissioners arrived from *Rome* to regulate the affairs of *Greece* in general, and of *Achaia* in particular, in conjunction with the consul. These abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates, who were to go- *The* Achæan *league dissolved, and* Achaia *reduced to a* Roman *province.*
vern each city according to their respective laws under the superintendency of a *Ro-*
f *man* prætor. Thus the *Achæan* league was dissolved, and *Greece* reduced to a *Roman* province, called the province of *Achaia*, because at the taking of *Corinth* the *Achæans* were the most powerful people of *Greece*. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to *Rome*, and the prætor, who was sent thither every year, was charged with the care of collecting it.

[g] Vel. Pat. l. 1. c. 13. [h] Idem, ibid. [i] Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 35.

(F) *Pliny* tells us that there were three sorts of *Corinthian* brass, *viz.* the red, the white, and that which was of the colour of money, according to the different proportions of gold, silver, and copper, that were in it (12).

(12) *Plin. l. 7. c. 38.*

We have observed above, that *Polybius* on his return into *Peloponnesus* had the a
mortification to see the city of *Corinth* reduced to ashes, and his country become a
*Roman* province. If any thing was capable of mitigating his affliction on so mournful an occasion, it was the opportunity he had of defending the memory of *Philopæmen* his master in the science of war. A *Roman* out of some private grudge to that great hero accused him before *Mummius*, as if he had been still alive, of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and always opposing their designs to the utmost of his power. What the accuser proposed by this new prosecution was, that all the statues and monuments erected to the memory of *Philopæmen* in most cities of the *Achæan* league should be destroyed, and his glorious feats buried in oblivion. The accusation was not without foundation; for as that brave *Achæan* was a true b
friend to his country, so he was an enemy in his heart to the *Romans*, being well apprised that nothing but the absolute subjection of *Greece* could satisfy their pride and ambition. However, *Polybius* boldly took upon him his defence, and represented him as the greatest man *Greece* had produced in later times; he owned, that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the people of *Rome* considerable services on various occasions. The ten commissioners, at whose tribunal he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, but more with the gratitude he shewed in defending his master, decreed that the statues of *Philopæmen* should not be touched, and that his monuments should remain till they were over-turned by the destroyer of all things. c
*Polybius* taking the advantage of *Mummius*'s good disposition begged of him the statues of *Aratus*, and *Achæus* the founder of the nation; which were granted him, though they had been already transported out of *Peloponnesus* into *Acarnania*. At the same time he gave a signal proof of his disinterestedness, which gained him as much esteem among his countrymen, as his defending the memory of *Philopæmen*. After the destruction of *Corinth*, the effects of those, who had been the authors of the insults offered to the *Roman* embassadors, were sold by auction. When those of *Diæus* were put up, the commissioners ordered the quæstor, who sold them, to let *Polybius* have out of them whatever he pleased without taking any thing from him on that account. But *Polybius* refused the offer, saying that he look'd upon it d
as a very dishonourable thing to enrich himself with the spoils of his fellow-citizens [k].

This action gave the commissioners such an idea of his virtue and probity, that upon their leaving *Peloponnesus*, they appointed him to visit all the cities of *Greece*, and every-where settle the new form of government. A very honourable commission, which he discharged both to the satisfaction of the senate of *Rome*, and the people of *Achaia*, who erected many statues in honour of their benefactor, and among others one with this inscription: *To the memory of* Polybius, *whose counsels would have saved* Achaia, *if they had been followed*; *and who comforted her in her distress* [l]. e

*Mummius* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, which was embellished with all the finest paintings and sculptures, that *Greece* had ever produced; and as he had made an absolute conquest of *Achaia*, he ever after bore the surname of *Achaicus*. Thus the *Romans* destroyed every thing that gave them umbrage, and plundered other nations to enrich themselves; which was making war, notwithstanding their boasted politeness, after the manner of *Barbarians*. From this time *Achaia* was governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor sent thither annually from *Rome*, till the reign of *Nero*, who restored all *Greece* to the enjoyment of its ancient liberties, reducing at the same time *Sardinia* to a *Roman* province, and laying on that wealthy island the tribute, which *Achaia* had paid [m]. By f
this means he favoured the *Greeks* without impairing the revenues of the empire. But they did not long enjoy the effects of his kindness, being soon after reduced by *Vespasian* to their former state of subjection. This misfortune they brought anew upon themselves by their domestic broils and discord, which could no otherwise be composed, but by depriving them of that liberty, which they no longer knew how to enjoy [n]. Under *Nerva* some shadow at least of their liberty was restored to them; but they were still governed by a *Roman* prætor, and also in *Trajan*'s

[k] Polyb. in excerpt. p. 190, 192. [l] Pausan in Achaic. [m] Suet. in Nero. Pausan. in Achaic. Plin. l. 4. c. 6. Eutrop. c. 4. [n] Pausan. ibid.

time,

a time, as appears from a letter of *Pliny* the younger to *Maximus*, who was sent to govern *Achaia*, wherein after having exhorted him to use his power with moderation, he concludes that it would be barbarous and inhuman to deprive the *Achæans* of that faint image, that shadow which remained of their ancient liberty [o]. In this condition they remained with little alteration till the reign of *Constantine* the great, who in his new partition of the *Roman* provinces subjected *Achaia* to the *Præfectus prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Upon the division of the empire, *Achaia* with the rest of *Greece* fell to the emperors of the east. Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius* all those provinces suffered greatly by the incursions of the *Goths*, who under their king *Alarick* laid waste the whole country, reducing the stately and magnificent structures, that were b then remaining, to heaps of ruins [p]. From that time we find no account of any thing that passed among them till the reign of the emperor *Emanuel* or *Manuel*, who in the twelfth century parcelling *Peloponnesus* out into seven principalities, divided it among his seven sons, stiling them *despotes* or lords of *Morea*. Its resemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in *Greek Morea*, and in *Latin Morus*, gave occasion to this appellation. In process of time these dynasties were not only bestowed on the emperors children, and the princes of the blood, but also on such others as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. In the thirteenth century, when *Constantinople* was taken by the western princes, the maritime cities of *Peloponnesus*, with most of the islands, were allotted to the *Venetians*. In the fifteenth c century *Constantine Dracoses*, *despote* of *Morea*, being raised to the imperial throne, divided that province between his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, bestowing *Sparta* on the former, and *Corinth* on the latter. These princes falling out and making war upon each other, *Mohammed* II. took advantage of their divisions, and under pretence of assisting the one against the other, stripped them both of their dominions. *Thomas* fled to *Rome*; but *Demetrius*, who had implored the assistance of the *Barbarians* against his brother, was carried captive to *Adrianople*. The *Mahommedans* having thus got footing in *Morea*, soon drove the *Venetians* from the cities they possessed on the coast, and made themselves absolute masters of that fruitful province, holding it till they were in their turn driven out by the *Venetians*, d under the conduct of general *Morosini* in 1687. By the treaty of *Carlowits* in 1699, the *Barbarians* yielded it up to the republic of *Venice*; but retook it in 1715, and in their hands it still continues, being governed by a *Sangiack*, under the beglerbeg of *Greece*, who resides at *Modon* [q].

[o] Plin. l. 8. epist. 24. [p] Synesius, epist. 235. Claudian, in Ruffin. l. 2. [q] Vide P. Coronelli descrizion di Morea, Alassandro Locatelli, raconto della Veneta guerra in levante.

## SECT. II.

## *The History of* Ætolia.

THE republic of *Ætolia* (G) was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of *Achaia*, and formed much upon the same plan, being governed by a general assembly, a prætor, and other magistrates of an inferior rank and authority. The general assembly, called by the ancients *Panætolium*, met usually only once a year, and that in autumn; but the prætor was empowered to summon it out of the stated time upon any extraordinary occasion, the whole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, being lodged in that court. Besides the *Panætolium* or great council of the nation, which consisted of members chosen by each city of the *Ætolian* alliance, there was another called the council of the *Apocleti*; this was composed of the most eminent men in the nation, their office answering that of the *demiurgi* among the *Achæans*, which we have spoke of above: but as to their number we are quite in the

*The Ætolian confederacy.*

(G) Under the name of *Ætolia* was formerly comprehended that country, which is now called the *Despotat*, or little *Greece*. It was parted on the east by the river *Evenus*, now the *Fidari*, from the *Locrenses Ozolæ*; on the west from *Acarnania* by the *Achelous*; on the north it bordered upon the country of the *Dorians*, and part of *Epirus*, and on the south extended to the bay of *Corinth*. See the account we have given of the country, and its inhabitants, p. 409, & seq.

dark. Their chief magistrates after the prætor were the general of the horse, a the public secretary, and the *Ephori*. The two first were held in great esteem; for in the last alliance they concluded with the *Romans*, they allowed them to chuse forty hostages out of the whole nation without excepting any but the general of the horse, and the secretary, as if the republic could not subsist without them. The *Ephori* were introduced in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were many ages straitly united, as *Thucydides*, *Xenophon* and *Polybius* inform us; but as to their number the ancients are quite silent; their office was much the same as that of the *Spartan* ephori, but they acted in subordination both to the general diet and the prætor. The *Ætolian* confederacy was formed some time after that of the *Achæans*, whose example they followed, uniting several cities, which were before independent of each other, into one republic, and thereby enabling themselves to withstand the attempts of the *Macedonian* princes who aspired to the sovereignty of all *Greece*[r]. b

*Character of the Ætolians.*

The *Ætolians* were a restless and turbulent people; seldom at peace among themselves, and ever at war with their neighbours; utter strangers to all sense of friendship, or principles of honour; ready to betray their friends upon the least prospect of reaping any advantage from their treachery; in short, they were looked upon by the other states of *Greece* no otherwise, as our author informs us[s], than as out-laws and public robbers. On the other hand, they were bold and enterprising in war; inured to labour and hardships; undaunted in the greatest dangers; jealous defenders of their liberties, for which they were on all occasions willing to venture their lives, and sacrifice all that was most dear to them. They distinguished themselves above all the other nations of *Greece* in opposing the ambitious designs of the *Macedonian* princes, who after having reduced most of the other states were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. But the gallant behaviour of this warlike people in defending the common liberties of *Greece* against those powerful invaders we shall have occasion to relate in the history of *Alexander* and his successors, as in a more proper place; our present province being confined to those occurrences only that happened after they had formed themselves into a republic. The constitution of the *Ætolian* republic was, as we have hinted above, d copied from that of the *Achæans*, and with a view to form, as it were, a counter-alliance. For the *Ætolians* bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Achæans*, and had conceived no small jealousy at the growing power of that state. The *Cleomenic* war, and that of the allies, called the social war, which we have described in the history of *Achaia*, were kindled by the *Ætolians* in the heart of *Peloponnesus*, with no other view, but to humble their antagonists the *Achæans*. In the latter they held out with the assistance only of the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, for the space of three years, against the united forces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*; but were obliged at last to purchase a peace, by yielding up to *Philip* all *Acarnania*. As they parted with this province sore against their will, they watched all opportunities of wresting it again e out of the *Macedonian*'s hands; and one very favourable for their design soon offered. c

M. *Valerius Lævinus* had been appointed by the *Roman* senate to guard the coasts of *Italy*, on the side of *Greece*, and to watch the motions of *Philip*, who after concluding an alliance with *Hannibal* was preparing to pass over into *Italy*. The *Roman* had under his command a fleet of fifty ships of war, and a legion for land-service. But as he was no way in a condition with so small a force to oppose the designs of *Philip*, he cast his eyes on the *Ætolians*, who were highly dissatisfied with the peace they had lately concluded with the *Macedonians* and their allies. This general discontent *Lævinus* resolved to improve to the advantage of his f republic; and by stirring up the *Ætolians* against *Philip*, to divert him from any attempts upon *Italy*. As he was therefore then cruising with his squadron on the coasts of *Greece*, he invited some of the *Ætolians* on board, and entering into private conference with them, found that it would be no difficult matter to engage the whole nation in the interests of *Rome*. To this end he went to their general assembly, where he gave them an account of the victories *Rome* had lately gained over *Hannibal*, and the conquests of *Marcellus* in *Sicily*; he extolled the great generosity and constant fidelity of the *Romans* towards their allies; adding that the

[r] Polyb. l. 2. [s] Polyb. l. 4.

*Ætolians*

a *Ætolians* might expect to be ever look'd upon with an eye of distinction by *Rome*; if they were the first nation beyond the seas that joined her; that *Philip* was a dangerous neighbour, and his over-grown power would prove fatal to them, unless they were supported by some more potent state; that the *Romans* in conjunction with the *Ætolians* would easily oblige him to quit *Acarnania*, which he had usurped, and keep himself upon the defensive in his own dominions. He concluded his speech by assuring them, that if they entered into engagements with *Rome*, *Philip* should never obtain a peace without restoring *Acarnania* to its former owners[t].

*Scopas* at that time prætor of the *Ætolians*, and *Dorimachus* a man of great authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises made by *Lævinus*, expa-
b tiating in commendation of the *Romans*, with all the eloquence which they were masters of; for *Lævinus* out of modesty had said but little in commendation of his republic. These two chiefs were not only for entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, but for sending deputies to the neighbouring states inviting them to accede to the same alliance. Accordingly they sent embassadors to *Elis* (H), *Lacedæmon*, and *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* (I); to *Pleuratus* (K), and *Scerdelaidas* king of the best part of *Illyricum*. In the senate of *Lacedæmon* two orators, *Chlæneas* and *Lyciscus* made long harangues, the first in favour of the *Ætolians* and *Romans*, the other in favour of king *Philip*[u]; but the *Ætolians* carried their point, and *Lacedæmon* with *Elis* declared for *Rome*; the kings *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas* followed
c the examples of *Lacedæmon*; so that the treaty was drawn up in these words: "If the inhabitants of *Elis*, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Attalus*, *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas* "think fit to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, let them immediately arm "and make war upon *Philip*. The *Romans* shall furnish the confederates with "twenty ships at least: all the conquests that shall be made between the confines "of *Ætolia*, and the sea of *Corcyra* shall belong to the confederates, and the "captives and booty to the *Romans*. The latter shall do their utmost to put the "*Ætolians* in possession of *Acarnania*. The *Ætolians* shall not conclude a peace "with *Philip*, but upon condition that he withdraw his troops from the terri-"tories of *Rome* and her allies, nor the *Romans* with *Philip*, but upon the same
d "terms[v].

*The Ætolians concludes an alliance with the Romans.*

THESE articles were not signed till two years after, when they had been confirmed by the *Ætolians* at *Olympia*, and the senate at *Rome*. This delay was occasioned by the dilatoriness of the *Romans* in sending embassadors into *Ætolia*. When they were ratified and confirmed by both nations, the senate ordered them to be placed in the capital, as a lasting monument of their first alliance with the *Greek* nation. However, hostilities began as soon as the treaty was concluded: *Lævinus* seized on the island and city of *Zacynthus* (L), took *Æniadæ* and also *Nasus* (M), two cities of *Acarnania*, and restored them to the *Ætolians*. After this he retired with his fleet to *Corcyra*, where he wintered, fully persuaded that the king would
e now give over all thoughts of invading *Italy*[x].

*Year of the flood 2791. Before Christ 211.*

THE king was at *Pella* making preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, when news was brought him of the new treaty concluded by the *Ætolians*. Where-

[t] Fast. capit. Liv. l. 26. c. 24—26. [u] Vide Polyb. l. 9. c. 22—23. [v] Liv. l. 26. c. 24. [x] Liv. ibid.

(H) See an account of this country *p.* 405. The greatest part of this province bears now the name of *Belvedere*, as does *Elis* its capital. This country was anciently dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, whence to commit there any acts of hostility was deemed a great profanation.

(I) *Attalus* mentioned here is *Attalus* the first, who succeeded his father *Eumenes* the first brother to *Philetærus*. *Philetærus* was treasurer to *Lysimachus* king of *Thrace*; but afterwards acquired the dominion of *Pergamus*, which he erected into a little state, as we shall see in the history of the kings of *Pergamus*.

(K) *Livy* (13) makes this *Pleuratus* one of the kings of *Thrace*; but *Polybius* speaks of him as king of a country in *Illyricum* (14).

(L) This is an island in the *Ionian* sea over-against *Peloponnesus*, and is now called *Zante*. It is said to have borrowed its name from *Zacynthus* the son of *Dardanus*. We must not confound it with another island bearing the same name in the *Archipelago* or *Ægean* sea (15).

(M) *Nassus* or *Nasus* was a city of *Acarnania* not far from the mouth of the *Achelous*. There were two cities that bore the name of *Æniadæ*; one in *Acarnania* on the *Ionian* sea near the mouth of the *Achelous*: This city, according to our modern travellers, is now called *Dragomesto*; the other was, according to *Stephanus*, in *Thrace*, not far from mount *Oeta*.

(13) *Liv. l.* 26. *c.* 24. (14) *Polyb. l.* 9. *c.* 23. (15) *Pausan. in Acad. Strabo, l.* 10.

upon

upon he altered his measures, and resolved to fall upon his new enemies the next a summer. Accordingly he took the field early in the spring, laid waste the *Ætolian* territories, and then marched back his forces into *Macedon*, in order to oppose the *Mædi* (N), who were ready to fall upon his dominions. During his absence, *Scopas* then prætor, and general of the *Ætolians*, entered *Acarnania*, in hopes of reducing that country before *Philip* could return to their assistance. This conquest had been begun the last campaign by *Lævinus*, who had taken *Æniadæ* and *Nasus*, and was now near enough to assist the *Ætolians* with his fleet and legion. The *Acarnanians* were sensible that they could not oppose two such powerful nations at the same time; but nevertheless resolved to stand to their defence, and sell their lives at the dearest rate. Accordingly having sent into *Epirus* b all their women, children, and such as were not able to bear arms, those who remained from the age of fifteen to threescore bound themselves by oath, not to return home till they had utterly destroyed the *Ætolians*: they only desired the *Epirots* to place the ashes of those, who should fall in battle, in one tomb with the following epitaph; *Here lie the* Acarnanians, *who died fighting for their country, in opposition to the violence and injustice of the* Ætolians. This resolution so terrified the *Ætolians*, that they returned home without offering to enter the borders of *Acarnania*, or to do any thing that might provoke a people resolved to conquer or die [y].

The *Ætolians* not daring to invade *Acarnania* turned their arms against *Anticyra* c (O), a city of the *Locri*, and in the neighbourhood of *Ætolia*. This place they invested by land, and *Lævinus* at the same time by sea; as it was battered night and day on all sides, it was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. *Lævinus*, pursuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the *Ætolians*, reserving for his own troops the captives, aad the plunder. The *Ætolians* flushed with this success, leaving *Lævinus* at *Anticyra* entered *Achaia*, and there committed such ravages as obliged *Philip* to leave *Demetrias* (P), where he was encamped, and draw near to *Greece*. On his march he met the *Ætolian* army commanded by *Pyrrhias* prætor for that year (Q), who had advanced as far as *Thessaly* to give the *Macedonians* battle. The two armies met near *Lamia*, a city of *Phthiotis* in the *Ætolian* interest. *Pyrrhias* had d been reinforced with a strong detachment of king *Attalus*'s troops, and a thousand legionaries sent him by *P. Sulpicius*, who had succeeded *Lævinus* as pro-prætor of *Greece*. Notwithstanding this re-inforcement the *Ætolians* were twice defeated, and forced to save themselves under the walls of *Lamia*. After this victory *Philip* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Phalara* near the mouth of the *Sperchius*, with a design to surprize a strong detachment of *Ætolian* cavalry, which was to return from *Thessaly*, and pass that way. But while he was encamped here, embassadors arrived from *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt* attended with a great number of deputies from the islands of *Chios* and *Rhodes*, and the city of *Athens*. Their errand was to prevail on *Philip* and the *Ætolians* to put an end to the war. e This was not so much out of good will to the latter, as jealousy of the former, who by reducing the *Ætolians* might easily enslave all *Greece*, and have a ready access to the cities, which *Ptolemy* possessed out of *Egypt*. *Philip* put off the conferences till the next diet of the *Achæans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. In this interval *Philip* was invited by the *Greeks* to preside at

[y] Idem, l. 26. c. 25.

(N) The *Mædi* possessed a part of *Thrace* beyond mount *Rhodope*, and therefore *Ptolemy* calls their country *Medica*, but others give it the name of *Macedonian Greece*, because it bordered on *Macedon* on the side of the *Ægean* sea.

(O) *Anticyra* stood near the river *Sperchius* over-against mount *Oeta*. Its territory bordered upon *Thessaly*, and near it was an island of the same name, abounding, as *Pliny* informs us (16), with hellebore. *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* mention another city, bearing the same name in *Phocis*, near *Crissa* on the confines of *Bœotia* (17).

(P) The city of *Demetrias*, now *Dimitriada*, was built by *Demetrius Poliorcetes* on the sea coast of *Thessaly* near the territory of the *Magnesians*. *Pliny* confounds this city with that of *Pagasæ*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* make them two different cities, and place them both at the entrance of the *Pagasæus sinus*, now the gulf of *Armiro*. *Demetrias* was for some time the seat of the kings of *Macedon* (18).

(Q) The prætorship of the *Ætolians* was, according to *Livy* (19), divided between *Pyrrhias* and king *Attalus*; the general assembly of the *Ætolians* having bestowed that honour upon the king of *Pergamus*, though then absent.

(16) *Plin. l.* 25. (17) *Strabo, l.* 9. (18) *Strabo, ibid.* (19) *Liv. l.* 27. *c.* 30.

the

a the *Heræan* (R), and *Nemæan* games. This was a distinction, which the *Greeks* had shewn him, and confirmed by their suffrages, pretending that the first king of *Macedon* was a native of *Greece*. In this station the king behaved like a voluptuous prince, and pursued debauchery to excess. But at last the diet was held, which drew him from his pleasures to *Rhium*, the place appointed for the assembly. The negotiations began, and most of the nations engaged in the war inclined to a reconciliation, fearing *Attalus* and the *Romans* would take advantage of their divisions, and get footing in *Greece*. At the opening of the assembly one of the orators exhorted the contending parties to mutual concord in a speech, which is preserved to this day, and may be look'd upon as a master-piece of the kind*.

b The discourse moved the whole assembly, and it was no sooner ended but *Philip*'s embassadors were introduced, who declared, that their master was ready to give peace to *Greece*, if the *Ætolians* would consent to it, and charged them with all the evils that would inevitably attend the prosecution of the war. The *Ætolians*, however, came to no resolution; and in the mean time news was brought them, that *Attalus* was arrived with his fleet at the island of *Ægina* (S), and *Sulpicius* with his at *Naupactus* (T), which made the *Ætolians* put an end to the conferences.

* Polyb. l. 11. c. 4.

(R) The *Heræan* games, or *Heræan* festivals were celebrated by the *Argians* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called *Heræan* from the *Greek* word Ἥρα signifying *Juno*, whom the inhabitants of *Argolis* worshipped as their tutelary goddess, and in whose honour this festival was first instituted. The ceremony consisted in a pompous procession made by the *Argian* youth under arms. The statue of *Juno*, which was of ivory and gold, and thought one of the best performances of the famous *Polycletes*, was carried in a chariot drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's seat was placed the image of one *Trochilus* the son of *Callithea*, who was the first priestess of *Juno Argiva*. This ministry, which was granted to none but women of great distinction, was held in such esteem among the *Argians*, that they dated their public acts by the priesthoods of the priestesses of *Juno*, as we do by the reigns of our kings. The *Argian* youth marched in good order from the city of *Argos* to the temple of *Juno*, which stood at a small distance, and was one of the most stately edifices of *Greece*. Upon their arrival at the temple an hundred oxen were sacrificed, and their flesh distributed among all that were present. When the religious ceremonies were over the sports began, and the youth entered the lists disputing the honour of carrying off a buckler which was fixed to the wall of the city. The conqueror was rewarded with a crown of myrtle, and walked through the city for several days successively, amidst the acclamations of his fellow citizens, making a shew of the buckler he had gained. Some ascribe the institution of these games to *Archinus* tyrant of *Argos*, and others to *Lynceus* who is said to have reigned in *Argolis* in the year of the world 2558. The *Heræan* games were common to some other nations of *Greece*, and also to the islanders, namely, to the inhabitants of *Samos*, *Ægina* and *Cos*. At *Corinth* this ceremony had the air of a mournful one; it being a received tradition among them, that *Medea* after having killed her children instituted the *Heræan* games by way of atonement for her crime. The *Corinthians* therefore renewed the memory of her cruelty by sacrificing a goat to *Juno* (20).

As to the *Nemæan* games most of the ancients agree, that they were instituted in honour of *Archemorus*, the son of *Lycus*, according to some, or of *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace*, as others will have it. We are told, that an army of *Argians* commanded by *Adrastes* king of *Argos* being in great distress for want of water as they were marching towards *Thebes* to assist *Polynices*, addressed the nurse of the young prince *Archemorus*, whom they accidentally met, and that she laying down the child she had in her arms, on a branch of smallage, out of compassion led the thirsty soldiers to a fountain. But in the mean time a serpent attacked and put to death the child, before *Adrastes* and his *Argians* could bring him any relief. However, to allay the grief of *Lycurgus* for the death of his son, they instituted solemn games in honour of the deceased, which were first celebrated near *Nemæa*, a city of *Argolis*. Some say they were renewed annually, others every five years, and others every tenth year. Many are of opinion that they were instituted before the *Theban* war; but all agree that they were revived by *Hercules*, and consecrated to *Jupiter* in thanksgiving for his victory over the *Nemæan* lion (21). *Eusebius* is of opinion that they were instituted in the fifty-first olympiad (22). This festival was celebrated with sports, namely chariot-races, foot and horse races, tournaments, boxing, wrestling, &c. The conqueror in any of these exercises was rewarded with a crown of olive, and also of smallage, which was made use of in funeral ceremonies, and renewed the memory of the death of *Archemorus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us, that on this occasion an orator used to pronounce a funeral oration in honour of the young prince, and that the judges, appointed by the cities of *Greece* to distribute the rewards, were clad in mourning. These games were common to the *Argians*, *Corinthians*, and the inhabitants of *Cleonæ*, who had a right to chuse the president by turns (23).

(S) *Ægina*, now *Engia* and *Legina*, or *Lalona*, is an island in the *Ægean* sea, between the territory of *Athens* and that of *Epidaurus*, in the *Saronic* gulf; to which it gives its name. It is about thirty-six miles in circumference; and was anciently famous for the skill of its inhabitants in sea-affairs, and its athletæ or wrestlers. *Stephanus* takes it for one of the *Cyclades*, and *Tzetzes* for one of the *Sporades*; but they are both mistaken, as is plain from *Strabo* and *Pausanias* (24).

(T) *Naupactus* or *Naupactum* was formerly a considerable city in *Ætolia*. The present inhabitants call it *Epactos* or *Nepactos*, the *Turks Einbachi*, and the *Italians Lepanto*. It stood near *Antirrhium*, within the *Crissæan* bay, and was called *Naupactum*, because

(20) *Pausan. in Corinth. Suidas, Polien. Athenæus*, &c. (21) *Pausan. ubi supra.* (22) *Euseb. in Chron.* (23) *Pausan. Athenæus, Polien. &c. ubi supra.* (24) *Strabo, l. 8. Pausan. in Corinth.*

For they declared that they would consent to no peace, unless *Pylus* (U) was restored a to the *Messenians*, *Atintania* (W) to the *Romans*, and the country of the *Ardians* (X) to *Pleuratus* and *Scerdilaidas*. This was giving law to all *Greece*, which so incensed *Philip* that he left the assembly, after having made a short speech, wherein he acquainted them that he was sincerely desirous of peace, and would hearken to any reasonable proposals, but could not by any means brook such insults, meaning the terms proposed by the *Ætolians*, from those he had conquered [a].

*Year of the flood 2793. Before Christ 208.*

The assembly being dismissed, the king went to *Argos* to preside in the *Nemæan* games, as he had lately done in the *Heræan*. But while he was giving himself up, without restraint, to the enjoyment of such diversions as were no-ways seasonable in times of war and alarms, the pro-consul *Sulpicius* setting out from *Naupactus* landed between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and being joined by the *Ætolians* laid waste all that fertile country. This unexpected invasion obliged the king to interrupt his diversions, and take the field. His arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that leaving the booty behind, they hastened to their ships, and re-embarked for *Naupactus*. *Philip* returned to the games, where he was received with an universal applause, the circus, the theatre, and all the streets of the city ringing with his name. But he gained more on the affections of the *Greeks*, who were zealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories. He appeared at the shews without his diadem, purple robe, or any other ensigns of royal dignity; a sight very pleasing to the inhabitants of free c cities [b].

Some days after the games, news was brought him that the city of *Dyme* on the confines of *Elis* had declared for the *Ætolians*, though it stood in *Peloponnesus*, and had received an *Ætolian* garrison. Hereupon *Philip* crossing the *Larissus* (Y) entered the territory of *Elis*, and ravaged the country, and encamped under the very walls of the capital. But he was soon obliged by the *Romans* and *Ætolians* to retire at a greater distance, as we have related in the history of *Achaia*. However, he took by storm in sight of the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, a strong hold of great importance, where he found a very considerable booty. While he was dividing the prey among his soldiers, advice was brought him that the *Dardanians* had entered *Macedon*, and possessed themselves of a small district called *Orestida* (Z); that the *Dassaratæ* had revolted, and that several cities were ready to join the rebels. The *Barbarians* had been encouraged to shake off the yoke, and invade the kingdom of *Macedon* by a false report of the king's death. *Philip* in pursuing the *Roman* and *Ætolian* foragers between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, had struck his head against a tree with such violence, that he broke his helmet in pieces. These pieces were gathered up by an *Ætolian*, and brought to *Scerdilaidas*, who knew that they belonged to the king's helmet: and hence arose the report that *Philip* had been killed in a battle in which he had gained the advantage. His presence therefore

[a] Liv. l. 27. c. 29—33. Polyb. l. 10. p. 612. [b] Polyb. & Liv. ibid.

because the *Heraclidæ* built there the first ship that carried them into *Peloponnesus*. It first belonged to the *Locri Ozolæ*; but they were driven out by the *Athenians*, who gave it to the *Messenians*, whom the *Lacedæmonians* had obliged to abandon *Peloponnesus*. After the battle of *Ægos Potamos* the *Lacedæmonians* took it from the *Messenians*, and reunited it to the *Locri*. Afterwards *Philip* the father of *Alexander* having seized it, bestowed it upon the *Ætolians*, and from that time it was always deemed a city of *Ætolia* (25).

(U) We find three cities mentioned by the antients bearing the name of *Pylos*. The first stood on the western coast of *Messenia* over-against *Sphagia* or *Spacteria*, now *Sapienza*, a small island in the *Ionian* sea. The second was situate more to the north in *Tryphilia*, a province of *Elis*. The third stood more to the northward of the other two, not far from the mouth of the river *Peneus*. These three cities laid claim to the honour of having been governed by the famous *Nestor* the son of *Neleus*. It is very plain that the city of *Pylos* in *Messenia* was the subject of dispute between *Philip* and the *Ætolians*; for the *Messenians* could have no pretensions to the two latter cities, which belonged to the *Eleans*, in whose territory they stood (26).

(W) The *Atintanes*, according to *Thucydides* (27), inhabited part of the country of the *Molossi*; but *Livy* and *Polybius* place them on the confines of *Macedon*, towards *Illyricum*.

(X) The *Aryæans* or *Ardians* inhabited the eastern part of *Illyricum*; they had been conquered by *Philip*, who united their country to *Macedon*.

(Y) The *Larissus*, now the *Rifo*, divided *Elis* from *Achaia propria*; it watered the territory of *Dyme*, and fell into the *Ionian* sea.

(Z) *Oristidæ* was a country in the south-west part of *Macedon*. *Orestes*, having fled into this country after the murder of his mother *Clytemnestra*, built a city there, and gave his own name to the province. It bordered upon *Epirus*, the country of the *Atintanes*, and the *Adriatic* sea (28).

(25) *Strabo, l.* 9. *Pausan. in Phocicis.* (26) *Vide Pauf. in Messen. & Eliac. secunda. Thucyd. l.* 4. (27) *Thucyd. ibid. Polyb. l.* 11. *c.* 40. *Liv. l.* 27. *c.* 30. (28) *Thucyd. l.* 2. *Liv. l.* 31.

being

a being necessary in his own dominions, he hastened home, leaving only a body of three thousand men to protect his friends in *Greece*[c].

During his absence the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, and king *Attalus* possessed themselves of *Oreum*, *Opus*, *Torone*, *Tribonos*, and *Drymus*. Whereupon embassadors being dispatched to him from all the nations that were in his alliance, he settled the affairs of *Macedon* in the best manner he could, and marched back with incredible expedition into *Greece*. Upon his arrival *Attalus* re-imbarked his forces, and returned to *Pergamus*, *Sulpicius*, having but one legion on board, retired to the island of *Ægina*; and the *Ætolians*, thus abandoned by their allies, were forced to shelter themselves in their strong holds, not being able to make head against the united b forces of *Macedon* and *Achaia*, with the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* alone. *Philip* being thus left master of the field, retook most of the cities which had been reduced in his absence, laid waste great part of *Ætolia*, put the *Lacedæmonians* to flight, and then, as winter was drawing near, marched his forces back into *Macedon*. Early in the spring he returned into *Greece*, and entering *Ætolia* at the head of a numerous army obliged the *Ætolians* to conclude a peace upon very disadvantageous terms. The *Romans* employed in a more important war at home had left their friends in *Greece* to shift for themselves; but nevertheless took it very much amiss that they had made a peace without their consent and approbation. *Sempronius* the pro-consul endeavoured to stir them up anew against *Philip*, but to no purpose, c they were quite exhausted with such an expensive war, and no-ways in a condition to lend the pro-consul any assistance. He therefore altered his measures, and instead of making war began to treat with the king and his allies of a peace, which was soon agreed on by the mediation of the *Epirots*[d].

*A general peace concluded.*
*Year of the flood 2799.*
*Before Christ 214.*

This peace was not of long continuance; for the *Romans* having, a few years after, resolved upon a war with *Philip*, sent *Furius Purpureo* into *Ætolia* to engage that nation anew in the interests of *Rome*. *Furius* was attended by the envoys of *Athens*, a city greatly addicted to the *Romans*; and at the same time embassadors from *Philip* arrived with very advantageous proposals, in case the *Ætolians* would either join their master, or stand neuter. The *Ætolian* nation was never more ho- d noured than at this time, when they saw their friendship and alliance courted by a great king and two powerful republics. On the arrival of the embassadors an extraordinary diet was convened at *Naupactus*, whither the envoys from *Rome*, from *Athens*, and from *Philip*, immediately resorted. *Damocritus* presided in the diet in quality of prætor; and as he had been bribed by *Philip*, he directed, that the *Macedonians* should be heard before the *Romans*; his pretext for this preference was, that the alliance between *Philip* and *Ætolia* was yet fresh, and had been but lately concluded. The speech made by the *Macedonian* embassadors was full of invectives against the *Romans*, they enlarged on their proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, as instances of their treachery and cruelty; and concluded with exhort- e ing the *Ætolians* to observe the conditions of peace which they had concluded a few years before with *Philip*. The *Athenians*, who spoke next, endeavoured to efface the impressions which this discourse had made: they expatiated, in an affecting manner, on the cruelty and impiety of *Philip*, who, according to his barbarous method of making war, had shewn no regard to the august temples of the Gods, or the venerable tombs of the dead; they extolled the courage and piety of the *Romans*, and lastly, conjured the *Ætolians* to join in the common cause of the two most formidable powers, heaven and *Rome*. Afterwards *Purpureo* was heard, and his speech chiefly turned on justifying the conduct of the *Romans* with regard to the three cities mentioned by the *Macedonian* orator, he expatiated on the lenity and f moderation shewn by his republic to the *Carthaginians*, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon *Philip*; he did not forget the advantages, which the consular army had already gained over the king; and lastly, advised the *Ætolians* to lay hold of the present opportunity of renewing their confederacy with the *Romans*, unless they chose rather to perish with *Philip* than conquer with *Rome*[e].

The diet was inclined to favour the *Romans*; but *Democritus* suspended their determination, by declaring that nothing which related to peace or war could be resolved upon out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful prætor

[c] Polyb. & Liv. ibid. [d] Liv. l. 30. c. 7. [e] Liv. l. 31. c. 29.

made

made a merit with his countrymen of his address in this affair, pretending that his design was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was most likely to prevail, and then join the strongest[f].

*The Ætolians again join in alliance with the* Romans, *and invade* Macedon. *Year of the flood* 2806. *Before Christ* 197.

In the mean time, the proconsul *Sulpicius* having penetrated into the king's dominions and defeated him near *Octolophum*, the *Ætolians* at last determined to side with the conqueror, and accordingly in conjunction with *Aminander* king of the *Athamanes* (A) made an irruption into *Macedon*, and laid siege to *Cercinium*, a city of *Magnesia* (B). This sudden invasion alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood of the lake *Boebis* (C), who abandoning the country fled to the neighbouring mountains; so that the *Ætolians* finding no more booty there fell upon the province of *Perrhebia*, took the city of *Cyretiæ* (D) by assault, and obliged *Mallæa* (E) to take up arms, and join them against the king of *Macedon*. From *Mallæa Aminander* was for marching against *Gomphi* (F) which was very near *Athamania*, and might have been easily reduced, as it was defended only by the inhabitants. But the *Ætolians* chose rather to pillage *Thessaly*, than assist *Aminander* in taking a city, which was so conveniently situated to protect his small dominions from the inroads of the *Thessalians*. The *Ætolians* having entered *Thessaly*, committed there great devastations, dividing themselves into small bodies, and lying down in the open fields without keeping guard, or securing themselves with trenches. *Aminander* seeing he had reason to apprehend some sudden attack, being in an enemy's country, advised them to be upon their guard, and encamp in a regular manner. But they despised his advice, and advancing to the very walls of *Phæcadum* (G), and there lying down on the grass, gave themselves up to eating and drinking, as if they had been in the heart of *Ætolia*. Hereupon *Aminander* thought it adviseable to withdraw to a rising ground about five hundred paces from the *Ætolians*, and there secure himself with a ditch and rampart. He was scarce gone, when *Philip* appeared at the head of a numerous body of horse, fell upon the *Ætolians*, and cut most of them in pieces; those that escaped fled to *Aminander*'s camp, whither they were pursued by the *Macedonians*. But *Philip*, contrary to his expectation, finding the camp well fortify'd, and the *Athamanes* ready to receive him, put off the attack to the next morning, his infantry being tired with the long march they had taken to surprize the enemy. In the night, the few *Ætolians* that remained, and the *Athamanes* decamped together, and under the conduct of *Aminander* escaped through by-ways, and arrived in their own countries[g].

The next year they entered *Thessaly* again, and took the cities of *Cymines* and *Angea* at the first onset. From thence they advanced to *Theuma*, *Calathana*, *Acborra*, *Xinia*, and *Cyphara* (G), all which cities they took and pillaged. Thus great part of *Thessaly* fell a prey to the most cruel and avaritious of all the nations that were in alliance with *Rome*. For the *Ætolians*, where-ever they came, left nothing

[f] Liv. ibid. c. 30.

[g] Liv. l. 31. c. 40.

(A) The *Athamanes* had then a separate district of their own, surrounded by *Thessaly*, *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, *Ætolia* and *Doris*; whence some have made it a part of *Thessaly*, others of *Epirus*: *Pliny* places it in *Ætolia*; *Stephanus* makes it a part of *Illyricum*. According to *Ptolemy* it was divided from *Epirus* by the bay of *Ambracia* (29); and according to *Strabo* (30) from *Ætolia*, by the river *Acheloüs*.

(B) *Magnesia* was a small country, lying at the eastern extremity of *Thessaly*, between the gulf of *Armiro* and the *Saronic* gulf. *Circinium* stood at the foot of mount *Ossa*, near the lake *Bœbis*, between *Sotbussa*, and the *Macedonian* sea (31).

(C) The lake *Bœbis*, which some place in *Bœotia*, was near the confines of *Magnesia*, not far from mount *Ossa*. It is now called the lake of *Esero*.

(D) *Ptolemy* reckons *Cyretiæ* among the cities of *Estiotis*, a country of *Thessaly*. *Sanson* places it between the rivers *Pamisus* and *Curalius*. The *Pamisus*, now called *Pontigna Moranta*, falls into the *Peneus*. The *Curalius*, now *Onocero*, rises in the province of *Pelasgiotis*, and empties itself into the same *Peneus*.

(E) *Mallæa*, or *Malia*, was a city of *Phthiotis*, not far from mount *Oeta* and *Thermopylæ*. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by *Catullus* in his elegies. Some are of opinion that the *Maliac* gulf, now the gulf of *Zeiton*, borrowed its name from this city (32).

(F) The city of *Gomphi* was situate in that part of *Thessaly* which the ancients call *Estiotis*, near the springs of the *Peneus* (33). According to *Livy* it was the nearest city of *Thessaly* to the confines of *Epirus* (34).

(G) All these cities belonged to *Thessaly*, but we cannot give any certain account of their situation.

(29) *Ptol. l.* 4. (30) *Strabo, l.* 10. (31) *Strabo, l.* 9. (32) *Strabo, l.* 10. *c.* 13.
(33) *Strabo, l.* 9. *Plin. l.* 4. (34) *Liv. l.* 32.

in

a in the cities or houses but the bare walls, destroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting to the sword the inhabitants, or selling them for slaves to the best bidder. Such was their inhuman method of making war [i].

THE *Ætolians* continued steady in the interest of *Rome* during the whole course of the war, and were favoured by the *Roman* commanders above the other nations of *Greece*, as being the first that had joined in alliance with their republic. But after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*, in which *Philip* was entirely defeated, the affection between the two nations began to cool, and *Flaminius*, who commanded in that action, to treat the *Ætolians* in a quite different manner from what he had b done formerly. They without all doubt gave some occasion with their boasting speeches to this change. Their cavalry did wonders in the engagement, and by covering the *Roman* infantry, which was put in disorder at the first onset, gave them time to rally, and saved them the shame of a dishonourable flight. Hence they ascribed to themselves all the glory of the victory, giving out, that without their timely assistance, the *Romans* had been defeated and cut in pieces. In the songs which they dispersed all over *Greece*, they named themselves as the chiefs, and the *Romans* as their auxiliaries (H). *Flaminius*, who was already disgusted with the *Ætolians* for plundering the enemy's camp, while the *Romans* were busy in making prisoners, was now more fired at these insolent reports, which greatly lessened his c reputation among the *Greeks*. His resentment was still warm, when three envoys came from *Philip*, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to sollicit a peace; the pro-consul received them, and gave them an answer, without consulting the heads of the *Ætolian* nation, who were then in the camp, and had greatly contributed to the victory. The *Roman* was glad of this opportunity to mortify their vanity, whereas he ought to have dissembled, and been more tender of allies, who had proved so useful to him on all occasions. *Flaminius* agreed with the deputies of *Philip* upon a truce of fifteen days without admitting to the conference any but the officers of the *Roman* army; and even promised to grant their master an interview during that time. This air of absolute authority and in- d dependence on the other allies shocked the *Ætolians* to such a degree, that they spread a report in all the cities of *Greece*, that *Flaminius* was betraying the common cause, and that he had been bribed by *Philip*. But notwithstanding these reports, the proconsul appointed a place for the conference, and after having treated the king's embassadors with uncommon civility, he ordered them on their departure to tell their master, that he desired him not to despond. This message highly offended the *Ætolians*, who were utter strangers to all humanity and politeness, and confirmed them in their opinion, that the *Roman* had sold himself to *Philip*. The place appointed for the interview was a narrow pass, which led into the vale of *Tempe*. Thither *Flaminius* resorted, after having invited all his allies to assist at e the conferences, which he would not begin till he had consulted the heads of the confederates upon what terms they thought it proper to grant *Philip* a peace. *Aminander* and the *Achæans* spoke with a great deal of moderation, and only begged that he would conclude such a peace as might enable *Greece* to preserve her liberties in the absence of the *Romans*: as to the particulars of such a treaty, they referred them entirely to his prudence and judgment. But *Alexander*, one of the heads of the *Ætolians* rising up, haughtily addressed the pro-consul in the following terms: "You have done wisely, to call us to the conference: you have at last "thought fit not to treat of a peace without your allies. But, pray, what do "you propose by granting a peace to *Philip*? *Greece* will never enjoy its liberties f "so long as he enjoys the throne of *Macedon*. You are greatly mistaken, if you "fancy it will. *Philip* must be driven out of his kingdom, before *Greece* can

[i] LIV. l. 32. c. 13.

(H) *Thirty thousand Thessalians*, said one of their poets, were *killed on the spot. The* Ætolians *subdued so powerful an enemy with the assistance of the* Latins, *whom* Flaminius *had brought to ruin* Ematia. The author of this distich was one *Alcæus*, an *Ætolian* by nation. He was far inferior to the famous *Alcæus*, who was cotemporary with *Sappho*. The latter lived about the 44th Olympiad, and is famous for the *Alcaic* verses which took their name from him (35).

(35) *Plut. in vita Flam.*

"promise herself a lasting tranquillity. You *Romans* have flattered us with hopes a "of liberty; but there is no liberty for the *Greeks* till *Philip* is dead, and his do- "minions entirely ruined." When *Alexander* had done speaking, *Flaminius* directing his speech to him; "You are unacquainted, *said he*, with the character and "sentiments of the *Romans*; my republic does not carry her resentments to excess: "she knows how to revenge injuries; but upon the first appearance of submission "her anger is appeased; *Hannibal* and *Carthage* are convincing proofs of our mo- "deration. As to myself, I never intended to carry on an irreconcilable war with "*Philip*; but was always inclined to grant him a peace whenever he should yield "to the conditions that my republic thought fit to prescribe him. You yourselves, "O *Ætolians*, never once mentioned the driving of *Philip* from his throne till our b "late victory. Shall we then be inexorable, because we are conquerors? When an "enemy attacks us, it is our duty to repel him with all possible bravery; but if "he yields, it is the part of a generous victor to use him with gentleness and hu- "manity; for animosity dies after victory, and brave men are courageous in acti- "on, but mild after it. Nay, it is not your interest to destroy the kingdom of "*Macedon*, which serves you as a barrier against the *Thracians* and *Gauls* (1), who, "were they not checked by it, would certainly over-run all *Greece*[k]". *Flaminius* concluded with declaring, in the name of all the officers of the *Roman* army, "That "a peace ought to be granted to *Philip* if he complied with the conditions which "the other allies should propose, *adding*, that if the *Ætolians* did not like it, they c "might take what resolutions they pleased on that occasion." *Phineas*, the *Ætolian* prætor, answered *Flaminius*, and represented to him in very strong terms, "That "*Philip*, if he were left in possession of *Macedon*, would soon kindle a *new war in* "the heart of *Greece*." But before he ended his harangue, the pro-consul rose from his seat in a passion, and saying with a loud voice, "That he would put it "out of *Philip*'s power to make any further attempts upon *Greece*," dismissed the assembly[l].

But after all, it was not good nature or compassion that prompted *Flaminius* to urge the conclusion of a peace with the king of *Macedon*, but the advice he received that *Antiochus*, surnamed the *Great*, was ready to march out of *Syria* at the head of a d powerful army, and make an irruption into *Europe*. This prince had long kept a correspondence with *Philip*; and if these two monarchs should join their forces, such an alliance might prove of dangerous consequence to the *Roman* republic. Besides, *Philip*, tho' conquered and driven out of the field, might shut himself up in his strong holds, and dispute inch by inch the conquest of his kingdom. This *Flaminius* dreaded, being sensible that in the mean time another might be sent to succeed him, and reap all the advantages of his repeated victories[m].

The next day *Philip* appeared at the congress with an air of submission suitable to his present circumstances, and without any preamble declared, that he accepted the articles which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the e *Roman* senate. After he had uttered these words, there was a deep silence in the assembly, most of those who were present being touched with compassion. But *Phineas* the *Ætolian* prætor, finding that no body made him any reply, took the liberty to ask him, whether he was willing to restore to the *Ætolians* the cities of *Larissa*, *Pharsales*, *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, and *Echina*. I do restore them to you, reply'd *Philip*. *Flaminius* was greatly offended at the pretensions of the *Ætolians* to the city of *Thebes*, and replied with some warmth, It belongs to the *Romans*. I was the man who appeared before it, and to me it surrendered; it is therefore become subject to the *Romans*. *Phineas* insisted, that according to the terms of the treaty concluded between *Ætolia* and *Rome* it belonged to the former; the dispute f

[k] Liv. l. 33. c. 14. Polyb. l. 17. c. 29. [l] Idem, ibid. [m] Idem, ibid. c. 15.

(1) It is uncertain whether *Livy* speaks here of those *Gauls* who had settled in that part of *Asia*, which was from them called *Galatia*, or of another *Gallic* nation which was nearer to *Greece*, and had made a new settlement about the confluxes of the *Danube* and the *Save*. These new-comers took the name of *Scordisci*, as *Justin* informs us. *Strabo* (36) places them about *Sirmium*, between the *Danube* and *Macedon*. About fourscore years before the time we are here speaking of, the *Gauls* had spread terror and desolation in all the countries of *Macedon* and *Greece*, not sparing even the famous temple of *Delphi*.

(36) *Strabo*, *l.* 10.

grew

a grew warm, but at length the assembly determined in favour of *Flaminius*. By these steps the *Ætolians* began to raise that violent storm, which we shall soon see gather and discharge itself upon that unhappy nation [n].

*A peace concluded with* Philip. *Year of the flood* 2807. *Before Christ* 196.

The king having accepted the conditions, a truce was granted him for four months, to negotiate a peace at *Rome*; but *Flaminius* demanded his son *Demetrius*, with some of the chief lords of his court, for hostages, and moreover two hundred talents, upon condition, nevertheless, that both the money and hostages should be restored if the peace did not take place [o]. *Philip* comply'd, and immediately dispatched his embassadors to *Rome*, as also did the *Ætolians*; the former to sollicit a peace, and the latter to obstruct it. When they arrived at *Rome*, the republic had b just chosen new consuls, L. *Flurius Purpureo* and M. *Claudius Marcellus*. The latter being desirous of having *Macedon* for his province, and there finishing the war, strenuously opposed the peace, and being seconded by the *Ætolians* in his opposition had like to have prevailed in the senate. But the tribunes bringing the affair before the people, the tribes unanimously voted for granting *Philip* his request [p].

*The Ætolians dissatisfied with the peace.*

The *Ætolians* were the only people in *Greece* dissatisfied with the peace; they had been refused some cities which they claimed, and thought their services very ill rewarded by the *Romans*, who could not have conquered, say they, without their assistance. They carried their complaints to the general diet of all *Greece*, called the *Pylaicum* (K), and there endeavoured to stir up new enemies against c *Rome*. But finding that the free states of *Greece* were all well pleased with the late treaty of peace, they determined to have recourse to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, to *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and even to their sworn enemy *Philip* king of *Macedon*. It was natural enough for them to suppose, that *Macedon* and *Lacedæmon* would readily enter into a league against the *Romans*, who had lately imposed very hard conditions upon them. And as for *Antiochus*, his interest, his honour, the steps he had already taken, and the advice he received from *Hannibal*, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay passing over into *Europe*, and declaring war with *Rome*. Nor did they despair to see *Carthage* also join so many confederate nations, and make some efforts to shake off the yoke which *Rome* had laid on her. All d these considerations encouraged the *Ætolians*, and gave them no small hopes of seeing the imperious republic humbled in her turn. They chose for their prætor one *Thoas*, a man fit for their design, being an inveterate enemy to *Rome*, and a sanguine opposer of the peace lately concluded with the *Macedonians*. *Thoas* immediately assembled a general diet at *Naupactus*, and there convey'd into the breasts of all the deputies the irreconcilable aversion which he bore to the *Romans*. A decree passed without opposition, impowering him to send embassadors to all the princes who were dissatisfied with the *Romans*, and stir them up to war against the common

[n] Liv. l. 32. c. 13. [o] Idem, ibid. [p] Idem, ibid.

(K) *Livy* by the *Pylaicum concilium* means, that assembly of the *Amphyctiones* which met every year at *Thermopylæ*, to deliberate on the common interests of *Greece*. These diets were established by *Amphyction* the third king of *Athens*, in order to unite all the *Greeks* in one body. He believed, and with a great deal of reason, that if he could succeed in this point, he should render them formidable to the barbarians. Many years after *Acrisius*, king of *Argos*, enlarged the privileges of this council, and granted it an unlimited power. He likewise added several deputies of other provinces, who had not till his time been admitted to the council. Some have inferred from hence, that there were two different sorts of *Amphyctiones*, or general assemblies; the one instituted by *Amphiction*, the other by *Acrisius*; whereas the king of *Argos* only improved what the king of *Athens* had begun. *Æschines* speaks of twelve *Amphictionic* nations, (for so the *Greeks* called those that had a right to send deputies to this assembly) but names only eleven, *viz.* the *Thessalians*, *Bœotians*, *Dorians*, *Jonians*, *Perrhæbes*, *Magnesians*, *Locrians*, *Oetæans*, *Phthiotes*, *Maleans* and *Phocæans*: the name of the twelfth has been probably lost by the negligence of the transcribers. The *Dolopes* not mentioned by *Æschines* in this enumeration, are said by the ancients to have enjoy'd the *Amphyctionic* right. Each of these nations chose two deputies, whom they sent to the general assembly; one of those was charged with the care of religious matters, and thence stiled *Hieromnemon*; the other was called *Pilagoras*, or the orator sent to *Pylæ* or *Thermopylæ*. Sometimes each nation sent three, and even four deputies; but whatever their number was, they had only two votes in the assembly. The *Phocians* were formerly excluded from the assembly for having plundered the temple of *Delphos*; but afterwards wiped off this dishonour by saving the same temple from being plundered by the *Gauls*, who invaded *Greece* under the conduct of the second *Brennus*. This supreme council was held twice a year, in autumn at *Thermopylæ*, in a temple dedicated to *Ceres*; and sitiate in a large plain watered by the *Asopus*; in the spring at *Delphos* in the temple of *Apollo* (37.)

(37) *Polyb. l. 8. Pausan. in Achaic.*

enemy.

enemy. Pursuant to this decree, *Damocritus* was dispatched to *Lacedæmon*, *Nicander* to *Macedon*, and *Dicæarchus* to *Syria*. The first was ordered to make *Nabis* sensible of the contemptible condition into which he had been brought by the *Romans*. His state was reduced to a small territory, and *Achaia* was sole mistress of *Peloponnesus*. By yielding up his ports, he was deprived of the riches he formerly got by trading with the neighbouring nations, and being shut up within the walls of *Lacedæmon* he had only the empty title of king. The second was instructed to tell *Philip*, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himself from the *Roman* tyranny. The conquests of *Alexander* the great, and his glorious exploits were also deemed proper topics to awake his jealousy. *Nicander* was likewise ordered to assure him, that the proposals of the *Ætolians* were not chimerical, that *Antiochus* was ready to cross into *Europe* with a mighty fleet, and a numerous army, that the great *Hannibal*, whose very name struck the *Romans* with terror, assisted him with his advice, that the *Ætolians* would join him with all their forces, and that *Rome* could not possibly resist so many enemies at once. The third embassador was directed to persuade *Antiochus* to pass over into *Greece*, and magnify to him the forces of *Ætolia*: he was to let him know that the conquests of the *Romans* in *Greece* were chiefly owing to the *Ætolians*, and assure him that their troops were numerous and well disciplined, and that their country would furnish his army with provisions, as it afforded safe harbours for his fleets. Nay, *Dicæarchus* was charged to deceive the king of *Syria* with a lie, and tell him, that *Philip* and *Nabis* had already signed the confederacy [q].

*Philip* and *Antiochus* were not hasty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took up arms, and besieged *Gythium*, a maritime city, which the *Romans* had obliged him to give up to the *Achæans*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the *Roman* senate thought it advisable to send embassadors into *Greece* to defeat the measures of the *Ætolians*, and maintain those cities steady in their alliance with *Rome*. At their arrival they found that *Ætolia* had already declared openly for *Antiochus*. The embassador (L) who had been sent to *Antiochus*, was returned, and had brought with him an embassador from the king of *Syria* to the *Ætolian* diet. Before the general diet was convened, these two endeavoured to prepossess the minds of the people in favour of *Antiochus*. Nothing was talked of but the prodigious army he was to bring over with him. They exaggerated beyond measure the number of foot, horse, and elephants, that were to come into *Ætolia*; and above all the immense treasures, which the king would distribute among his friends, sufficient to purchase all the lands belonging to the *Roman* republic. The minds of the *Ætolians* were blinded with these prejudices, when the diet was assembled to give audience to the king's embassador. The *Roman* deputies, among whom was *Flaminius*, highly respected by all the other states of *Greece*, had regular notice sent them of whatever was transacting in *Ætolia*; and they suborned some of their chiefs to thwart as much as possible the designs of the factious *Thoas*. *Flaminius* also engaged the *Athenians* to send deputies to the assembly of *Ætolia*, and there to support the interests of his republic. *Thoas* opened the diet by acquainting his countrymen that an embassador was come from the mighty monarch of *Syria* to court their friendship, and propose things greatly to the advantage of both nations. He was immediately ordered to introduce him, that they might hear his proposals from his own mouth. Being introduced, he made an harangue well calculated for the present circumstances. He told them, that it had been happy for *Greece*, that his master had concerned himself in their affairs before *Philip* was reduced so low; that if he had joined his forces to those of the *Macedonian*, *Greece* would not now groan under the tyrannical oppressions of *Rome*. "But still your case, said he, is not without remedy, the wound is not incurable; if you put in execution the designs you have formed, I promise you a deliverer in the great *Antiochus*; he with your assistance, and that of the gods, will be able to restore *Greece* to its ancient splendor [r]".

[q] Liv. l. 35. c. 12.

[r] Liv. l. 35. c. 31—34.

(L) *Livy* had said a little before, that *Dicæarchus* the brother of *Thoas* then prætor of *Ætolia* had been sent embassador to *Antiochus*; and here he tells us that *Thoas* was sent; wherein he agrees with *Appian*. Perhaps the prætor went with his brother to give the greater weight to the embassy.

a THE *Ætolians* were ready to accept the offer without further deliberation; but the *Athenian* embassador prevailed upon the assembly to hear the *Romans* before they came to any resolution. Accordingly *Flaminius* being sent for and introduced, put them in mind of their alliance with *Rome*; and after exhorting them rather to carry their complaints to the senate, than fill all *Greece* and *Asia* with them, he concluded thus: "*Ætolians*, are you then determined out of mere wantonness to light "a fire in *Greece*, which it will not be in your power to extinguish? Will you "arm the nations of the east for their mutual destruction? What a dreadful storm "are you bringing upon yourselves! you are the first on whom it will fall." The *Ætolians*, who had already laid their complaints before the senate, and had been by b the senate referred to *Flaminius*, seeing themselves now referred back by *Flaminius* to the senate, grew outrageous, and in the presence of the *Roman* passed a decree conceived in the following terms: Let *Antiochus* be called into *Europe* to restore *Greece* oppressed by the *Romans* to its ancient liberty. *Flaminius* demanded a copy of the decree; but the prætor refused it him, answering with an haughty air, that he had business of much greater consequence at that time on his hands; but that he would communicate it to him very soon on the banks of the *Tyber*, with all the forces of *Syria*. This was an open declaration of war, whereupon *Flaminius* returned to *Corinth* there to watch the enemies motions, and acquaint the senate with the steps they should take[s].

*The* Ætolians *invite* Antiochus *into* Greece. *Year of the flood* 2812. *Before Christ* 191.

c IN the mean time the privy council of the *Ætolians* formed a design of seizing on three cities, which were reckoned the bulwarks of *Greece*; these were *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, and *Lacedæmon* in the heart of *Peloponnesus*. Three men of known valour and ability in war were charged with the execution of this extraordinary design. *Thoas* was appointed to take *Chalcis*, *Alexamenes* to surprize *Lacedæmon*, and *Diocles* to make the attempt upon *Demetrias*. They all three set out at the same time on their respective expeditions, but were not attended with the like success. *Diocles* approaching the city of *Demetrias* with a small body of chosen troops, sent a messenger to acquaint the inhabitants that he was come with no other design, but to attend *Eurylochus* to his native country, and conduct him with d that honour, which was due to his rank and merit. *Eurylochus* had been chief magistrate of *Demetrias*, and in that post disobliged the *Romans*, whose partizans had forced him to leave his country, and take sanctuary among the *Ætolians*. However, the *Demetrians* touched with the tears of his wife and children had consented to recall him; and his return *Diocles* made use of for the execution of his design, *Eurylochus* himself being privy to the whole plot. Both *Diocles* and *Eurylochus* arrived at the gates of the city with a small body of horse, the rest of the cavalry being ordered to follow at a distance. To prevent giving umbrage to the inhabitants, *Diocles* ordered his troop to dismount, and enter on foot, leading their horses by their bridles. At the gate he left a few horse-men to be ready to fall on the citi- e zens, if they should offer to shut it when the rest of the cavalry appeared. Thus *Diocles* was admitted without the least suspicion; but while he was leading *Eurylochus* by the hand to his house, news was brought him that the whole body of the *Ætolian* cavalry was arrived, and had got possession of the gate. Hereupon he ordered the troop that attended him to remount, and in that surprize making himself master of the most important posts in the city, detached several small bodies with orders to put to death all the heads of the *Roman* party. Thus the *Ætolians* possessed themselves of one of the most important places of *Thessaly*[t].

*The* Ætolians *form a design of seizing* Chalcis, Demetrias, *and* Lacedæmon.

Demetrias *taken.*

BUT *Lacedæmon* was not to be so easily surprised. *Nabis* was a cunning and suspicious prince, and, as he had many enemies, always on his guard. The council f therefore of the *Ætolians* in the instructions they gave *Alexamenes* had recourse to treachery. *Nabis* had been lately defeated by *Philopœmen*, and apprehending that the brave *Achæan* designed to besiege him in his capital, sent messenger after messenger to his friends and allies the *Ætolians*, acquainting them with the danger that threatned him, and earnestly entreating them to send him without delay such a reinforcement as might extricate him out of the difficulties and straits which his alliance with their republic had reduced him to. The treacherous *Ætolians* thought this a favourable opportunity for putting in execution their horrid design, which was to assassinate their ally, and seize on the city of *Lacedæmon* for themselves.

[s] LIV. ibid. [t] LIV. ibid. c. 35.

*Alexamenes* therefore, a man well well qualified for such a work, was ordered to a set out with a thousand foot, and thirty horsemen. The latter were all young men, chosen out of the whole body of the cavalry, as the most fit for any desperate attempt. When they were ready to march, the young horsemen were introduced by the prætor *Demetrius* to the council of the apocleti, and there told that it was not their business to think what expedition they were sent upon, but only to execute blindly whatever *Alexamenes* should enjoin them; and that how desperate soever the thing he commanded might seem, and repugnant to reason, yet unless they readily performed it, they should not meet with a kind reception on their return home. With these instructions they began their march to *Lacedæmon*, where they were received by *Nabis* with the greatest transports of joy. *Alexamenes* encouraged b him not to be under any apprehension of danger either from the *Achæans*, or the *Romans*, since *Antiochus* had already passed the *Hellespont*, and would soon enter *Greece* with a prodigious army, and such an immense number of elephants as would be sufficient, without any other help, to tread down the *Romans*. As for the *Ætolians*, said he, they would have sent you all their troops, if they had not thought it necessary to keep them at home till the arrival of the king of *Syria*, before whom they were desirous to make the best appearance they could. He added, that it would be much for the glory and reputation of *Lacedæmon*; if he could shew the great king his phalanx finely equipped and well disciplined. *Nabis* was highly pleased with this soothing discourse, and used every day to exercise his soldiers in c the plains of the *Eurotus* near the capital; *Alexamenes* attended him at the head of his *Ætolians*, whom he drew up apart from the *Lacedæmonians*, and then keeping close by the tyrant's side, while he rid through the files of his army to order their motions, watched a proper opportunity to give the blow he designed. He observed that *Nabis* used to ride from one wing of the phalanx to the other guarded only by three or four horsemen. This made him form a design of assassinating him in sight of his troops when under arms. Accordingly having fixed with himself a day for the execution of so desperate an attempt, he waited on the tyrant to the place of the rendezvous, and there, while *Nabis* was busy in exercising his phalanx, he stept aside to his thirty horsemen, and told them that he should soon stand in d need both of their courage and address; Keep your eyes, said he, fixed upon me, and whatever you shall see me take in hand, be sure to finish it, if you care to see your country again, and your relations. He said no more, but returned to attend the king as usual. At length as *Nabis* was riding from one place to another with great speed, guarded only by two or three horsemen, *Alexamenes* seized on the desired opportunity, and with his lance wounded the king's horse. Then the thirty *Ætolians* without deliberating on the matter, flew in, and dispatched him before any one could come to his assistance. His guards were so surprised, that instead of seizing the assassins, they stood gazing at the king's dead body, which lay on the ground covered with wounds. But *Alexamenes* heading the *Ætolian* infantry, which e was posted in the left wing of the *Lacedæmonian* phalanx, hastened to the capital, and entering it without opposition, began to plunder the tyrant's palace. As *Nabis* was equally hated by his citizens and soldiers, his death would have been generally approved of, if the *Ætolian* had convened the assembly, and made a speech suitable to the occasion. But the love of plunder prevailed over all other considerations; and *Alexamenes*, contrary to all rules of prudence, spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night in searching for the treasures of the murthered king. In the mean time the *Lacedæmonians*, recovering themselves from their surprise, were highly provoked to see the ancient palace of their kings ransacked by a treacherous assassin, as if their city had been taken by storm. Wherefore the f whole city ran to arms, and for want of a better leader putting at their head a young child of the blood royal, they fell upon the *Ætolians*, who were straggling about the city in quest of booty, and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenes* was killed in the palace, and those few that made their escape, were seized by the magistrates of *Arcadia*, and condemned to slavery. Such was the result of the attempt upon *Lacedæmon*. *Philopæmen* no sooner heard of the death of the tyrant and his assassin, but he hastened to *Lacedæmon*, and finding all things there in the utmost confusion, he assembled the people, and exhorted them to recover their ancient liberty. They followed his advice, and readily joined in the *Achæan* league. Thus the ancient kingdom of *Sparta* became a member of a commonwealth,

Nabis *murdered by the Ætolians.*

Lacedæmon *joins in the* Achæan *league.*

a wealth, whereof the name was scarce known when the *Spartans* ruled over all *Greece*[u].

As for *Thoas*, he failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*, the magistrates of that city, who were strongly attached to the *Romans*, having received timely notice of the design, and put the city in a condition to sustain a long siege. The inhabitants of *Chalcis*, hearing that *Thoas* had hired a great many transports in order to carry over troops to their island, sent a messenger to him, desiring to know for what reason he was going to commit hostilities in their territories; the *Ætolian* answered, that his only design was to deliver *Eubœa* from the *Romans*, who domineered more insolently over it than the *Macedonians* had ever done. But the inhabitants reply'd, that b they neither found their liberties abridged, nor needed any avenger or deliverer from the *Romans*, since they feared no danger, nor apprehended any injury from them. This disconcerted the measures of the *Ætolian*, who had placed all hopes of success in a sudden attack. Wherefore finding that proper preparations were made for his reception, he retired much dissatisfied at his failing in an attempt upon a city, which would have made him master of the whole island, and open'd a way for *Antiochus* into *Attica*[w]. *Ætolians fail in their attempt upon* Chalcis.

*Flaminius*, who then resided at *Corinth*, being informed that the *Ætolians* had made themselves masters of *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, took upon him to recover it to the *Roman* party. He first wrote to *Eunomus*, prætor of *Thessaly*, desiring him to c arm all the young men of the country. Then he charged *Villius* to go to *Demetrias*, and inform himself upon the spot of the disposition of the inhabitants. Accordingly *Villius* embarked on a quinqueremis, and came in sight of *Demetrias*. The report of his arrival raised a great commotion among the inhabitants, who ran in crouds to the port to see him. But the *Roman*, without any concern at seeing crouds about him, addressed *Eurylochus* the chief magistrate in this manner: Can the *Romans* reckon the people of *Demetrias* among their allies or no? Am I received here as a friend or not? The magistrate answered, that his fellow citizens were attached to *Rome*; but at the same time he let him know, that his presence might disturb the repose of a city that was jealous of its liberty; which was in effect, tell- d ing him in a gentle manner, that he would not admit him into *Demetrias*. And indeed *Eurylochus* had already declared for *Antiochus*, and the inhabitants, seduced by his councils, had just then concluded a league with the *Ætolians* against *Rome*. *Villius* understood by *Eurylochus*'s discourse that he could not, without danger, appear among the people; and the interview ended with severe reproaches on both sides; the *Roman* upbraided the *Demetrians* with ingratitude, since they owed their liberty to *Rome*, and the *Demetrians* reproached the *Romans* with injustice, haughtiness and ambition. *Villius* therefore was obliged to put to sea again; but before he reimbarked, turning to the multitude that were pursuing him with great noise and menaces, "I plainly see, said he, the storm that will fall upon your heads; "your misfortunes will convince you, when it is too late, that none, who provoke e "the *Romans*, escape with impunity." *Flaminius* upon the return of *Villius*, and his report, laid aside all thoughts of bringing the *Demetrians* back to their old alliance[x].

On the other hand *Thoas*, having failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*, went strait to *Antiochus*, and pressed him to delay no longer his setting out for *Greece*. At the same time he dissuaded him from sending *Hannibal* with an army into *Italy*, insinuating that the *Carthaginian* would assume to himself all the glory of such an enterprise. As this fell in with the *Syrian*'s suspicious and jealous temper, he entirely dropped the design, to which he was before well inclined. And now it being f resolved that *Greece* should be the only seat of war, the king pitched upon *Demetrias* for the place where he should land. Having therefore got every thing ready for his departure, he imbarked with an army consisting only of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; such a small body of men was noways suitable to the majesty of so great a king, nor answered the expectations of his *Greek* allies: but these were all the troops he had ready; *Polyxenidas* indeed, one of his generals, was ordered into *Asia* to draw together the rest of his forces, and lead them into *Europe*. The king landed at *Pteleum* in *Phthiotis*, and from thence marched to *Demetrias*. Here the heads of the *Ætolian* nation waited upon him, and *Antiochus arrives in* Greece.

[u] Liv. l. 35. c. 37. Plut. in Philop. [w] Liv. ibid. c. 33. [x] Idem, ibid. c. 39.

invited

invited him to *Lamia*, one of their cities, where a general assembly was convened a to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, he made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerness to comply with their request had induced him to leave *Asia* before he had made the necessary preparations for such an expedition; that his zeal for their deliverance had made him even forgetful of his own dignity; that their expectations should be fully answered next spring; and that assoon as the seas were passable, they should see all *Greece* covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded with these words: "I will spare neither fatigues nor ex-
" pences; I will expose my person to the greatest dangers, to re-establish you in
" the full enjoyment of your liberties: *Rome* has enslaved you, but *Syria* offers you
" a deliverer; let us then share the trouble between us; do you furnish provisions, b
" I will find men and arms [f]."

This speech was received with great applause, and when the king was withdrawn, it was debated in the assembly what title they should give him, and in what character he should act in *Ætolia*. The most judicious saw plainly, that *Antiochus* instead of a real and present assistance gave them little more than bare hopes and promises, and therefore were for having him act only as a mediator between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. But this being rejected by a great majority, the opinion of *Thoas* prevailed, which was, that the king should be honoured with the title of generalissimo or commander in chief of all the *Greek* armies against *Rome*. Then a council of thirty persons was appointed, to whom the king might have recourse on c all occasions. The first step he took by their advice was to enter into a negotiation with *Chalcis*, a city which was famous for its affection to the *Romans*. In a conference which was held between the *Ætolians* and *Chalcidians* at *Salganea*, the former used their utmost efforts to draw that important city into an alliance with *Antiochus*, but without renouncing the friendship of the *Romans*; they declared that the king of *Syria* was come into *Greece*, not to make it the seat of war, but to deliver it from slavery; that nothing could be more advantageous to the cities of *Greece* than to live in amity both with *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, since the one would by that means be a check on the other; that if they withstood the advantageous offers of such a mighty monarch, they might soon repent it, the *Ro-* d *mans*, on whom they depended, being at a great distance, and the king at their gates [g].

*Miclio*, one of the chief men of *Chalcis*, replied; that he could not imagine what people *Antiochus* was come to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and crossed over into *Greece*; that as for the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, they had no occasion for a deliverer, since they were free; nor of a defender, since they enjoyed the sweets of peace under the protection of *Rome*; that they did not refuse the friendship of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*; but if they would shew themselves friends, the best proof they could give at present of their friendship was to leave the island, since they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor make any alliance e with them, but in conjunction with the *Romans* [h].

This answer being brought to the king on board his ship, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it adviseable to return to *Demetrias*, not having a sufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not at all pleased with his *Ætolian* counsellors, seeing the first step they had made him take proved so inglorious. But *Thoas* appeased him with the hopes of gaining over *Aminander* king of the *Athamanes*, with the *Bœotians* and *Achæans*, who, said he, are all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the *Romans*. Accordingly negotiations were set on foot, and embassadors dispatched to these three powers. The *Achæan* diet, which was held at *Ægium*, gave audience to the embassadors of f the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, in the presence of *Flaminius*. The *Syrian* embassador, who spoke first, expatiated on the irresistible power of his master; he declared with an emphatical tone of voice, that a numberless multitude of horsemen were crossing the *Hellespont*, consisting partly of cuirassiers in impenetrable armour, and partly of bow-men, who discharged their darts with as much skill and dexterity when they turned their backs, as when they faced their enemy: to the cavalry, which alone was sufficient to overpower all the forces of *Europe*, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the *Dahæ*, the *Medes*, the *Elymæans*, the *Cadusii*, &c.

[f] Idem, ibid. c. 42—44. [g] Liv. ibid. c. 46. [h] Idem, ibid. c. 47.

names

a names never before heard in *Greece*, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible; with regard to the fleet, he assured them that it would over-spread all the coasts, and fill all the ports of *Greece*: concerning money, it was, he said, needless to mention the immense sums, which *Antiochus* possessed, since they knew that the kingdom of *Asia* had always abounded with gold. In the close of his speech he addressed the *Achæans*, telling them, that though his master was come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore *Greece* to its freedom, yet he did not require that the *Achæans* should take up arms against *Rome*, but only desired them to stand neuter, and treat both parties as friends, assuring them that their neutrality should screen them and their country from the many calamities that threatened
b *Greece*[b].

*Archidamus*, the *Ætolian* embassador, spoke to the same effect, advising the *Achæans* to sit only as spectators of a war, which must bring utter destruction upon *Rome*; then growing insensibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches against the *Romans* in general, and *Flaminius* in particular; he called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the valour of the *Ætolians* not only the victory they had gained over *Philip*, but their general's life, and the safety of the army. "For what great exploits, continued he, has *Flaminius* per-
"formed during this war? his whole time has been spent in consulting the auspices,
"in sacrificing victims, and offering vows, as though he had been an augur or a
c "priest, while I exposed myself to the enemy's darts for his sake." *Flaminius* heard all these reproaches with patience, and then reply'd with pleasantry thus: Attempts have now been made, *Achæans*, to terrify you with an enumeration of those nations of *Asia*, which are to pour in, like a torrent, upon *Greece*. This puts me in mind of an entertainment, which was made me by a friend of mine in *Chalcis*, who is a man of humour, and treats his guests very elegantly. He invited me to a banquet at a time of year when venison was very scarce, and yet there seemed to be great plenty of it served up at his table. I was surprised; but my friend smiling told me, that what I took for venison was nothing but hog's flesh disguised several ways, and seasoned with different sauces. The same may be said of this
d mighty king's troops, which have been so pompously extolled and magnified. The *Dahæ*, the *Medes*, the *Cadusii*, the *Elymæans*, names indeed that are not heard every day in *Greece*, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves. Whatever disguises may be used, they are all but one sort of men; let the sauce be what it will, the meat is the same. And as for the *Ætolians*, they are brave only in words; they may amuse the king of *Syria* with their bragging discourses, but both you, *Achæans*, and I, are better acquainted with their character than to be imposed upon. As for their mighty monarch, what a poor figure is he come to make in these parts? his whole army is not equal to two of our smallest legions. And where are the riches which he promises you? he has been obliged at his first arrival to beg of the
e *Ætolian* diet provisions and money. From thence he rambled to *Chalcis*, which he was obliged to leave with ignominy. "The *Ætolians* have very injudiciously given
"credit to *Antiochus*, and *Antiochus* shewed as little judgment in believing the *Æ-*
"*tolians*. This ought to teach you not to be imposed upon, but to put all your
"confidence in the *Romans*, the effects of whose friendship you have so often expe-
"rienced. When they demand of you a neutrality, they invite you to become a
"prey to both parties, and to suffer all the evils of war without sharing the ad-
"vantages of victory[c]".

*Insolent speech of* Archidamus *the* Ætolian, *before the* Achæan *diet.*

*Speech of* Flaminius.

The *Achæans* without hesitation declared for the *Romans*, and resolved to make war upon *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: They immediately sent five hundred men to
f reinforce the garrison of *Chalcis*, and the like number to *Athens*, which began to waver.

*Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* received no greater satisfaction from the *Bœotians*, who told their embassadors, that they would come to no resolution till *Antiochus*'s army was on the frontiers of *Bœotia*[d].

The king of *Syria* having thus sollicited in vain, either by his embassadors or in person, most of the *Greek* states to join in alliance with him, retired at last to *Demetrias*, where he held a council of war on the operations of the ensuing campaign. *Hannibal* who was invited to it with all the chief commanders of the

[b] Idem, ibid. c. 48. [c] Idem, ibid. c. 49. [d] Idem, l. 36. c. 2.

army, being asked his opinion first, advised the king before he undertook any thing a else to use his utmost endeavours to gain over *Philip* of *Macedon*; which, he said, was so important a step, that could they but succeed in it, they might without much ado become masters of all *Greece*. But if *Philip* should refuse to take up arms against *Rome*, in that case he was of opinion, that the king should send his son *Seleucus* at the head of an army into *Macedon*, and by that means prevent him from lending any assistance to the *Romans*. He insisted on a still more important point, and maintained, as he had always done, that the only way to defeat the *Romans*, was to send an army into *Italy*[e].

Antiochus *diverted by the* Ætolians *from following the advice of* Hannibal.

The council could not but approve of what *Hannibal* said, but at the same time the *Ætolians* diverted the king from following his opinion, pretending that if b he pursued the *Carthaginian*'s plan, all the glory would be ascribed to him, and that since *Antiochus* had already taken another course and was in *Greece*, it would be highly disreputable in him to alter his measures. In the council it was resolved that the king should again attempt the winning over of *Chalcis*, and accordingly he set out again for that place. On his march he detached *Menippus* one of his generals with three thousand men to intercept a body of five hundred *Romans*, which *Flaminius* had sent under the command of *Mictio* the *Chalcidian* to reinforce the garrison of *Chalcis*. *Menippus* came upon them unexpectedly, while they were amusing themselves in viewing the rarities of a temple dedicated to *Apollo* in the neighbourhood of *Tanagra* (M). Neither the sanctity of the place, which enjoy'd the privileges of c an asylum, nor the friendship that still subsisted between *Antiochus* and the republic, war not being yet declared, protected them from the fury of the *Syrians*; they were attacked in the very temple and grove of *Apollo*, most of them put to the sword, and fifty taken prisoners; a few of them escaped with their leader *Mictio*, who in a small boat got safe to *Chalcis*. This was the first time *Antiochus* drew his sword in these parts; but by shedding *Roman* blood he made himself the aggressor, and gave *Rome* a new right to declare him an enemy. The *Syrian* flushed with this small advantage became more bold and enterprising; he advanced at the head of six thousand men to the *Euripus*, where he had ordered his fleet to attend him, and appeared the second time before *Chalcis*. This city was rent into factions, and now d the *Ætolian* party prevailing, *Mictio* and *Xenolcides*, with such other citizens as persisted in their attachment to the *Romans*, were commanded to depart, and the city opened her gates to *Antiochus*. The example of the capital was followed by the whole island, and all *Eubœa* submitted to the *Syrian*, who from that time made *Chalcis* the place of his residence. He spent the winter there, sending deputies to all the free states of *Greece* to court their friendship. His power began now to be formidable; wherefore the *Eleans*, the *Epirots*, the *Bœotians*, and the *Athamanes* readily joined him, renouncing their alliance with *Rome*. The *Athamanes* were prevailed upon to join him by *Philip*, the regent of *Athamania*, who was a pretender to the crown of *Macedon* (N)[f]. e

*The progress of* Antiochus's *arms in* Greece.

And now the time drawing near to take the field, *Antiochus* advanced to *Larissa*, and from thence summoned his allies to send their troops to the neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, where they were to rendezvous. While he was waiting here for the arrival of the confederate troops, he made a very impolitic step, which was the taking the regent of *Athamania* with him to the plains of *Cynocephalæ*, where the *Macedonians*, who had been killed when *Philip* was overcome, lay still unburied. He thought that the pretended king of *Macedon*, by procuring their obsequies to be performed, might gain the affections of the *Macedonians*. But this served only to exasperate the true king of *Macedon*, who immediately gave the *Romans* notice of the progress *Antiochus* was making in *Greece*[g]. f

[e] Idem, ibid. c. 4. [f] Liv. ibid. c. 5. Polyb. legat. 12. [g] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

(M) *Tanagra*, a city of *Bœotia* on the banks of the *Asophus*, five miles distant from the *Euripus*, is now called *Anatoria*. The temple dedicated to *Apollo*, and called *Delium*, was built on the coast of *Bœotia*, between the city of *Aulis*, and the mouth of the *Asophus*, about five miles from *Tanagra* (4).

(N) *Amynander*, king of the *Athamanes*, had married at *Megalopolis*, a woman named *Apamia*, a native of *Macedon*, who was said to be descended from *Alexander* the great. The father of *Apamia*, who also bore the name of *Alexander*, gave out among the *Megalopolitans* that he was the true heir of the kingdom of *Macedon*. The brother of *Apamia*, whose name was *Philip*, governed the kingdom of *Athamania* under *Amynander*, who was a weak prince: and *Antiochus* gained over *Philip*, by promising to restore him to the throne of his ancestors.

(4) *Strabo, l.* 9.

The

a The king of *Syria* being reinforced with the troops of his allies, and having no enemies to resist him, laid siege to *Pheræ*, which after a vigorous resistance was forced to surrender. From *Pheræ* he advanced to *Larissa*, and while he was deliberating whether he should lay siege to it or not, news was brought him that a body of *Romans* was arrived at *Gonni*, a city about twenty miles from *Larissa*. *Claudius*, who commanded this small detachment, in order to deceive *Antiochus* encamped in a much larger camp than was necessary for so small a number of troops, and kindled so many fires, that *Antiochus* believing a numerous army of *Romans* was ready to fall upon him, decamped with great precipitation, and returned to *Chalcis*, which city proved as fatal to him as *Capua* had been to *Hannibal*. For, there, though he was b advanced in years, being above fifty, he suffered himself to be shamefully captivated by the charms of a fair *Chalcidian*. She was the daughter of one of the chief citizens of *Chalcis*, named *Cleoptolemus*, in whose house the king lodged, and a young woman of great virtue. The king therefore was obliged to disclose his passion, not to her only, but likewise to her father, and desire his consent to marry her. The disproportion of her age and condition to those of the king's made *Cleoptolemus* fear that his daughter would soon repent her advancement to so high a station, and therefore was very unwilling to grant the king his request. But *Antiochus* to the passion of a lover joined the authority of a sovereign, and then the father was obliged to acquiesce; and the nuptials were celebrated with regal magnificence, and all the se- c curity of the most peaceable times. The king was now so taken up with his young queen, that he seemed to forget *Rome*, *Greece*, and *Syria*. Neither the important war he was engaged in, nor the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had already acquired, affected him in the least. His unseasonable love was become a standing topic of rallery in all conversations, his allies made loud complaints, the soldiery, being kept in a state of inaction, began to mutiny, and the *Ætolians* themselves to express great uneasiness. But the king insensible to every thing but his passion, which engrossed the whole man, spent the rest of the winter in feasting and rejoicings; and the ill example of the court infected the officers, and even the common soldiers of the *Syrian* army: discipline was neglected, their bo- d dies were weakened, and the whole army abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery [h].

Chalcis *proves fatal to* Antiochus.

While *Antiochus* was thus lost in pleasures at *Chalis*, *Rome* kept a watchful eye over him. A hundred quinqueremes were fitted out to scour the eastern seas, and after the elections were over, and a regulation made of the troops that were to serve this year, war was formally declared against *Antiochus*. Then the new consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *A. Acilius Glabrio* drew lots for their provinces, and *Greece* fell to the latter, who set out in the beginning of *May* for *Brundusium*, whence he set sail for *Greece*, and crossing the *Ionian* sea, landed his forces, without the least opposition, to the number of twenty thousand foot, two thousand e horse, and fifteen elephants. He immediately sent his infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near *Pellinæa* in *Thessaly*, and with his cavalry he marched to *Limnæa*, another city of *Thessaly*, which the king of *Macedon* was besieging. Both these places surrendered to the consul at discretion, and in *Pellinæa* was taken *Philip* the pretender to the crown of *Macedon*. The king in derision called him brother, ordered him to be saluted king, and conducted him to the consul, who put him in irons and sent him to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* parted, to spread the terror of their arms in different places. The king made himself master of all *Athamania*, *Amynander* having retired with his wife and children into *Epyrus*; and the consul soon reduced all *Thessaly*. This surprising progress of the *Romans* roused f at last *Antiochus* out of his lethargy. He loved his new wife *Eubia* to adoration; but his reason, pointing out to him the shameful figure a man of his years and character must make in being thus taken up with youthful pleasures, at last got the better of his passion; and he determined to leave *Chalcis*, and draw nearer to *Ætolia*. This obliged him to assemble all the troops he had dispersed over *Greece*, and join them in one army. All the *Syrian* troops amounted to no more than ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. With these he advanced to the confines of *Ætolia*, in hopes of powerful succours from thence: but he was disappointed; for the *Ætolian* chiefs could not raise above four thousand men, who were for the most part their own clients and vassals. *Antiochus* was then sensible that he had been imposed

*The progress of the* Romans *rouzes* Antiochus.

[h] Liv. ibid. Appian. c. 96.

upon

upon by *Thoas*; but notwithstanding this disappointment, he pursued his measures. a
He knew that the *Roman* army had passed the *Sperchius*, and was ravaging *Phthiotis*.
To prevent therefore their entering *Achaia* by way of *Locris*, and at the same time to
secure himself against the attacks of the enemy, he seized a pass already famous in
history, called *Thermopylæ*. This pass was not above twenty-five foot broad, and
bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by mount *Oeta*. The king strength-
ened the natural fortifications of the place with trenches and ramparts. And as he
was not ignorant that *Xerxes* would not have been able to force the *Lacedæmonians*, if
he had not ordered some of his troops to climb up the mountains, and from thence
rush down upon the enemy, he detached two thousand *Ætolians* to seize the summits
of mount *Oeta*, which were nearest his camp[i]. b

Antiochus *seizes* Thermopylæ.

The *Roman* general was informed of the prudent precautions which *Antiochus*
had taken, and was under no small concern. To endeavour to drive the enemy
from passes, where scarce ten armed men could march abreast was a dangerous
attempt: to follow the example of *Xerxes*, and climb over the mountains, was
impracticable, the tops of the mountain being guarded by two thousand *Ætolians*. In
this perplexity he had recourse to the famous *Cato*, who being tired with the wrang-
lings of the bar, had rouzed up his martial spirit, and now served in the troops in no
higher a station than that of a legionary tribune. This brave and prudent warrior
extricated the consul out of his difficulties, by offering to dislodge the *Ætolians* from
their advantageous post. As this enterprize was of no less difficulty than import- c
ance, the consul thought proper to join *L. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants, with
*Cato* in the execution of it. The former was ordered to march against that body
of *Ætolians*, which was encamped on the summit called *Tichius*, and the latter
against those who were on the other, named *Callidromus*. *Valerius* was repulsed
by the *Ætolians*, and forced to retire; but *Cato*, after undergoing inexpressible
fatigues and dangers, got at last to the top of the mountain, and charged the
*Ætolians* with such resolution, that he obliged them to abandon their post, and fly
for refuge to the valley. In the mean time the main body of the army was warmly
engaged with *Antiochus*, but could not with all their valour force the *Syrian's*
entrenchment. *Acilius* did wonders, but great numbers of his men being either d
killed or wounded, the rest began to be disheartened, when the consul all on a
sudden spied *Cato* half way down the hill, and the *Ætolians* flying before him.
This sight inspired the *Romans* with new vigor, and struck no small terror into the
*Syrians*, who had behaved during the action with incredible valour, and still main-
tained their ground till *Cato* attacking the camp in its weakest part, put an end to
the dispute. The king having received a blow on the mouth with a stone, turned
his horse about and fled. His example was followed by the whole army, every
one shifting for himself, and leaving the passes open for the *Romans*, who did not
pursue them, being taken up with plundering the camp, where they found a rich
booty[k]. e

*But is disobliged and defeated.*

The next day early in the morning the consul marched to *Elatia*, whither
*Antiochus* had first retired. But before the arrival of the *Romans* the king was fled
from thence, and had got safe to *Chalcis*, with five hundred horse. All the infan-
try, being too much tired to follow the king in his flight, were suprised by the
*Roman* horse, and cut in pieces; so that *Antiochus* may be said to have lost his
whole army in the action of *Thermopylæ*, and in the pursuit (O). The consul con-
tinued his march through *Bœotia* to the *Euripus*, with a design to drive *Antiochus*
from *Chalcis*, and recover the island of *Eubœa*. The *Bœotians* had declared for
*Antiochus*, and therefore being seized with terror at the sight of the consular army,
they appeared before *Acilius* in the attire of supplicants, and the consul spared both f
their lives and lands, not suffering his soldiers to commit any hostilities, except
at *Coronæa*, where by a public edict of the *Bœotian* diet, a statue had been erected
to *Antiochus*. At this sight the legionaries were so provoked that *Acilius* could
not refrain them; the city was plundered, and the territory laid waste. When the
consular army appeared before *Chalcis*, *Antiochus*, embarked with his new queen, set

Antiochus *leaves* Chalcis.

[i] Liv. ibid. c. 15. Appian. in Syriacis. c. 96. [k] Liv. ibid. c. 19.

(O) *Valerius* of *Antium*, according to *Livy*, greatly magnified the king's loss for he wrote that forty thousand *Syrians* were killed upon the spot, and five thousand taken prisoners (5).

(5) *Liv. l.* 36. *c.* 19.

a sail for *Asia*, and retired to *Ephesus*. Upon his departure *Chalcis* opened her gates to the *Romans*, and all *Eubœa* followed the example of the capital. *Acilius* then returned to *Thermopylæ*, and from thence continued his march to *Heraclea* (P), which two thousand *Ætolians* still kept for *Antiochus* [l].

Before the consul besieged the city in form, he summoned the garrison and the inhabitants to surrender; representing that they could expect no relief from a fugitive king; that all *Greece* had anew declared for *Rome*; that it was not too late to have recourse to the clemency of the *Romans*; and that he would look upon their delivering up of the city as an unquestionable proof of a sincere repentance. *Democritus*, who had told *Flaminius*, that he would give him on the banks of the *Tyber* b a copy of the decree inviting *Antiochus* into *Greece*, was governor of the place; and by his means the *Ætolians*, as well as the inhabitants, resolved to hold out to the last. The consul therefore was obliged to have recourse to force, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that he made himself master of it. *Heraclea* was fortified by nature and art, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having invested the city on all sides, began to batter it night and day with a great number of warlike machines, which discharged showers of darts and stones on the besieged. The *Ætolians* on the other hand maintained their posts with inexpressible courage, harassed the *Romans* with frequent sallies, set fire to their engines, and by letting down iron hooks from the wall, rendered their battering rams quite useless. The aggressors no sooner opened a breach by undermining the wall, but the besieged made vigorous sallies, keeping the *Romans* employed till their companions within repaired the breach. Thus they held out forty days against the incessant attacks of the whole consular army. The great number of the besiegers lessened their fatigues; but the besieged were employed night and day, the whole garrison being scarce sufficient for the constant defence of the place. The consul being sensible that the *Ætolians* could hardly be overcome with fatigues and watchings, resolved to give some relaxation, but with a view the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a stop to be put to the attacks at twelve every night, and did not renew them till nine in the morning. The *Ætolians* being persuaded, that the *Romans* were as much exhausted as themselves, retired at the same time, and did not return to the walls till they had refreshed themselves with some hours rest. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul all on a sudden ordered *Sempronius* to attack the citadel at three in the morning, not doubting but the noise would draw all the garrison thither. Accordingly the *Ætolians* being waked, hastened to the castle, and the *Romans* at the same time assaulted with great vigour the town, but were repulsed by the *Ætolians* in three successive attacks. *Acilius* had ordered his legionaries to attack the town on all sides, except that which joined the suburbs. There he had placed a strong detachment among the ruins of the demolished houses, with orders not to stir till they heard the signal. He imagined that the besieged would draw off their men from that place, which was not attacked, to defend the others. And so it happened, the besiegers left this place quite undefended, which the consul perceiving, gave the signal agreed on, and the legionaries mounted the wall without any opposition. The besieged hearing a shout on the rampart, believed the city was taken, and fled with great precipitation to the citadel. *Acilius* suffered the city to be plundered, not so much out of a spirit of revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who had not as yet been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. The pillaging of the city took them up from break of day till noon, when the consul marched against the citadel, which, as it was not sufficiently stocked with provisions to maintain such a number of men, women, and children, as had fled thither for refuge, soon surrendered at discretion. The *Ætolians* threw themselves upon the clemency of the *Romans*, and by way of preliminary delivered up into the consul's hands their leader *Damocritus*, who probably was sent to *Rome*, with the other captives of the conquered nations [m].

From *Heraclea* the consul marched to *Lamia*, a strong place situated on a rock about seven miles distant. The troops of king *Philip* had begun

[l] Liv. ibid. c. 20. [m] Liv. ibid. c. 25.

(P) This city, called *Heraclea Trachynia*, stood between the *Sperchius* and the *Asopus*, near the gulf of *Zeiton*, and about forty furlongs distance from *Thermopylæ* (6).

(6) *Strabo l.* 9. *Thucyd. l.* 3.

the siege at the same time that the *Romans* set down before *Heraclea*. As the two cities were near each other, and *Lamia* stood on an eminence, the *Macedonians* and *Romans* could discover each from their own camp, what progress was made in the other. Hence arose an emulation between the two armies, which should reduce their city first. The works were carried on by both with the utmost vigour; but as the *Macedonians* could not, according to their custom, undermine the walls, the city being placed on a rock, the *Romans* took *Heraclea* before the *Macedonians* had made any considerable progress in the siege of *Lamia*. *Philip* indeed did not at first assist in person, being prevented by an indisposition; but he no sooner recovered than he went to pay a visit to *Acilius*, who was then encamped at *Thermopylæ*, and congratulated him on his victory. From the consul's camp *Philip* hastened to *Lamia* to pursue the siege; but he had not the satisfaction of taking the place, the *Lamians* chusing rather to submit to the *Romans*, in hopes of recovering their liberty, than to receive the *Macedonian* yoke [n].

Before *Heraclea* and *Lamia* were besieged, the *Ætolians* had sent an embassy to *Antiochus*, then at *Ephesus*. *Thoas*, who was at the head of it, endeavoured, pursuant to his instructions, to engage the king to draw together his troops, and return into *Europe*. He represented, that if the war was not carried on with vigour in *Greece*, he would soon see the *Romans* in the heart of his dominions. What he said was not improbable, and therefore determined *Antiochus* to send immediately into *Ætolia* considerable sums, and give orders for the assembling of his forces. *Thoas* he kept with him, who was very glad to continue at court, and there have an opportunity of pressing the king to fulfil his promises. Thus the *Ætolians* were wholly bent upon renewing the war before the taking of the two above-mentioned cities; but the reduction of these abated their ardour, and now nothing was talked of in their assemblies, but of concluding a peace. They sent embassadors to the consul to make proposals, but he received them with the air of a conqueror. "I have "other business on my hands, said he, than to hear you; go back to your diet "at *Hypata*, whither I will send *Valerius Flaccus* to treat with you; make your "proposals to him, and in the mean time I grant you a ten days truce [o]."

*Valerius* and the embassadors set out together for *Hypata*, where the general assembly was held. The diet shewed him extraordinary honour; held their sessions at his house, and to shew that they reposed an entire confidence in him, they desired him to instruct them in what manner they should treat with the senate. Our alliance, said they, with the republic is very ancient. By how many good offices have we shewn our attachment to *Rome*? Here *Valerius* stopped them, and desired they would not mention an alliance, which they had so often broken. An humble submission, said he, will have more effect on the consul and senate, than a vain ostentation of your services. The diet seemed to pay a great regard to the wholsome advice of *Valerius*, and their deputies putting on an air of humiliation, presented themselves before the consul. *Phæneas*, who was their speaker, addressing the consul in a mournful tone, began his speech by telling him, that all *Ætolia*, repenting her late conduct, threw herself on the honour and clemency of the *Romans*. The consul, without suffering him to pursue his harangue, immediately replied; you say, *Ætolia* surrenders herself to the *Romans*; if so, deliver up the head of your nation, who was the author of your revolt; put into my hands *Menetas* the *Epirot*, *Amynander* king of *Athamania*, and such of the *Athamanians*, as have revolted from us, and taken sanctuary in *Ætolia*. While he was yet speaking, *Phæneas* interrupting him, answered with a quite different air and tone of voice; you demand more than we promised; we threw ourselves upon your honour, but we did not deliver ourselves up to slavery. What you require is neither consistent with the honour of the *Ætolian* nation, nor with the laws and customs of *Greece*. What is that to me, replied *Acilius* haughtily, whether my demands are agreeable to your customs and laws, or not? They are agreeable to the will of the *Romans*, and that is enough. *Phæneas* was offering to speak, when the consul rising up, What, said he, do you refuse to obey my orders, and plead your customs and laws with me? Then turning to the lictors, he ordered them to bring in iron chains and collars, and threatned to put the ambassadors in irons that instant, and treat them like rebels and traitors, unless they promised to perform what he required. The sight of the

[n] Idem, ibid. c. 36. [o] Idem, ibid. c. 27.

chains

a chains, and the threats of the angry consul so terrified them, that neither *Phæneas* nor his collegues durst utter one word. *Valerius* taking their part, desired the consul to remember, that they were ambassadors, and consequently ought not to be treated with all the severity which their insincerity might perhaps deserve. This encouraged *Phæneas* to represent to the consul in terms of great submission; That neither he nor the council of the apocleti who had sent him, could obey his orders, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the whole nation; he therefore entreated him to grant them a further truce for ten days, during which time he promised to bring him a positive answer. *Acilius* heard him now with patience, and granted the suspension of arms he required [p].

b Upon the return of the embassadors, and the report which they made of the severe treatment they had met with, a general assembly was convened, to which all the cities of *Ætolia* sent their deputies. These were fired with indignation at the bare recital of the preliminaries proposed by the *Romans*, and all cried out; We are then reduced to slavery: Is the king of *Athamania* our subject? can we dispose of him as we please, and deliver him up to the *Romans*? Warm debates arose, and the members of the council could neither agree with the prætor, nor among themselves. On one side the *Romans* were a formidable enemy; but they had yet taken only two cities; on the other, *Antiochus* was a wealthy prince, powerful by sea and land, and a declared enemy to the *Romans*. While they were in this uncertainty, a thing happened which determined them to choose the worst part. One c *Nicander* an active and bustling man had gone from *Ætolia* to *Ephesus*, where *Antiochus* resided, and returned home in twelve days. He brought large sums of money with him from the king of *Syria*, and assured the diet, that early in the spring all the forces of *Syria* would be sent to their assistance. He added, that the king of *Macedon* was highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Romans*, and would not fail to join them, when a fair opportunity offered of revolting from his new allies. What he said with relation to *Philip* had great appearance of truth, and therefore was of great weight with the assembly. *Nicander*, on his return to *Greece*, had been obliged to pass between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* camps, and keeping as far as d he could from the *Romans* fell upon an advanced guard of the *Macedonians*, by whom he was taken and carried to the king. The prisoner expected no good treatment from *Philip*, and was under no small apprehension of being delivered up to the *Romans*. But contrary to his expectation he was received by the *Macedonian* in a very friendly manner, and even invited to sup with him. After the repast, the king ordered the rest of the company to withdraw, and then addressed *Nicander* thus: "You are not in the power of an enemy, but of a friend, and therefore "divest yourself of all fear. Are you not at last sensible, that the *Ætolians*, your "countrymen are the authors of all our misfortunes? They first brought the *Romans* into *Greece*, and assisted them in the reduction of my dominions. Then e "they grew weary of their new masters, and drew *Antiochus* into these parts. However, I forget all that is past, and will not insult you in your misery. Only let "the diet at *Hypata* know, that it is high time for them to lay aside their hatred "to me. As for you, *Nicander*, remember, that I now give you your life, and be "grateful [q]". Accordingly *Nicander* acquainted the diet with the kind reception he had met with in *Philip*'s camp, and the *Ætolians* inferred from thence that the king might be easily drawn off from the *Romans*. This persuasion, with the money which *Nicander* brought from *Asia*, and the reports which he spread, that *Antiochus* was ready to pass into *Europe*, at the head of a powerful army, made such impressions on the assembly, that all thoughts of peace vanished, and nothing was now talked f of but war. They resolved to draw all their forces to *Naupactus*, and preserve at all events that important city against the return of *Antiochus* [r].

*Acilius*, on the other hand, looked on the taking of *Naupactus* as the most fatal blow he could give the *Ætolian* nation, and therefore resolved to attempt it. In the first place he sent four thousand men under the command of *Appius Claudius*, to guard the roads through which the army was to pass. The consul did not begin his march, till he had implored the assistance of the gods by offering a solemn sacrifice to *Her-*

p Liv. ibid. c. 28. q Liv. ibid. c. 28. Polyb. legat. 13. r Liv. ibid. c. 30.

*cules*

*cules*, on the top of the mount *Oeta* (Q). Having thus consecrated his departure by an act of religion, he set out at the head of his army, and met with no difficulties in his march, till he came to *Corax* (R), the highest mountain of *Ætolia*, which he was obliged to climb over, with all the warlike machines and baggage of a numerous army. There great numbers of beasts of burden, and many of the soldiers were lost in the precipices. Not one single *Ætolian* appeared to dispute this dangerous passage with the consul, which might have been defended by an handful of men against an army how numerous soever. At length the *Romans* got over it, and arrived greatly fatigued before *Naupactus*, which the consul immediately invested. But as the *Ætolians* defended themselves with incredible vigour and courage, the whole consular army was employed here most part of the summer, while *Philip* and the *Achæans* reduced entire provinces. The former not only made himself master of *Demetrias*, but extended his conquests to *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and *Perrhæbia* (S); and thus by degrees recovered all the places that had been taken from him [t].

But *Flaminius*, who resided at *Chalcis* (T), not being at all pleased with the progress, which the consul suffered *Philip* to make contrary to the interest of *Rome*, hastened to *Naupactus*, which had already held out two months, but was reduced to great straits. On his arrival in the camp he was received by the consul, whom he abruptly addressed thus: Are you aware what prodigious pains you take to ruin the affairs of the republic? *Acilius* surprized at these words, desired him to explain his meaning; and then *Flaminius* told him, that ever since his victory at *Thermopylæ* he had spent his whole time in taking two cities, while *Philip* had not contented himself with the taking of cities, but had reduced whole nations. "You are "endeavouring, continued *Flaminius*, to lessen the power of *Ætolia*, and at the same "time suffer a far more dangerous enemy to increase his beyond measure; consider "better the true interest of *Rome*; raise this troublesome siege, leave *Naupactus*, and "deliver *Greece* from impending slavery [u].

As the authority of *Flaminius* was great at *Rome*, and his reasonings very just, *Acilius* was unwilling to disoblige him; but on the other hand he considered that the raising the siege of a town, which had already held out two months, might reflect no small dishonour on his conduct, and therefore was sometime in suspence, whether he should follow the advice of *Flaminius*, or contrary to his opinion pursue the siege. But at length he yielded, *Flaminius* taking upon him to justify his conduct to the senate, and to persuade the *Ætolians* to make some kind of submission. Accordingly he immediately shewed himself to the besieged, who running in crouds to the ramparts implored his assistance with mournful cries. *Flaminius* seemed at first not to give ear to their intreaties, but as they redoubled their cries, beseeching him, with tears in their eyes, to have compassion of an unfortunate people, who fled to him for protection, he gave them to understand, that they might send deputies to confer with him. Hereupon *Phæneas* and the chief men of the nation came out and threw themselves prostrate at his feet. *Flaminius* seeing them in this humble posture, I will not insult you, said he, in this condition, nor aggra-

[s] Idem ibid. Appian. in Syriac. 99. [t] Liv. l. 36. c. 32. [u] Liv. ibid. & Plut. in Flamin.

(Q) Mount *Oeta* was dedicated to *Hercules*, there being an old tradition in the country, that this hero ended his life and labours there. One of the summits of this mountain was called *Pyra*, that is a funeral pile, because *Hercules* had there burnt himself, and was ever after reckoned among the gods. The fame of the place drew the consul to it, and before his departure he offered sacrifices to the deity there worshipped.

(R) According to *Ptolomy* this mountain lay between mount *Callidromus* and mount *Parnassus*, *Livy* places it between *Naupactus* and *Callipolis*.

(S) *Dolopia* was part of *Epirus* and bordered upon *Thessaly*, near mount *Pindus*. *Aparantia* was another province of *Epirus*, lying near the springs of the *Achelous*. *Perrhæbia* was properly the mountainous country about *Olympus* and *Thessaly*, extending from the city *Atrax* as far as *Tempe* (7).

(T) *Flaminius* after having conquered *Philip*, and settled the affairs of *Greece*, was long kept in that country by his republic on account of his great skill and address in negotiations. He had no title, but nevertheless was more respected than the consuls themselves. When any differences arose, the contending parties generally had recourse to *Flaminius*, referring the whole to his arbitration. He had chose *Chalcis* for the usual place of his residence. That city owed its safety to him; for *Acilius*, when it surrendered to him after the departure of *Antiochus*, was resolved to give it up to be plundered; but *Flaminius* had interest enough with the consul to appease his wrath, and save both the lives and estates of the inhabitants. From that time the *Chalcidians* carried their gratitude to excess; they built a temple, and instituted a festival in his honour, putting him upon the same level with *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules* (8).

(7) *Strabo l.* 9. *Herodot. l.* 7. (8) *Plut. in Flamin.*

vate

a "vate your sorrow with unseasonable reproaches. Your misfortunes are indeed "affecting; but I forewarned you of them, and you have the further mortification "to know that you have by your imprudent conduct brought them upon your-"selves. But as I am appointed by the gods to preserve *Greece*, your ingratitude "shall not get the better of my propension to mercy. Go, throw yourselves at "the consul's feet, and beg a suspension of arms in order to send embassadors to "*Rome* to negotiate a peace; I will intercede with the consul in your behalf". They followed the advice of *Flaminius*, embassadors were sent to the *Roman* senate, and *Acilius* breaking up the siege, marched his army back into *Phocis*. [w] The city of *Naupactus* must have been reduced to great straits, since the besieged sued so b earnestly for the protection of *Flaminius*. But on the other hand, if *Acilius* had believed he should carry it in a short time, he would not have let it slip out of his hands; the whole flower of the *Ætolian* nation was shut up in the city, and the reducing of it would have made their submission more hearty and sincere.

*Acilius prevailed upon by Flaminius to raise the siege of* Naupactus.

*Acilius* being disengaged from this troublesome siege, made the best use he could of the short time he was to stay in *Greece*. He gave audience to the embassadors of the *Epirots*, who came to excuse the steps they had taken with regard to *Antiochus*. They had not indeed sent any troops to his assistance, but were suspected to have supplied him with money and provisions. The consul told them, that he was in doubt, whether he should call them friends or enemies, but that the senate c of *Rome* knew how to explain their mysterious and artful conduct. However, he granted them a truce for three months, enjoining them to clear themselves before the senate. At *Rome* they were received very coldly, but as it did not appear that they had committed any hostilities, the senators chose rather to shew them mercy, than to draw new enemies upon the republic [x].

As for the *Ætolian* embassadors; the truce which had been granted them was near expiring, before thay could obtain an audience of the senate. They were however admitted at last, and endeavoured to raise the compassion of the senate; they gave a long, but modest account of the services they had render'd the republic, during their alliance with her, and begged that in consideration of them the d conscript fathers would forgive them their late conduct. Many questions were put to them, but the senators observed that instead of giving any positive and direct answer, they had recourse to supplications and entreaties. This made them suspect their sincerity. Wherefore they were ordered to withdraw; and warm debates arose among the fathers, some being for granting them a peace, and others for pursuing the war. Some days were spent in these disputes, and as the embassadors artfully declined giving satisfactory answers, the senate long continued in suspense between peace and war. At last the embassadors were told that they must chuse one of these two conditions, *viz.* either to submit to the will of the senate; or to pay the republic a thousand talents, and neither make war nor peace with any other power without e the consent and approbation of *Rome*. The *Ætolians* had not so much money; and on the other hand, if they implicitly submitted to the will of the senate, they were persuaded that *Rome* would not be contented with that which they were willing to grant. Wherefore they desired to know in what points, and how far they were to submit to the will of the senate. But they could have no certain answer, and therefore openly declared that they would not consent to either of the conditions. So that the project of a peace was dropp'd, and the embassadors order'd to leave *Rome* that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight [y].

*Hard conditions offered by the senate to the* Ætolians.

THE *Ætolians* upon the return of their embassadors finding that there were no hopes left of concluding a peace, thought it necessary to guard *Naupactus* against f a new attack. They were afraid that *Acilius*, who continued in *Greece*, would again sit down before the place, and carry it. To prevent this, they posted themselves in the narrow passes of mount *Corax*, in order to stop his march. But this precaution only served to make the consul turn his arms against another city of no less importance than *Naupactus*. *Lamia* after having been the last year very near reduced by *Philip*, had submitted to *Acilius* upon very honourable terms, and was allowed its liberty. But while the consul was employed in the siege of *Naupactus*, that city declared anew against the *Romans*. *Acilius* finding it impracticable to make any new attempts upon *Naupactus*, set out for *Lamia*, and appearing unexpectedly

[w] Idem ibid. c. 35. [x] Idem ibid. c. 36. [y] Liv. l. 37. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 16.

before the place, at break of day, ordered the walls to be scaled on all sides; but the inhabitants made a more vigorous defence than had been expected; all ranks of people, even women and children, ran to the walls, and joined in defence of their country. Whereupon *Acilius* despairing to take the city by assault, sounded a retreat. The *Romans* returned to their camp; but the general told them, that he design'd to renew the assault the next morning; don't expect, said he to his troops, to return to the camp till the city is taken. Accordingly they renewed the attack with such vigour, that the besieged, being tired out with the fatigues of the preceding day, were in a few hours overpowered, and the place taken. After the reduction of *Lamia* the consul was for returning to *Naupactus*, but in a council of war, which was held on that occasion, not one of the officers approved of so hazardous an attempt. A steep mountain covered the place, and the passes were all guarded by numerous bodies of *Ætolians*. The consul, therefore march'd his troops with all possible expedition, his consulate being ready to expire, to *Amphissa* a city of *Locris*, which had joined the *Ætolians* (U). He did not attempt to take it by storm, but besieged it in form; the besieged made a vigorous resistance, and held out till news was brought to *Acilius*, that *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the brother of *Scipio Africanus*, was landed at *Apollonia*, and marching through *Epirus* and *Thessaly* to take upon him the command of the army. The new consul brought with him an army of thirteen thousand men, and the great *Africanus* served under him in quality of his lieutenant (W). *Cornelius* visited all the coasts of *Epirus* quite to the *Malaic* gulf. From thence he sent to summon *Hypata*, which was one of the most considerable cities of *Thessaly*. But the inhabitants answering that they were not their own masters, and that they could not surrender without the consent of the *Ætolian* diet, he turned towards *Amphissa*, the citadel of which *Acilius* was besieging, having already taken the town. The consul encamped eight miles from the town, and was soon visited by deputies from *Athens*, who came to pay their respects to him, and intercede for the *Ætolians*. They first imparted the chief business, which they were come upon, to *Scipio Africanus*, remembering that none of the nations conquered by him had ever repented putting their interests into his hands. *Scipio* told them that he would intercede for the *Ætolians* with a great deal of pleasure, and procure them the best terms he could. This raised the expectations of that unhappy nation; they immediately assembled a diet at *Hypata*, and sent deputies to the consul, not doubting but *Africanus* would obtain favourable terms for them. But *Cornelius* having conceived some sort of jealousy in seeing that they all paid a greater deference to his brother than to himself, though vested with the consular dignity, gave the embassadors the same answer which the senate had given before. He again insisted that the *Ætolians* should either pay a thousand talents, or implicitly submit to the will of the *Romans*. This unexpected answer threw the whole nation into the utmost consternation. However, they sent new deputies to the two brothers jointly, begging that they would either abate of the sum demanded, or at least, if they submitted to the will of the consul, their lives in general should be saved. But *Cornelius* was inexorable, and would grant neither. Hereupon *Echedemus*, the chief of the *Athenian* embassy, advised them to demand a six months truce, and once more apply to the senate. They followed his advice, and being backed in their request, both by *Echedemus*, and *Scipio Africanus*, they obtained at length the truce they desired. The same embassadors who had been driven from *Rome* were sent back thither, and the siege of the citadel of *Amphissa* was raised. Then *Acilius* resigning up the command of the army to the new consul left *Greece*, and returned to *Rome*. The *Ætolians* themselves

*Lamia taken by the Romans.*

*The Ætolians obtain a five months truce.*

(U) *Amphissa* was a city of the *Locrians* called *Ozolæ*, situated near the territories of *Crissa*, distant a hundred and twenty furlongs from *Delphos*. It was so called according to *Pausanias*, because it was surrounded by mountains on all sides. Some modern geographers tell us, that it still retains the same name; but *Le Noir* calls it *Lambina* (9).

(W) The consuls chosen for this year were *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius*, the first the brother, the second the friend of the great *Scipio Africanus*. *Lælius* being reckoned the best general, artfully proposed to his collegue, that instead of drawing lots, as was usual, they should leave the matter to the determination of the conscript fathers. *L. Scipio* knew not how to decline this offer; but he desired time to consider of it, and then consulted his brother. *Scipio Africanus* desired him without any hesitation to accept the proposal; and when the senate seemed unwilling to determine the affair, he, to the great surprize of all, offered to serve under his brother, in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the senate immediately assigned *Asia* to the two *Scipio*'s as their common province.

(9) *Herodot. l. 8. Strabo l. 9. Pausan. in Phocicis.*

were

a were not more overjoyed at this truce than *Scipio Africanus*, who was impatient to pass over into *Asia*, and once more enter the lists with *Hannibal* [a].

The consular army was scarce withdrawn from *Greece*, when the *Ætolians*, forgetting the danger they had been in, took the field with a design to restore king *Amynander*, their friend and ally, to his kingdom. This prince had sided with the *Ætolians*, and on that account had been driven out of his kingdom by *Philip*, whom the *Romans* had put in possession of all the banished king's dominions. They soon drove all the *Macedonian* garison out of *Athamania*, and placed *Amynander* again on the throne of his ancestors. But this did not content the restless *Ætolians*, instead of humbling themselves to *Rome*, as *Amynander* did, for dispossessing *Philip* of the b dominions which had been allotted to him by the republic, they pursued their conquests, and entering *Amphilochia* a province of *Epirus*, formerly subject to them, but now under the protection of *Rome*, reconquered almost the whole country. From thence they advanced to *Aparantia*, which had likewise belonged to them, and recovered it. Having now retaken what they had lost during the war, they fell upon *Dolopia*, a country which had always belonged to the kings of *Macedon*, and to which they could lay no claim. The *Dolopians* were easily prevailed upon to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke, and submit to the *Ætolians*. All these conquests were so many insults offered to the republic in the person of a king, who was joined in alliance with *Rome*, and had rendered her eminent services during the c late war. Thus the *Ætolians* employed the time which they had been allowed to negotiate a peace, and to appease by their submission the wrath of the sovereign republic.

*The Ætolians invaded the territories of* Philip, *though in alliance with Rome.*

However, when they heard that the senate, upon an embassy from *Amynander*, had confirmed him in the possession of his dominions, they resolved at last to apply to the senate not only for a peace, but for their consent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced, hoping the republic would be no less favourable to them than she had been to their ally *Amynander*. Their embassadors arrived at *Rome* soon after the election of the new consuls, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, and before the news of the famous victory at *Magnesia* had reached *Italy*. d Wherefore the better to succeed in their negotiations, they spread a report, that the two *Scipio*'s had been made prisoners by *Antiochus* at a conference, and that the *Roman* army was entirely defeated. Being questioned about their intelligence, they pretended to have received the account from some persons of their nation in the consul's camp, and putting on an air of confidence, they seemed rather to demand than beg a peace. But these bad appearances did not abate the pride of the senate, or bring them to shew any indulgence to *Ætolia*: the embassadors were dismissed, and ordered not to return without the express consent of the generals, whom the republic should send to carry on the war in their country [b].

*Their insincere proceedings with the Senate.*

The consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, *Greece* fell to *M. Fulvius* e *Nobilior*, who immediately set out, and landing at *Apollonia*, a city of *Macedon*, near the borders of *Epirus*, assembled there a council of the *Epirots*, to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. These advised him to begin with the siege of *Ambracia* (X), which would open him a way into the very heart of *Ætolia*. Herein they consulted their own interest; for *Ambracia* belonged formerly to the *Epirots*, and was now to be restored to them. However, *Fulvius* followed their advice, and crossing *Epirus*, sat down before *Ambracia*. He no sooner saw the town, and observed its situation, but he concluded that it would be no easy matter to reduce it. It was defended on one side by a great river (Y), and on the other by steep and f craggy hills, and surrounded with a high and thick wall above three miles in compass. The consul began the siege by forming two camps separated by the river, but with a communication between them; the *Epirots* were posted in one, and

Ambracia *besieged by the* Romans.

a Liv. ibid. Polyb. Legat. 17. b Val. Antias apud Liv. 37.

(X) *Ambracia* was formerly one of the most considerable cities of *Epirus*. It stood at the bottom of the *Ambracian* bay, upon the river *Arethus*, at a small distance from the sea. The situation of *Arba* in upper *Albania*, agrees with that of this ancient city (10).

(Y) The city of *Ambracia* stood on the *Arethus*, which *Livy* here calls *Aretbon*. *Le Noir* tells us, that the natives call this river *Spagmagmurist*.

(10) *Strabo. l. 7. Polyb. l. 8.*

the

the *Romans* in the other. Then he threw up two lines, one of circumvallation, a and the other of contravallation, and built over-against the citadel, which stood on a hill, a wooden tower in the form of a castle. When the *Ætolians* understood, that *Fulvius* had begun the siege of *Ambracia*, they assembled all their troops, and marched to the relief of a place, which was a key to their dominions. They appointed *Stratos*, a city of *Acarnania*, on the banks of the *Achelous*, for the place of the general rendezvous. In a council of war, which was held there, *Nicander*, the prætor, and most of the officers were at first for attacking the *Romans*. But being afterwards informed, that though the camp was fortified, the works round the place were not finished, it was thought more adviseable to throw troops into the city, and strengthen the garison. *Eupolemus*, a man of great resolution, took b upon him to perform this, and succeeded in the attempt, entering *Ambracia* at the head of a thousand *Ætolians*, where the lines were not finished. As for *Nicander* he marched against the *Epirots*, with a design to attack them in their camp; but finding them strongly entrenched, he thought the attack would prove too dangerous, and therefore led his army into *Acarnania*, and laid waste the whole country. In the mean time the *Romans* and *Epirots* began to batter the place. The consul ordered five attacks to be made at the same time, three on the side of *Pyrrheum*, a small fortress without the city, one over-against the temple of *Æsculapius*, and another on the side of the citadel. The rams shook the walls on all sides, and the *Romans*, from their moveable towers pulled down the battlements with a kind c of sythes, which they fastened to long beams. This did not at all dishearten the *Ætolians*, who were night and day on the walls, and indefatigable in preventing the ill effects of the rams and sythes. As to the former, they invented a kind of pullies, by which they let down beams, large stones, and lumps of lead upon the rams, as they were in motion, and thereby deadened their strokes. They guarded themselves against the sythes by pulling the beams, to which they were fastened, into the city with large hooks contrived for that purpose [b].

While *Fulvius* was thus carrying on the siege, *Nicander*, after having pillaged *Acarnania*, returned to *Stratos*, and from thence detached five hundred men to reinforce the garison of the besieged city. These got safe in under the conduct of d one *Nicodamus*, with whom *Nicander* agreed to attack the *Roman* camp at a time appointed, not doubting but if the garison within, and the army without fell upon them at the same time, and in the night, the *Romans* might be obliged to abandon their camp, and retire from before the city. *Nicodamus* narrowly watched the time in which he was order'd to sally, and at the Hour appointed, though *Nicander* did not appear, marched out at the Head of the garison, armed with fire-brands and torches. The *Roman* centries were not a little surprized at this sight, and running to wake their companions spread the alarm over the whole camp. The legionaries marched in small bodies, as they happened to meet, to repulse the enemy, whom they engaged in the three different places, where the attacks were e made on the side of *Pyrrheum*. Two of the enemy's bodies were driven back, but the third commanded by two *Ætolian* generals maintained their ground, made a great slaughter of the *Romans*, set fire to their tents, and then not finding themselves seconded by *Nicander*, retired in good order into the city. If *Nicander* had at the same time attacked the *Romans*, as he agreed to do, the siege would have been probably raised; but he did not lend the besieged the least assistance, which some ascribe to timorousness, while others tell us that he was obliged to march his army that very night against *Perses*, who had invaded *Dolopia* [c].

*Nicander* had so much to do elsewhere, that he could not bring any relief to f the besieged. On one hand *Perses* was to be driven out of *Dolopia*; and on the other, the coasts of *Ætolia* were to be defended from the ravages of *Pleuratus*, king of *Illyricum*, who assisted the *Romans* with a numerous fleet, and committed great devastations in the *Ætolian* territories. The besieged being thus abandoned, and without any hopes of succours, did not however despond, but defended themselves with incredible vigour and resolution. The *Romans* had no sooner made a breach in the wall but it was repaired, and a new wall built up behind it. The consul therefore altered his measures, and instead of making breaches with the ram, began to undermine the wall, in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once,

[b] Liv. l. 38. c. 4. [c] Idem ibid. c. 5.

and

a and entering the city before the besieged could have time to build a new wall. The miners began the work, and being covered were not observed by the garison till the heaps of earth that were brought out of the mine gave them the alarm. They began then to countermine, and having dug a trench of the depth they supposed the mine to be, they carried it along the wall where they heard the strokes of the pick-axes of the *Romans*. In a few Hours they came to that part of the wall which the *Romans* had sapped, and supported with wooden props. When the two mines met, a battle ensued under-ground, first with pick-axes and spades, and then with swords and spears. But this attack did not last long, each party making themselves a kind of rampart with the loose earth. But the *Ætolians*, in order to b drive the enemy quite out of the mine, invented a machine, which they brought to the place where the two mines met. This was an hollow vessel with an iron bottom bored through in many places, and armed with spikes at proper distances to prevent the enemy from approaching it. This vessel they filled with feathers, which they set on fire, and with bellows driving the smoke on the besiegers, obliged them to leave the mine, through fear of being suffocated, and interrupt the work; which interruption they made use of to repair the foundations of the walls [d].

This vigorous resistance did not raise the courage of the *Ætolians* in general; they knew that by the gallant behaviour of their countrymen the taking of *Ambracia* was only delayed; on the other hand, their dominions were attacked by the *Mace-* c *donians*, *Illyrians*, and *Achæans*, and to resist so many enemies at once seemed impossible. The prætor therefore thought it necessary to assemble the diet, that the heads of the nation might consult together about the measures that were most proper in the present posture of affairs. The members of the assembly were all unanimous, that a peace ought to be procured upon any tolerable terms. Our dependence, said they, was on *Antiochus*; but now that he is confined to the other side of mount *Taurus*, we can expect no assistance from him; let us then in time avert the evils which threaten, after his ruin, to overwhelm us. Accordingly a resolution was taken to send *Phæneas* and *Damoteles* to the consul with full power to conclude a peace. *Fulvius* received them with haughtiness, but did not reject their request. The pre- d liminaries he insisted upon were, *1st*, that they should lay down their arms; *2dly*, that they should deliver up to him all the horses of their army; *3dly*, that they should pay to the republic a thousand talents, one half upon the spot, and the other at different payments. These conditions seemed so hard, that the embassadors begged leave to return and consult the diet before they accepted them. Upon their return they were checked by the assembly for leaving the consul without signing the articles. We must have a peace, they all cried out, good or bad, conclude it therefore without giving *Fulvius* time to reflect. They therefore immediately set out again for the *Roman* camp, but on the road were surrounded and taken prisoners by a party of *Acarnanians*, who carried them to *Tyrrheum* a city of *Acarnania*. *Fulvius* e being informed of what had happened, ordered the *Acarnanians* to set them at liberty; and in the mean time, as he was desirous to settle *Ætolia* in peace before his authority was expired, he gave ear to the intercessions of the *Athenians*, *Rhodians*, and of king *Amynander*, in behalf of the *Ambracians*. As *Amynander* had great interest in *Ambracia*, having long resided there, the consul made use of him to persuade the inhabitants to capitulate, which he did very dexterously, prevailing upon them to surrender on the following terms; that the *Ætolian* garrison should have leave to march out of the city; that the inhabitants should pay five hundred Talents, two hundred down, and the rest at six equal payments; that they should deliver up to the consul all the prisoners and deserters that were in the city. These articles were f agreed to by the *Ambracians*, and approved of by the *Ætolian* diet. *Ambracia* opened her gates to the consul, and presented him with a crown of gold, and many fine statues and pictures, whereof there were great numbers in that city, which *Pyrrhus* had made his capital, and inriched with many valuable monuments [e].

Ambracia capitulates.

After the surrender of *Ambracia*, *Fulvius* entering *Ætolia*, encamped at *Argi*, the capital of *Amphilochia*, then subject to the *Ætolians*, who had reduced all that province. There *Phæneas* and *Damoteles*, being set at liberty, acquainted him, that the *Ætolian* diet accepted the conditions which he had offered them. Nothing now remained but to get them ratified by the senate, and for this purpose *Phæneas*

[d] Idem. ibid. c. 8. Polyb. legat. 28. [e] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

and *Nicander* set out attended by the embassadors of *Athens* and *Rhodes*, who went a
to intercede for them with the senate. In the mean time the consul granted the *Ætolians* a truce, and retired to the island of *Cephalenia*. When the embassadors arrived at *Rome*, they found both the senate and the people highly exasperated against the *Ætolian* nation. *Philip* of *Macedon* had represented to the senate, and magnified the ravages they had committed in his territories while he was in alliance with *Rome*, and bitterly complained of them for unjustly detaining from him *Dolopia*, *Athamania*, and *Amphilocia*. His complaints were of such weight with the senate, that the embassadors were even refused an audience. But the *Athenian* deputies were received very favourably, and the speech which *Damis*, who was at the head of them, made in favour of that unhappy nation, greatly abated the anger of the b
conscript fathers. The good offices of *Valerius* likewise, who accompanied the *Ætolian* embassadors, did not a little contribute towards appeasing the clamours which were every-where heard against this restless people, and artfully fomented by the *Macedonian* deputies. *Caius Valerius* was brother to the consul *Fulvius*, and the son of *Levinus*, who concluded the first treaty of alliance between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. This *Valerius* remembered, and used his utmost endeavours to procure them a favourable reception. But nevertheless *Phœneas* and *Nicander* were kept a long time in a a painful uncertainty, whether they should obtain a peace or not.

*A peace concluded between the Ætolians and Romans.*

At length by the assiduous and joint application of the *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and *Valerius*, a peace was concluded. The only terms they could obtain were the following; *1st*, The majesty of the *Roman* people shall be revered in all *Ætolia*. *2dly*, *Ætolia* shall not suffer the armies of such as are at war with *Rome* to pass thro' her territories, and the enemies of *Rome* shall be likewise enemies of *Ætolia*. *3dly*, She shall in the space of an hundred days put into the hands of the magistrates of *Corcyra* all the prisoners and deserters she has, whether of the *Romans* or their allies, except such as have been taken twice, or during her alliance with *Rome*. *4thly*, The *Ætolians* shall pay down in ready money to the *Roman* general in *Ætolia* two hundred *Euboic* talents of the same value as the *Athenian* talents, and engage to pay fifty talents more within the six years following. *5thly*, They shall put d
into the hands of the consul forty such hostages as he shall chuse, none of which shall be under twelve, or above forty years of age; the prætor, the general of the horse, and such as have been already hostages at *Rome*, are excepted out of this number. *6thly*, *Ætolia* shall renounce all pretensions to the cities and territories which the *Romans* have conquered since the consulate of *Flaminius*, though those cities and territories had formerly belonged to the *Ætolians*. *7thly*, the city of *Oenias* and its district shall continue subject to the *Acarnanians*. *8thly*, *Cephalenia* shall not be included in this treaty [f].

*How treated by the Romans after the conquest of Macedon.*

FROM these articles we may judge how far the *Ætolian* republic was abridged of her ancient liberties by this peace. However after the conquest of *Macedon* by e
*Paulus Æmilius* they were reduced to a much worse condition. For not only those among them, who had openly declared for *Perses*, but such as were only suspected to have favoured him in their hearts, were sent to *Rome* in order to clear themselves before the senate. There they were detained, and never afterwards suffered to return into their native country. Five hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation were barbarously assassinated by the partisans of *Rome* for no other crime but that of being suspected to wish well to *Perses*. The *Ætolians* appeared before *Paulus Æmilius* in mourning habits, and made loud complaints of such inhuman treatment, but could obtain no redress; nay, the ten commissioners, who had been sent by the senate to settle the affairs of *Greece*, enacted a decree, declaring that those f
who were killed had suffered justly, since it appeared to them that they had favoured the *Macedonian* party. From this time those only were raised to the chief honours and employments in the *Ætolian* republic, who were known to prefer the interest of *Rome* to that of their country. And as these alone were countenanced by the sovereign republic, all the magistrates of *Ætolia* were her creatures, and mere tools of the *Roman* senate. In this state of servile subjection they continued till the destruction of *Corinth*, and dissolution of the *Achæan* league, when *Ætolia* with the other free states of *Greece* was reduced to a *Roman* province, commonly called the province of *Achaia*. Nevertheless each state and city was governed by its own laws under the superinten-

f Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 8.

dency

a dency of the prætor, whom *Rome* sent annually to *Achaia*. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich were forbidden to possess lands any-where but in their own country [g].

In this state, with little alteration, *Ætolia* continued under the emperors till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who in his new partition of the provinces of the empire divided the western parts of *Greece* from the rest, calling them *New Epirus*, and subjecting the whole country to the *Præfectus Prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Under the successors of *Constantine*, *Greece* was parcelled out into several principalities, especially after the taking of *Constantinople* by the western princes. At that time *Theodorus Angelus*, a noble *Grecian* of the imperial family, seized on *Ætolia* and b *Epirus*; the former he left to *Michael* his son, who maintained it against *Michael Paleologus*, the first emperor of the *Greeks*, after the expulsion of the *Latines*. *Charles*, the last prince of this family, dying in 1430, without lawful issue, bequeathed *Ætolia* to his brother's son named also *Charles*, and *Acarnania* to his natural sons *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*. But great disputes arising about this division, *Amurath* II. after the reduction of *Thessalonica*, laid hold of so favourable an opportunity, and drove them all out in 1432. The *Mohammedans* were afterwards dispossessed of this country by the famous prince of *Epirus*, *George Castriot*, commonly called *Scanderbeg*, who with a small army opposed the whole power of the *Ottoman* empire, having defeated those barbarians in twenty-two pitched battles, as we shall relate at length c in a more proper place. This hero at his death left great part of *Ætolia* to the *Venetians*; but they not being able to make head against such a mighty power, the whole country soon was reduced by *Mohammed* II. whose successors hold it to this day.

g Idem, l. xxxix. c. 6. Pausan. in Achaic.

## SECT. III.

### *The history of* Athens *from the* Achæan *league to the present time.*

a THE *Athenians*, having recovered their antient liberty by means of the brave *Aratus*, in the manner we have related elsewhere [h], were soon obliged to implore the assistance of a more powerful protector to maintain their fredom against *Philip* of *Macedon*, a prince, who seemed to have inherited the ambition of the first *Philip*, and the bravery of *Alexander*. This warlike monarch had formed a design of subjecting all *Greece*, and afterwards extending his conquests into *Italy*. In prosecution of this scheme, he made use of the following pretence to carry the war into *Attica*. Two young *Acarnanians*, who happened to be at *Athens* while the inhabitants were celebrating the mysteries of *Ceres*, (Z), had entered the temple of

h p. 557.

(Z) The festival of *Ceres* was the most celebrated and mysterious solemnity of any in *Greece*, whence it is often called by way of eminence *the mysteries*. The *Sicilians* claimed the glory of having first instituted this solemn worship, pretending that they had been instructed by *Ceres* herself in the secret ceremonies, which were performed on this occasion. This goddess, according to the tradition of the country, taught them the art of cultivating the earth, and united them in societies to live under the influence of the wise laws, which she had given them. Whence twice a year they renewed the remembrance of these signal benefits, worshipping alternately the mother and her daughter *Proserpine*; the former in the first seed time, and the latter in the harvest. After the example of the *Sicilians* the inhabitants of *Attica*, who had been likewise enriched with the gifts of *Ceres*, signalized their gratitude to this goddess by instituting three festivals in her honour.

Of these the first was called *Proerosia*, because it preceded the ploughing time, and the seed time. On this occasion the *Athenians*, who celebrated this festival in the name of all the *Greeks*, offered a great many victims in hopes of obtaining a plentiful harvest.

The second festival was called *Thesmophoria*, this word alluding to the worship which was paid *Ceres* as a law-giver *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and after them *Theodoret*, tells us, that the same ceremonies were performed on this occasion in honour of *Ceres*, as were practised by the *Egyptians* in the mysteries of *Isis*. The celebration of this festival lasted five days, and each day the women of the ten tribes, of which the republic of *Athens* consisted, chose one from among themselves to preside over the ceremonies

of the goddess with the croud. As it was not lawful for any person to assist at those mysteries without being initiated, the *Acarnanians*, who had not been admitted with the usual ceremonies, being discovered by their language to be strangers, were carried before the chief priest, and by him sentenced to die, though it was well known that they had offended purely out of ignorance. The *Acarnanian* nation resented this inhuman sentence, and made bitter complaints of it to the king of *Macedon*, with whom they were then joined in alliance. *Philip*, without demanding any satisfaction, proclaimed war against *Athens*, and sent a body of troops to join the *Acarnanians*, and lay waste *Attica*. *Achaia*, *Lacedæmon* and *Corinth* had entered into an alliance with *Philip*; and *Athens* was no ways in a condition to make head against so many enemies at once. She resolved therefore to have recourse to *Rome*, and by a solemn embassy implore the protection of that powerful republic. The *Romans* were already well known at *Athens*, and had been honoured there many years before with particular marks of distinction. In the consulship of *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Verrucosus*, thirty-two years before the æra we are now speaking of, *Rome* had sent embassadors to *Athens*, and several other free states of *Greece*, to make them sensible of the happiness which she had procured them by humbling the *Illyrians*, who with frequent piracies infested their coasts. The year before *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* had forced the *Illyrians* to submit to a peace upon very hard conditions; one of which was, that they should not suffer above three of their ships of war at a time to sail beyond the city of *Lyssus*, which stood on the confines of *Illyricum* and *Macedon* near the mouth of the river *Drilon*. This article was so agreeable to the *Athenians*, that they not only received the embassadors with great demonstrations of kindness, but from that time admitted the *Romans* in general to partake of the mysteries of *Eleusis*,

remonies that were practised at this solemnity. The victims were offered by a priest, who officiated with a crown on his head; whence he was called *Stephanophoros*. Such women, as had had three talents to their portion, were entitled to demand of their husbands the necessary sums for the expences of the sacrifices; every one being obliged to contribute to them according to their ability.

All the women that were to assist at the ceremonies being assembled in one place, they went in procession from *Athens* to *Eleusis*, a small city in that neighbourhood, singing hymns in honour of the goddess, and carrying the books, which contained the secret mysteries of the solemnity, and the laws, for which *Attica* was indebted to *Ceres*. But this depositum was intrusted with such only as were of an unblemished character, and famous for their virtue. A certain number of young women were brought up at the expence of the public, and with all imaginable care, in order to be employed in this office, and in the other ceremonies performed at *Eleusis*. These were always kept confined in the *Thesmophorion*, a public building in *Athens* appropriated for that use, and narrowly watched by persons set over them to guard their virtue. However, when they arrived at *Eleusis*, they prepared themselves for the offices of their priesthood by passing a whole day at the feet of the statue of *Ceres* in fasting and prayer. This severity ended in a kind of comedy; for as *Ceres* had laughed at the sight of an old woman, who insulted her, so the young virgins endeavoured by innocent jokes to stir up one another to laughter. The following days were spent in lustrations and sacrifices, from which the men were not excluded; even the prisoners, who were initiated in the mysteries of *Ceres*, and not yet convicted of any crime, were indulged their liberty during the five days of the solemnity, that they might join in those religious practices.

The third festival instituted in honour of *Ceres* was deemed the most holy and solemn, being called *the mysteries*. It is said by some to have been instituted by *Ceres* herself after having supplied the *Athenians* with corn in a time of famine; others ascribe the institution of it to king *Erectheus*, and some to *Musæus* the father of *Eumolpus*, or to *Eumolpus* himself. The temple of *Eleusis* was the place where all those met who were admitted to these mysterious ceremonies; and thither the *Greeks* flocked from all parts about the month of *August*, the temple, as *Strabo* informs us, being capable of holding an immense multitude. None were admitted to celebrate the great mysteries till they had been purified at the lesser, which was used as a preparative for the greater. The manner of the purification was as follows: After having kept themselves chaste and unpolluted nine days, they offered sacrifices and prayers with crowns and garlands on their heads, and the skin of a victim sacrificed to *Jupiter* under their feet. About a year after, having sacrificed a sow to *Ceres*, they were admitted to the greater mysteries, but not suffered to enter the sanctuary till five years after, assisting in the mean time at the sacred ceremonies only in the porch of the temple. When the years of probation were expired, the secret rites, some few excepted which were reserved for the priests alone, were frankly revealed to them: whence they changed the name of *Mustai*, that is persons initiated, for that of *Epoptai*, or eye-witnesses. The manner of the initiation was thus: the candidates were admitted by night into the temple, wearing crowns of myrtle on their heads. At their entering the sacred place, they purified themselves by washing their hands in holy water; and at the same time were told that the external cleanness of the body would not be accepted by the deity of the place, unless attended by the internal cleanness of an undefiled mind. After this the holy mysteries were read to them, the priest, who initiated them, having first asked them whether they had performed all the conditions religion required. To these questions they returned answers in a set form, and then were led by the priest into the most holy part of the temple, a place of darkness and horror. Then all on a sudden a strong light darted in upon them, and discovered a statue of *Ceres* richly adorned, and a very indecent figure called *Mylles*. The light soon disappeared, and then a terrible noise was heard like thunder; fire fell down like lightning, and dreadful monsters appeared,

a *Eleusis* (A), and of all the privileges which the citizens of *Athens* enjoyed. They did not therefore doubt in the least but their embassadors would meet with a favourable reception, and obtain speedy succours against an enemy, whose views could not be unknown at *Rome*. Neither were they disappointed in their expectation; their embassadors were treated with great distinction, and assured that a consular army should be sent without delay to their assistance [1].

*The* Athenians *enter into an alliance with* Attalus and *the* Rhodians *against* Philip.

In the mean time the *Macedonians* and *Acarnanians* after having ravaged great part of *Attica* were drawing near to the capital. Their approach struck the citizens with no small terror; but their fears were soon dispelled by the unexpected arrival of the fleets of king *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*. These two powers were already at war b with the king of *Macedon*, and therefore no sooner heard that hostilities were begun between the *Macedonians* and *Athenians*, but they hastened to *Athens* with a design

1 Liv. l. xxxi. c. 4.

appeared, which by the glimmering light of continual flashes of fire struck the trembling spectators with great terror. Neither could they recover themselves from their fright, till they were shewn an agreeable meadow, which was walled in behind the temple. Lastly, the priest, who attended at the initiation, and was therefore called *Hierophantes*, or revealer of holy things, took his leave of the initiated, with exhorting them to the practice of virtue. The *Hierophantes* was by birth an *Athenian*, and of the family of the *Eumolpidæ*. As he was the chief priest, and held his office for life, he was obliged to perpetual chastity, and forbidden even lustful desires. His name was so venerable, that it was not even mentioned in the presence of the profane, that is, of such as were not initiated. He had three assistants, the first of which was called from his office *Dadouchos*, or torch-bearer; the second was styled the sacred herald; and it was his province to forbid on pain of death such as were not initiated, or were conscious of any crime, to enter the temple; the third ministred at the altar, imploring the protection of the gods. The superintendant over these mysteries was styled king; and it was his duty to offer prayers and sacrifices, to see that no indecency or irregularity was committed, and after the celebration of the mysteries to assemble the senate, he being one of the archons, and to take cognizance of all offenders in this kind. The king had four assistants under him called *Epimeletai*, who were elected by the people, one out of the family of the *Eumolpidæ*, another out of the *Crycei*, and the remaining two out of the families of other citizens.

This festival began on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-third day of the month *Boedromion*; during which time it was unlawful to arrest any person, or present any petition, and those who were found guilty of such practices, were according to some fined a thousand drachmas, and according to others, put to death. If any woman rode to *Eleusis* in a chariot, she was obliged to pay six thousand drachmas. The end of this law, which was enacted by *Lycurgus*, was to prevent all odious distinctions between the rich and the poor.

The different shews, with which the spectators were entertained each day of the feast, were symbolical representations of the travels of *Ceres*, and the chief incidents of her life. In this consisted the external pomp of the festival. The rest was an impenetrable mystery, which the *Hierophantes* discovered only to the initiated, after having bound them to inviolable secrecy by the most dreadful oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging these mysteries, or any part of them, became the public curse of the people, was excluded all civil society, and avoided even by his nearest relations, who were afraid to live with him under the same roof. But the ordinary punishment for such a crime was immediate death. If any Person, not lawfully initiated, did but through ignorance or mistake chance to be present at the mysterious rites, he was put to death. Persons of both sexes and all ages were initiated, the neglect of this ceremony being looked upon as a crime of a very heinous nature; insomuch that it was one of the cheif articles of impeachment against *Socrates*. However such as were convicted of any crime, or had even involuntarily committed murder, were debarred from these mysteries.

If the testimony of profane authors may be admitted, these assemblies were schools of virtue and purity. *Tully* gives a very favourable account of them, saying, that men were there taught the art of living well, and confirmed in the hopes of a better life (11). Other writers call those initiations a more strict engagement than ordinary to live according to the laws of equity, as they were dictated by the goddess. On the other hand, the fathers of the church tell us, that the *Pagans* under the venerable names of mysteries consecrated prostitutions, and other more heinous crimes, and call the assemblies of *Ceres* schools of abominations and debaucheries. Perhaps these ceremonies were at first such as the profane writers represent them to have been, but afterwards came by degrees to degenerate into libertinism and licentiousness, which gave the fathers occasion to exclaim against them. They were celebrated by the *Athenians* every fifth year at *Eleusis*, and from thence translated to *Rome* by the emperor *Adrian*, and never totally abolished till the reign of *Theodosius* the elder.

This is the general account which the ancients have given us of the mysteries of *Ceres*. The respect with which they were prepossessed in favour of these mysteries, did not permit them to be more particular.

The *Ceres* of the *Greeks* was, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, (12) a woman of *Sicily* who came into *Attica*, and taught *Triptolemus* the son of *Cæleus* king of *Eleusis*, to sow corn, about the thirtieth year of king *David*'s reign, or the year before Christ 1030, she died, and was deified for this benefaction about the year before Christ 1007, by *Cæleus* and *Eumolpus*, who instituted the *Eleusina sacra* with *Egyptian* ceremonies, and erected a sepulchre or temple to her in *Eleusis*.

(A) In the primitive times, the *Athenians* excluded from the mysteries of *Ceres* all strangers, that is, all that were not members of their own commonwealth. Hence, when *Hercules*, *Castor* and *Pollux* desired to be initiated, they were first made citizens of *Athens* (13). In process of time they admitted all persons, barbarians excepted, and at length these also, the *Romans* having been the first among the barbarians, as the *Greeks* called all other nations who enjoyed this honour.

(11) *Cic. de leg. l.* ii. (12) *Chronol. p.* 15, 17, 18, 134—136. (13) *Plut. in Thes.*

to engage that republic in their alliance, and protect their territories from the insults a of *Philip*. All the city went out to meet them, and among the rest, the priests in their religious habits, as if the gods themselves had come to the relief of the city. The people assembled in the market-place to conclude the alliance, and expected that *Attalus* would come thither in person. But the king thought it more suitable to his dignity to treat with them by messengers than by word of mouth; and was also willing to decline the acclamations and flatteries of a people, who were too lavish of their praises. In a letter which he wrote to the magistrates, he gave them a particular account of his exploits against *Philip*, and the good offices he had done the republic, expressly mentioning four ships, which he had very lately taken from the *Macedonians*, and restored to *Athens*. He concluded with exhorting them to take b advantage of the succours which both he and the *Rhodians* now offered them. The league was concluded, and the *Athenians* in their transports of joy paid extravagant compliments to the king and the *Rhodians*. To their ten Tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, they added an eleventh, calling it *Attalis* in honour of king *Attalus* (B). As to the *Rhodians*, they presented them with a crown of gold, and made all the inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens* [k]. The king of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians* better pleased with the treaty than the shouts of the people, returned on board their ships and set sail, the king for *Ægina*, where his fleet waited for him, and the *Rhodians* for their own island.

*Philip* no sooner heard that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were retired, but he sent c *Philocles* one of his generals at the head of a strong detachment to ravage the territory of *Athens*, while he himself with the rest of his army over-ran all the southern parts of *Thrace*, and the *Thracian Chersonesus*. From thence he passed over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, and laid siege to *Abydos*, which city he took by storm, but reaped no advantage by his conquest; the *Abydenians* having massacred their wives and children, set fire to the town, burnt their effects, and killed one another; so that the conqueror made not one slave [l].

The news of the reduction of *Abydos*, and the repeated complaints of the *Athenians*, made the consul *Sulpicius* at last leave *Rome*; he embarqued with his army at *Brundusium*, and landed at the mouth of the *Apsus* between *Dyrrhacium* and *Apol-* d *lonia*. As he came too late in the year to attempt any thing on that side, he immediately detached *Claudius Centho* to *Athens* with twenty gallies, and some legionaries to cover the *Athenian* territory from the ravages of *Philocles*. Assoon as he appeared at *Piræeus*, *Athens* got some respite; a stop was put to the devastations in the inland countries, and the coasts were delivered from the ravages of the *Chalcidian* pirates. But this was not enough for *Centho*; he resolved to punish the *Chalcidians* for their piracies; and accordingly set sail with the best part of his squadron, surprized *Chalcis*, pillaged it, massacred all the *Macedonians* and inhabitants that fell into his hands, broke all the statues of king *Philip*, burnt his magazines, arsenals, and e engines of war, and then returned with the spoil to *Athens* [m].

Athens *attacked, and* Attica *ravaged by* Philip.

As for *Philip*, early in the spring he assembled his sea and land-forces at *Demetrias*, a maritime city of *Thessaly*, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He had attempted in the close of the late campaign to revenge himself on the *Romans* for the surprize of *Chalcis*, and to surprize them in their turn. But he came too late; the *Romans* had retired from *Chalcis*, and left nothing there but dead bodies, ashes, and ruins. Now therefore he turned all his rage against *Athens*, and having crossed the *Euripus* over a bridge, marched through *Bœotia* towards *Attica*, hoping to find *Athens* as ill guarded as the *Romans* had found *Chalcis*. But the *Athenians* had received notice of his approach, and were prepared. They kept constantly

[k] Idem, ibid. c. 14. [l] Idem, ibid. c. 17. [m] Liv. ibid.

(B) The number of the tribes, of which the republic of *Athens* consisted, was not always the same, but varied as the number of the citizens increased. At first they were but four in all; soon after they were six; in the times of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* they were increased to ten. In after-ages the *Athenians* erected three more, *viz.* the tribes *Ptolemais*, *Attalis*, and *Adrianis*, in honour of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, of king *Attalus*, and of the emperor *Adrian*. The ten first tribes took their names from ten *Attic* heroes; these were *Aeamas* the son of *Theseus*, *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*, *Cecrops* the founder and first king of *Athens*, *Ægeus* the ninth king of *Athens*, and the father of *Theseus*, *Erectheus* the sixth king of *Athens*, *Hippothoon* the son of *Neptune*, *Leo*, who sacrificed his daughters for the welfare of his country, *Oeneus* the son of *Pandion*, *Pandion* the fifth king of *Athens*, and *Antiochus* the son of *Hercules*.

a cer-

a a certain number of men in pay, whose whole business was to fly continually from place to place in the neighbourhood of their dominions, and make what discoveries they could. One of these couriers, having discovered the *Macedonian* army, returned in haste to *Athens*, and reaching the city at midnight, brought thither the news of the approach of the enemy. The negligence of the *Athenians* was not less than that of the *Chalcidians*; they were all asleep, and both the gates and walls unguarded. But the trumpets soon roused them; both citizens and soldiers ran to arms, took their posts, and put themselves in a posture of defence. *Philip*, finding he could not surprize the city, resolved to attack it. He therefore ordered his troops to advance to the largest gate, called *Dipulon*. The street which led to it from the b market-place, and continued through the suburbs, was of an extraordinary breadth; so that the besieged and the besiegers had room enough to draw up their troops in battalia. The *Athenians* did not wait till the king came to the gate; the best part of the garrison consisting of auxiliaries sent by king *Attalus*, and a body of *Athenians*, commanded by one *Dioxippus*, marched out to meet the enemy. *Philip*, overjoyed at an opportunity of joining battle, encouraged his men with this short exhortation; *Fix your Eyes on me, and do as I do.* He then fell upon the *Athenians* with incredible fury, forced them to retire, and pursued them to the very gate. But he soon found that he had ventured too far, such showers of darts were discharged upon him from the ramparts, that he was obliged to sound a retreat. c If the *Athenians* had not been afraid of wounding their men, who were mixed with the *Macedonians*, few of the latter would have escaped unhurt. The next day the besieged being reinforced with some *Roman* companies, and the troops of *Attalus* which guarded *Piræeus* made another sally with much greater advantage; so that *Philip* was obliged to decamp, and post himself about three miles from *Athens*. But before he retired, he vented his rage in a most barbarous manner in that neighbourhood. He spared neither temples nor tombs, nor the *Lyceum*, nor sacred groves, nor houses of pleasure; all were, without distinction, pillaged, and reduced to heaps of rubbish. Nay, he commanded his *Macedonians* to break in pieces the very stones, that they might not be serviceable in the reparation of the demo- d lished edifices. All these devastations, with a great many aggravations, were afterwards set forth before the *Ætolian* diet by the *Athenian* embassadors, in order to draw that nation into an alliance with *Rome*. And indeed the king's behaviour on this occasion prejudiced many of the *Greeks* so strongly against him, that they were afterwards easily gained over to the *Roman* interest, not knowing that they were bringing into their country more haughty lords, or rather arbitrary tyrants, than *Macedon* had ever produced, or *Greece* ever seen*.

The irruption of the *Romans* into *Macedon*, which soon after happened, obliged *Philip* to leave *Attica*, and all *Greece*, and hasten to the defence of his own country. About the same time *Apustius*, to whom the proconsul *Sulpicius* had given the com- e mand of the *Roman* fleet, having joined the naval forces of king *Attalus* off the coast of *Argolis*, sailed from thence to the port of *Athens*. These succours so elevated the *Athenians*, that they expressed their Resentment against *Philip* in a most ridiculous manner. They had formerly erected statues to *Philip* and his ancestors of both sexes, and even instituted sacrifices and festivals, and appointed priests in their honour. But now, out of a childish revenge, they destroyed the idols which they had worshipped, and passed a decree in their assembly, which lessened their esteem even in the opinion of their friends. The purport of this decree was, that all the statues of *Philip* and his ancestors should be broke in pieces; that the inscriptions in their commendation should be every-where erazed; that their altars f should be overturned, their festivals abolished, and their priests degraded; that even the places, where any monuments had been erected to them, should be deemed accursed, and no monuments ever after raised there; that the priests for the future should in their religious assemblies pronounce curses against *Philip* and the *Macedonian* armies; that if any citizen should have the impudence to excuse *Philip*, or speak in his favour, he should instantly be put to death; and lastly, that *Philip* and his posterity should be treated in the same manner as *Pisistratus* and his family had formerly been*. These were the only acts of hostility which the degenerate *Athenians* committed against *Philip*, the only revenge which they took of the

*How the Athenians expressed their resentment against Philip.*

* Idem, ibid. c. 25. * Idem, ibid. c. 24.

dreadful

dreadful havock he had lately made in their territory. The officers of the *Roman* a
fleet, and king *Attalus*, who had put in at *Pyræeus*, were witnesses of these shameful proceedings, and at the same time surfeited with the fulsome praises of which the *Athenians* were no less lavish on them, than on their curses on the king of *Macedon* p. *Athens*, heretofore so renowned in arms, was now become one of the most insignificant cities of *Greece*; for during the whole course of this war with *Philip*, and of that which was afterwards carried on by the *Romans* and their allies against his son *Perses*, to the utter destruction of the kingdom of *Macedon*, the *Athenians* performed nothing, which the ancient writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They continued indeed inviolably attached to the *Roman* interest, not having been even suspected to favour the *Macedonian* party, while in b
the other states of *Greece* the friends of *Macedon* were far more numerous than those of *Rome*. This steadiness gained them the affection of the *Romans*, who left them in the full possession of their ancient liberties even after the Destruction of *Corinth*, and dissolution of the *Achæan* league.

Athens *sides with* Mithridates *against the* Romans. *Year of the flood*, 2913. *Before Christ* 87.

In this state *Athens* continued without any remarkable alteration till the *Mithridatic* war, when that city openly declared against the *Romans* her patrons and allies, being induced thereunto by one *Aristion* an *Athenian* philosopher of the sect of *Epicurus*. *Aristion* was of a mean extraction, but greatly esteemed among the followers of *Epicurus* for his pretended contempt of power and riches. But these the hypocrite had only affected to despise, as afterwards appeared, in hopes of obtaining them c
more easily that way. For *Archelaus*, whom *Mithridates* had sent with a numerous army into *Greece* to stir up the inhabitants against the *Romans*, found it no difficult task to gain over this despiser of riches and honours, by promising to raise him to the chief employments of his republics. *Archelaus* having thus engaged him in the interests of his master, sent him over to *Asia* to confer there with the king himself, and concert measures about drawing *Athens* off from the *Roman* party, to which many of the citizens were greatly addicted. The scheme, which they formed, succeeded to their wish, but proved fatal to that unhappy city. *Archelaus* had some time before reduced the island of *Delos*, and plundered the rich temple of *Apollo Delius*. As this island had been formerly subject to the *Athenians*, *Aristion* advised d
the king to send the spoils to *Athens*, and with the present a strong body of men under pretence of guarding it. The *Athenians* were taken with this bait, and admitted the troops to the number of two thousand into the city. By the help of these, *Aristion*, who accompanied them, took upon him to dispose of all the employments at *Athens*, and reigned there with great authority. All those who favoured the *Romans* were either cruelly murdered, or sent prisoners to *Mithridates*. Nor did the friends of *Rome* fare better in the other countries of *Greece*; the *Achæans*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Bœotians*, &c. openly declared for *Mithridates*, and drove out such of their countrymen as refused to come into their measures q. *Thespia* was the only city of *Greece* that continued faithful to the *Romans* (C). e

Upon the news of this general revolt, *C. Sextius*, prætor of *Macedon*, detached *Bruttius Sura* his lieutenant-general at the head of a thousand men to put a stop to the progress of *Archelaus*. The prætor could spare him no more, being in apprehension that *Macedon* might follow the examaple of *Greece*. With this small body *Bruttius* penetrated into *Bœotia*, fought several battles with the joint forces of *Aristion* and *Archelaus*, and continued to harrass them till the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* taking the field, joined the *Asiatics*. Then *Bruttius*, not being able with a handful of men to make head against so many enemies at once, reimbarqued his troops, and with his small squadron blocked up the port of *Athens*. While he continued here, the fleet of *Mithridates* commanded by *Metrophanes* drew near to *Eubœa* f
with a design to seize that island. Whereupon *Bruttius* put to sea, and with one

p Idem, ibid. c. 44. q Appian. in Mithridat.

(C) *Thespia* stood at the foot of mount *Helicon* in *Bœotia*, whence the poets give the surname of *Thespiades* to the nine muses, who were supposed by the poets to have lived on this mountain. When *Thespia* was sacked by the *Thebans* under the command of *Epaminondas*, many of the inhabitants fled to *Athens*, where they were kindly entertained. Whence the *Thespians* had ever after such a regard for the *Athenians*, that they never failed to come into their measures till *Athens* declared against *Rome* (14).

(14) *Pauf. in Bœot. Strab. l.* ix.

single

a single squadron forced *Metrophanes* to sail back into *Asia*, sunk some of his ships, and on his return to the port of *Athens* made a descent on the island of *Sciathos*, which the *Asiatics* had seized. He recovered the island, crucified all the slaves he found there, and cut off the right arms of all the islanders that fell into his hands, both slaves and inhabitants having joined in the revolt, and treated the friends of the republic in a very barbarous manner. The brave *Bruttius*, having thus preserved the island of *Eubœa*, and recovered that of *Sciathos*, returned to the *Piræeus* or port of *Athens*, in order to prevent the *Athenians* from receiving any succours by sea from the king of *Pontus* [c].

b Such was the state of affairs in *Greece*, when *Sylla*, who had been appointed to carry on the war against *Mithridates*, landed in *Thessaly* with five legions, some *Italian* cohorts, and a small body of cavalry. With these he was to make head against the joint forces of *Archelaus*, and the states of *Greece*, amounting in all to an hundred and fifty thousand men. Upon *Sylla*'s arrival, the *Greek* cities returned to their duty, and opened their gates to the *Roman* general. *Athens* alone, which was held by the tyrant *Aristion*, persisted in the revolt, and would not hearken to any terms. Whereupon *Sylla* resolved to reduce it by force, thinking it necessary to settle the affairs of the republic in *Greece* before he passed over into *Asia* against *Mithridates*. This capital of *Attica*, or rather of all *Greece*, consisted at that time c of two cities, the upper called *Cecropia* from *Cecrops* its first founder, and the lower named *Athens* from *Athene* or *Minerva* its tutelary goddess. Both these cities were surrounded by one common wall, but parted by another which lay across between them, both walls being defended by strong towers raised at small distances from each other. The two ports of *Pyræeus* and *Munychia* were no less fortified than the city itself, being incompassed with walls of an uncommon thickness, and forty cubits high. Both these ports were joined to the city, though forty furlongs distant from it, by a wall which *Themistocles* had caused to be built, in order to secure the removal of such effects as were brought by sea from the port to the city. Besides these two ports or citadels, *Athens* was defended on the east by the *Cephisus*, and d by the *Ilissus* on the west, which two rivers winding about the plain, rendered the access to the city very difficult [d]. However *Sylla* undertook to reduce it with a far smaller army than that which had been brought from *Asia* to defend it. Upon his entering *Attica* he was met by *Aristion* and *Archelaus*, but he obliged them both to retire with a considerable loss, and shut themselves up in the two cities and citadels of *Athens*. *Archelaus* took upon him to defend *Piræeus*, and *Aristion* to sustain the siege of *Athens* and *Cecropia*. On the other hand the *Roman* general divided his troops into two bodies; one he sent to invest the city; with the other he marched in person to attack *Piræeus*, hoping to take it by storm. But the besieged made such a vigorous defence, that he was obliged, after many unsuccessful attacks, to retire and take up his winter quarters at *Eleusis* and *Megara*. However e he did not drop the enterprise, having left a sufficient number of troops to keep the city and castle blocked up against his return in the beginning of the spring. The whole winter he spent in making preparations for besieging the place in form assoon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field. Entire woods were cut down, and the timber employed in making the warlike engines which were then used in sieges. Nay, he did not spare the sacred groves, nor the trees in the walks of the academy and lycæum, which were the finest in *Attica*. He caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, making use of the ruins to raise the works, and carry on the approaches, and as the enemy had laid waste the whole country, which was barren of its own nature, twenty thousand mules were f continually employed in bringing provisions from *Bœotia* and other countries of *Greece*. These extraordinary expences soon drained his military chest, which was but very indifferently furnished at his first setting out from *Rome*. Neither had he any hopes of receiving supplies either of men or money from thence, the contrary faction, headed by *Marius* and *Cinna* prevailing in *Italy*, and watching all opportunities of thwarting his attempts in the east. In this distress he had recourse to the sacred and inviolable treasures of the temples, and wrote a letter to the amphyctiones (D) assem-

Athens besieged by Sylla



[c] Idem, ibid. [d] Pausan. in Atticis.

(D) The amphictiones were, as we have observed elsewhere, the deputies of the cities in *Greece* that enjoyed the amphyctionic right. These, before they were admitted into the assembly, bound themselves by

bled at *Delphos*, desiring them to send him the treasures of *Apollo*, and promising a in the most solemn manner that he would return to the god whom he himself revered, the value of whatever should be sent him. One *Caphis*, a native of *Phocis*, in whom *Sylla* confided, was charged to deliver this letter to the amphyctiones, and excuse to the assembly a step, which the *Roman* general was forced to take against his will. When *Caphis* arrived at *Delphos*, he wept in the presence of the amphyctiones, and told them that nothing but the utmost distress could have obliged *Sylla* to make such a demand, or himself to be the messenger of it, and desired that the god might be consulted. The oracle indeed returned no answer, but the sound of *Apollo*'s lyre was heard from the inside of the sanctuary, and *Caphis*, whether he was really terrified with the pretended prodigy, or willing to save the treasure by filling *Sylla* with a b religious fear, would not meddle with the gifts consecrated to the god, till he had acquainted the general with what had happened. But *Sylla*, deriding his simplicity, replied, that he was surprised he should not comprehend that music was a mark of joy, and by no means a sign of anger and resentment; he therefore desired him to take the treasures, and be assured that in so doing he acted agreeable to the will of the god. Pursuant to this order, all the gold, silver, and brass, all the vases, presents and offerings, which the superstition of the neighbouring and most distant nations had brought thither, were loaded on carts, and amidst the lamentations and outcries of the amphyctiones and *Delphians* sent to the *Roman* camp, where the gold, silver and brass was coined by *Sylla*'s orders. The person he employed to take care of the c coinage was *Lucullus* one of his quæstors, who made so beautiful a coin that it was ever after highly valued, and known by the name of the *Lucullian money*. The treasures of the god *Æsculapius* at *Epidaurus*, not much inferior in value to those of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, were at the same time by *Sylla*'s orders brought to the camp, and by his quæstor turned into money [c].

*Sylla* being thus furnished with money to pay his troops and engines to carry on the siege, took the field early in the spring, and shut up both the city and port more closely than before. As he could not possibly reduce the city by famine so long as it received supplies of provisions by sea from the *Pyræeus*, he began by making d a breach in the wall, which secured the passage from the port to the city, and lodging in the breach a strong body of legionaries, so that nothing could be conveyed from one place to the other. Having thus cut off the communication between the city and the sea, he drew a line of circumvallation which prevented the inhabitans from abandoning their native country, or receiving any supplies from the neighbouring villages. The city being thus closely shut up, *Sylla* applied himself entirely to the reducing of *Pyræeus*, hoping that in the mean time the *Athenians* would be obliged by famine to shake off the tyrannical yoke of *Aristion*, and return to their duty. It is not easy to say, whether the attack of *Pyræeus* or the defence was conducted with most vigour, both the besiegers and besieged behaving e with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost formal battles, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally equal. In one of these *Archelaus* put the *Romans* to flight, set fire to their machines, and obliged them to retire at a greater distance from the place. They no sooner returned than he attacked them anew, and would have obtained the like advantage, had not *Murena*, a legionary tribune, encouraged the *Romans*, and brought them back to the charge with such fury, that the besieged in their turn were forced to give ground, and save themselves within their walls, after having lost two thousand men in the engagement. The *Romans* pursued them so close, that they would have entered pell-mell with the *Asiatics*, had not the gate been timely shut, and a con- f siderable part of the garrison left without the walls at the discretion of the enemy. Among these was *Archelaus* himself, who would have been taken prisoner with the others, had not the soldiers on the ramparts observing his danger thrown him down a rope, and by that means drawn him up the wall [e].

The disadvantage of this action did not dishearten the besieged, who were still numerous enough to defend the place. The treachery of two slaves that were in

[c] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat. [e] Idem, ibid. & Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 1.

by a most solemn oath, to preserve the public peace, maintain the interests of religion, and to the utmost of their power secure the riches of the temple at *Delphos*. But they durst not refuse a demand, which was made at the head of a formidable army.

the

a the *Pyræus*, proved far more prejudicial to them than the attacks of the enemy. These, either out of affection to the *Roman* party, or in hopes of recovering their liberty, if the place should be taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings into the *Roman* camp. By this means all the wise measures which *Archelaus* took were immediately communicated to the enemy, and none of his attempts attended with the usual success. He resolved one night to sally out against the enemy's works, and at the same time to send all his cavalry to fall upon their camp. But he no sooner took this resolution, than *Sylla*, who caused all the balls of lead to be carefully gathered, found one with this intelligence; To-night at such an hour the foot will attack your works, and the cavalry your camp. b He made use of this advice, and posted his troops so that the besieged were soon forced to retire with considerable loss. As the city began to be in great want, *Archelaus* designed to send a great quantity of provisions to relieve the garison, and to convey it into the city by a strong detachment, which might have easily broke through the body of *Romans* that guarded the passage. But *Sylla*, who was timely acquainted with this design by the two slaves, doubled the guard, placed his men in ambushes, intercepted the convoy, and cut in pieces most of the *Asiatics* who escorted it [w].

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, *Archelaus* still held out in hopes of being soon relieved by *Taxiles* one of *Mithridates*'s generals, who was marching c through *Epirus* to his assistance at the head of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with ninety chariots armed with scythes. As the approach of this formidable army, which had already reduced *Thrace* and *Macedon*, gave new courage to the besieged, so it disheartened the *Romans*. Whereupon *Sylla* exerted his utmost endeavours to take the place by storm before the arrival of so numerous an army. One night, while the centinels on the walls were asleep, he ordered some of the boldest among his legionaries to scale the ramparts, which they did accordingly, and drove off the enemies that were posted to guard them. But the rest of the garison taking the alarm, the *Romans* were obliged to save themselves by leaping down into the ditch, and retiring in great disorder. *Archelaus* took advantage of d the confusion the *Romans* were in, and made a vigorous sally with a design to burn a tower which had been lately raised by *Sylla*, and from whence the *Romans* greatly galled the besieged on the walls. *Sylla* hastened to the defence of a work, which had cost him much time and labour; the engagement lasted from morning to night, many falling on both sides; but the tower was preserved entirely by the valour of *Sylla*, who on that occasion distinguished himself in a very eminent manner [x].

In the mean time the two cities of *Athens* and *Cecropia* began to be greatly distressed for want of provisions; *Archelaus* had several times attempted to throw in convoys, but had always found on that occasion the *Romans* on their guard, and the e detachment, which was posted between the port and the city, reinforced with new troops from the camp. He therefore began to suspect that he had traitors about him, but nevertheless resolved to attempt once more the relief of the city. He did not doubt but *Sylla* would be soon acquainted with his design, and in consequence of that intelligence send a considerable detachment from his camp to reinforce the legionaries that guarded the road. As the army would be greatly weakened by this detachment, he thought that would be a proper time to make a sally against the camp, and demolish the works. This design he imparted to none, and therefore the sally proved very successful, several of the enemy's machines being reduced to f ashes; but the convoy was intercepted, and most of the *Asiatics* that guarded it cut in pieces [y].

*Sylla* had raised many castles round the walls, from the several floors of which such showers of arrows were discharged against the besieged, that they could not, without great danger, appear on the ramparts. To obviate this inconvenience, *Archelaus* ordered his men to undermine the castles, which were raised on large foundations of stone, and by this means several of them were thrown down, and the *Romans*, who were lodged in them, either killed, or dangerously wounded. While the besieged were thus busy under-ground, the *Romans* beat down with their rams great part of the wall, and thought themselves at last masters of the place. But

[w] Plut. in Sylla. [x] Appian. in Mithridat. [y] Idem, ibid.

in

in a general assault, *Archelaus* repulsed the besiegers with such resolution, that they a were forced to abandon the enterprize, and apply all their thoughts to the widening of the breach before they could entertain any hopes of taking the place by storm. The *Asiatics* had, in imitation of the *Romans*, raised wooden towers without the walls, which rendered the approach to them very difficult and dangerous. *Sylla* therefore altered his measures, and instead of using the ram, ordered his men to dig a way to the bottom of the walls, and sap their foundations, supporting them with large beams, lest they should be buried themselves in the ruins. The wall being thus undermined, fire was set to the props, which being burnt, great part of the wall fell down with a dreadful noise, which struck the besieged, who did not expect it, with great terror. *Sylla* laid hold of this opportunity to mount the b breach at the head of his best troops; but *Archelaus* opposed him with such resolution, that he was obliged to give ground. The *Roman* general returned thrice to the assault, but was as often repulsed; nay in the last attack his men suffered so much, that he himself thought it adviseable to give over the attempt, and lead his weary legions back to the camp. There they continued inactive for several days, and in the mean time *Archelaus* built another wall within that which the besiegers had with so much pains and labour beat down. This new wall *Sylla* began to batter before it was dry; but the prodigious quantity of arrows, and burning materials, which were from thence discharged upon the aggressors, obliged him not only to desist from the attempt, but to retire with some precipitation[a]. c

And now *Sylla* gave over all thoughts of taking the place by assault, and therefore turned the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. All the avenues both to the city and the port were guarded by strong detachments, so that neither provisions of any sort could be carried in, nor any of the inhabitants find a way out. By this means the city, which was then one of the most populous of the world, was reduced to such straits, that a bushel of barley was sold for a thousand drachms. Many of the citizens had nothing else to maintain themselves with but the roots and grass, which they found growing about the walls. In this distress the senators and priests went to throw themselves at the tyrant *Aristion*'s feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to submit to the *Romans* upon any d tolerable terms. But the tyrant was so far from being touched with their complaints, that he ordered his guards to discharge their arrows against them, and in that manner drove them from his presence. In the midst of the public misery, *Aristion*, and his accomplices in the tyranny were plentifully provided with all sorts of provisions. Their tables were served with the most exquisite meats, while the common people, and many of the nobility, after having consumed their horses, dogs, and all other animals, were forced to live upon leather, which they softened by steeping it in water, and even upon human flesh[a]. The tyrant was at last prevailed upon by the importunities of the people to send embassadors to the *Roman* camp; but as these made no proposals, but only descants on the exploits of *Theseus*, *Eumolpus*, and their ancestors against the *Medes* and *Persians*, *Sylla* interrupted e them, desiring the haranguers to keep their rhetorical flourishes for themselves, since he was not come to *Athens* to be informed of the prowess of their ancestors, but to punish their present rebellion. *Aristion* had sent these declaimers with no other view but to quiet the people, and make them believe that he was willing to save the city by capitulating with the *Romans*; but he still depended on the succours which were on full march to the relief of the city under the command of *Taxiles*; these he daily expected, and therefore, though in compliance with the importunities of the people, he sent out embassadors to *Sylla*, yet he had no mind to come to any agreement, nor even proposed any terms, which he imagined the *Roman* general f might accept[b].

*Athens in great distress for want of provisions.*

*Sylla* had spies in *Athens*, as well as in *Pyraeus*, who were continually running about and intruding into all companies. One of these having one day over-heard some old men that were walking in a place called *Ceramicos* (E), blaming the tyrant

[a] Idem, ibid. [a] Plut. in Sylla. [b] Appian. ibid.

(E) There were two places at *Athens* bearing this name, the one in the city, and the other in the suburbs; the former was a place of resort for prostitutes, and much frequented by reason of its walks. The other was appointed for the burying-place of great men, such especially as had died fighting for their country.

for

a for not fortifying and guarding a certain part of the wall, where the enemy might easily surprize the city, upon his return to the camp acquainted *Sylla* with what he had heard. Upon this advice, the *Roman* went at midnight to take a view of the place, and finding that it might be easily scaled, ordered his legionaries without delay to apply their ladders, which they did accordingly with great chearfulness, being tired out with so long a siege, and entered the city sword in hand. While the legionaries were engaged within the city, *Sylla* battered the walls so violently with his rams, that he opened a large breach, and at the head of his whole army came to the relief of those who were fighting on the ramparts. The *Athenians* were struck with terror when they saw the *Romans* advancing in good order within b their walls, and throwing away their arms, implored the clemency of the conqueror. But *Sylla* had been too much provoked by the satyrical reflections of the *Greeks* from their ramparts on himself and his wife (F), to grant them any quarter. He allowed his soldiers to plunder the city, and inhumanly to murder even the women and children. The slaughter was so mercilefs, that the very channels in the streets flowed with blood. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty granted to the few citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers. A few days after the reduction of *Athens*, *Cecropia*, whether *Aristion* had retired, was likewise forced to surrender. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any employment under him, were put to death; but the others by *Sylla*'s orders spared. c He would not suffer the city to be set on fire, saying that he pardoned the children for the sake of their fathers. The only punishment he inflicted upon the few citizens, who had the good luck to outlive that fatal day, was, that they should not for the future have the power of choosing their own magistrates, nor ever repair the breach which he had made in the wall. The first part of this punishment he soon remitted, and restored the city to the full enjoyment of its ancient liberties. Some time after the reduction of *Athens* and *Cecropia*, *Archelaus* having held out till his new wall was beat down, thought it adviseable to abandon the place, and accordingly after a long and most glorious defence embarqued his troops, and retired first to *Munychia*, and from thence advanced to join *Taxiles*[e]. *Sylla* having d possessed himself of the *Pyræeus*, to leave behind him some marks of his resentment, destroyed most of the stately buildings, and amongst others the magazines, and the arsenal which had been built by the celebrated architect *Philo*, and was reckoned a master-piece of art.

This storm being blown over, the *Athenians* enjoyed a profound tranquility, till the civil war broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, when they sided with the latter, and were therefore closely besieged by *Q. Fufius Calenus*, *Cæsar*'s lieutenant, who committed great devastations in *Attica*, destroyed several edifices which had been spared by *Sylla*, and reduced the city of *Athens* to great straits. However they held out so long as they had any hopes of being relieved by *Pompey*; but when news e was brought them that he was entirely defeated, they surrendered at discretion, and met with a more kind treatment than they expected; for *Cæsar* not only pardoned them, but received their city under his protection, saying that he spared the living for the sake of the dead. But this kindness was not sufficient to keep a people in obedience that had an utter aversion to any thing that favoured of servitude; for they no sooner heard of *Cæsar*'s death, but they openly declared for his murderers, received *Brutus* and *Cassius* into their city, and even erected statues to them, which they placed next to those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, who had asserted the liberty of their country against the tyrannical usurpations of the sons of *Pisistratus*. After the defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius* they sided with *Anthony*, who not only restored them f to the full possession of all the privileges they had enjoyed in the most flourishing times of their republic, but enlarged their dominions by subjecting to *Athens* the islands of *Cea*, *Sciathus*, *Peparethus*, and *Ægina*[d]. After the defeat of *Anthony*, *Augustus* punished their ingratitude to *Julius Cæsar*, by taking from them the island of *Ægina*, and forbidding them to sell the freedom of their city. Towards the

[e] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat. [d] Plut. in Antonio.

(F) They reproached *Sylla* with the lewd life of his wife *Metella*, whence we may conclude that her infamy was become very public, since it had already reached *Greece*. *Metella* was the daughter of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, and by *Sylla* mother to the famous *Fausta*, whose excessive licentiousness made *Rome* forget the lewdness of *Metella*.

latter end of *Augustus*'s reign they began to revolt, but were without much trouble a
reduced to their former obedience. *Germanicus*, the adopted son of *Tiberius*, honoured them with the privilege of having a lictor, which was deemed a mark of sovereign power; this grant was confirmed to them by *Tiberius* and his successors, under whose protection they maintained their ancient form of government till the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced *Attica*, with the rest of *Greece*, to a *Roman* province, saying, that the *Greeks* knew not how to enjoy their liberty. But the emperor *Adrian*, who had been archon of *Athens* before his accession to the imperial throne, restored them to the full enjoyment of all their ancient privileges, and bestowed upon them a large sum of money with an annual provision of corn. In his reign and at his charge the two ports of *Pyraeus* and *Munychia* were repaired, and a whole b
region of new buildings added to the old city. This quarter was called *Adrianopolis* from *Adrian*, whom the *Athenians*, as appears from some ancient inscriptions, not undeservedly used to stile the second founder of their city. All the privileges granted them by *Adrian* were not only confirmed, but extended by his successors *M. Antoninus Pius*, and *M. Antoninus* the philosopher; the latter of which allowed them handsome salaries for the maintenance of their public professors. But *Severus* abridged them of a great many privileges, to revenge, as is supposed, an affront which he received at *Athens* while he studied there [f]. *Valerian* was more favourable to them, and gave them leave to repair that part of the wall which had been thrown down by *Sylla*. In the reign of *Gallienus*, as *Zosimus* informs us, or of *Claudius*, as c
*Cedrenus* will have it, the city was taken and plundered by the *Goths*, who were soon obliged by *Cleidemus*, who had escaped their fury, to abandon their new conquest, and save themselves by a timely flight. *Constantine the Great* was a peculiar patron and benefactor of the *Athenians*, honouring their chief magistrate with the title of grand duke, and granting them many other privileges of greater consequence, which were confirmed and enlarged by *Constantius*, who moreover put them in possession of several islands in the *Archipelago*. In the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* they were cruelly harassed and pillaged by the *Goths*, who turned all the stately and magnificent structures, that were still standing, into heaps of ruins. From this time there is scarce any mention made of *Athens* till the thirteenth century, d
when it was in the hands of *Baldwin*, as *Nicetas* inform us [g], and besieged by one of the generals of the *Greek* emperor *Theodorus Lascares*, who was forced to raise the siege after having suffered a considerable loss. The same author tells us that it was not long after besieged and taken by the marquis *Bonifacius*. It fell afterwards into the hands of one *Delves* of the house of *Aragon*, upon whose death it was seized by *Bajazet* [h], who did not hold it long, being driven out by the *Catalonians* under the command of *Andronicus Palaeologus* the elder. The *Catalonians* were in their turn dispossed of it by *Reinerius Acciaioli*, a *Florentine*, who having no lawful issue, left the state or dukedom of *Athens*, as it was then called, to the *Venetians*, and *Thebes* with *Baotia* to his natural son *Anthony*. *Anthony* made war on the e
*Venetians*, and in one campaign recovered the whole state of *Athens*, which continued for some years under the government of the *Acciaioli*, but was at last reduced by the *Turks* in 1455. *Francus Acciaioli*, the last duke of *Athens*, and prince of *Achaia*, seeing his country threatened with an invasion by the *Mohammedans* under the conduct of *Omares*, and not being in a condition to make head against so numerous an army, had recourse to the western princes, called then the *Latines*; but these refused to assist him, unless he engaged his subjects to renounce all the articles wherein the *Greek* church differed from the *Latin*, which he not being able to perform, was forced to deliver up both himself and the city to the *Barbarians*, who first treated their captive with great humanity, but afterwards put him to death [i]. f
*Athens* remained subject to the *Turks* till the year 1687, when it was after a short siege taken by the *Venetians*, and not many years after retaken by the *Turks*, who continue masters of it to this day.

To what we have said of the greater republics of *Greece*, we shall add something relating to the smaller states, namely those of *Baotia*, *Acarnania*, and *Epirus*. The *Baotians*, after having driven out their kings, as we have related above [l], formed themselves into a republic, whereof the chief magistrates were the *Praetor* or

e Gruter. p. 177, 178. f Spartianus. g Nicetas in vita Baldwini. h Laonicus Chalcocondyles, l. iii. i Idem, ibid. k Idem, l. vi. & ix. l Hist. Univer. p. 375.

*Strategos*,

a *Strategos*, the *Bœotarchi*, and the *Polemarchi*. The prætor was always chosen from among the *Bœotarchi*, and his authority lasted only a year, it being death for the prætor, according to the laws of the republic, not to resign his office before the first month, called *Boucatios*, of the new year was expired. His authority was much the same with that which was vested in the prætors of *Achaia* and *Ætolia*. The province of the *Bœotarchi* was to assist the prætor with their advice, chiefly in war, and to command under him; they were the supreme court of the nation in what related to military affairs, the prætor himself, who was one of their body, not daring to act contrary to their determinations. As to their number we are in the dark, some authors mentioning seven, some nine, and some even eleven, all vested with some b command in the army. But their authority was not confined to military affairs only, they bore a great sway in the civil administration, and were from thence stiled *Bœotarchi*, or governors of *Bœotia*. They were chosen yearly, and obliged by law, as well as the prætor, to lay down their employment on pain of death before the first month of the new year was expired. The *Polemarchi* were entirely civil magistrates, it being their province to maintain peace and concord at home, while the *Bœotarchi* were employed abroad in the wars of the republic. Besides these magistrates there were four councils, in which the whole authority of the state, as *Thucydides* informs us [m], consisted. These were made up of the deputies that were sent by all the cities of the *Bœotian* republic, and without their approbation the c *Bœotarchi* could not declare war, make peace, conclude alliances, or transact any other business of importance, as appears from *Thucydides* [n], who tells us, that an alliance with some of the neighbouring states, which had been approved by all the *Bœotarchi*, was rejected by a plurality of voices in the four great councils of the nation. At *Thebes*, the chief city of *Bœotia*, merchants, and even artificers, were admitted into the number of citizens, an honour which they enjoyed in no other city of *Greece*. However they were excluded there, as in all the other *Greek* states, from public employments, pursuant to a law which obtained all over *Greece*, and declared those only qualified for the administration of public affairs, who had abstained for the space of ten years from all manner of trade and traffic [o]. We find d another of the *Bœotian* laws mentioned by the antients [p], which forbids on pain of death any parent to expose his child; if he had not wherewithal to maintain the infant, he was by the same law directed to put it into the hands of a magistrate, and the magistrate to dispose of it to any one that was willing to bring it up; but the child thus brought up was condemned to perpetual slavery, being entirely at the disposal of the person who had taken care of it during its childhood.

THE *Bœotians*, and especially the *Thebans*, were continually harassed by the princes of *Macedon*, as we shall relate in the history of *Alexander* and his successors. Nevertheless they sided with *Philip* against the *Romans*, and could not be prevailed upon by the *Athenians* and *Achæans* to desert him and join the other states of *Greece*, e till he was intirely defeated in the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*. As they were then sensible that the *Romans* would at last prevail, they thought it adviseable to provide in time for their own safety, and accordingly sent deputies to *Flaminius*, imploring his protection. The proconsul received them with great humanity, and put them upon the same foot with the other allies of the republic in *Greece*. Not long after they offered a petition to *Flaminius*, which seemed reasonable. A great many *Bœotians* had served in the *Macedonian* army, and these the proconsul was desired to demand of *Philip*, who had then made a truce with the *Romans*. *Flaminius* complied with their request, and obtained what he desired of *Philip*, who immediately sent back the *Bœotian* troops, and with them one *Brachyllas*, who had been banished f for appearing too zealous in the cause of the *Macedonians* against the *Romans*. The *Bœotians*, though indebted to *Flaminius* alone for the return of their troops, thanked the king of *Macedon* only, and to shew their gratitude, in the first election they made of a prætor, they preferred *Brachyllas*, famous for his attachment to *Philip*, and hatred to the *Romans*, to *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, who were both zealous partizans of *Rome*; nay, they had the confidence to make this impolitic election in the sight of the *Roman* camp. In like manner all the other employments were filled with such only as were enemies to *Rome*, and friends to *Macedon*. These steps greatly exasperated *Flaminius*, and *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus* joined their resentment to that

[m] THUCYD. l. v. [n] Idem, ibid. [o] ARISTOT. Polit. [p] PAUSAN. in Bœot.

of

of the proconsul. These two *Bœotians* foresaw that *Brachyllas* would not fail to vent his rage upon them as soon as the *Roman* troops were withdrawn from *Greece*, and therefore resolved to be before-hand with him while *Flaminius* continued there. All the friends of *Rome* concurred in this design, persuading the proconsul that neither their lives nor fortunes could be safe so long as *Brachyllas* was alive. *Flaminius* approved of their design, but refused to contribute to it himself. His approbation was sufficient encouragement, *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, having hired three *Ætolians* and three *Italians*, fell upon *Brachyllas* as he was one night returning home from an entertainment, and dispatched him. Some of his companions, who were conducting him to his house from the banquet when the assassins attacked him, were at first the only persons suspected of the murder. But *Zeuxippus* appeared with an air of confidence in the assembly of the people, undertook the defence of the accused, and shewed that it was not at all probable that debauchees should have courage enough to make any attempts on the life of the prætor. This assurance made some of the *Bœotians* believe that *Zeuxippus* was no ways privy to the murder; but others took umbrage at seeing him so mighty sollicitous in having those cleared who were apprehended, and began to suspect that the prætor had been murdered by them, and the plot laid by *Zeuxippus*. On this suspicion, those who were in his company, being put to the rack, though innocent, accused *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus* purely upon the public suspicions, without being able to bring any proofs of their accusation. Hereupon *Zeuxippus*, who was conscious to himself of the crime laid to his charge, changing his presumption into fear, privately withdrew from *Thebes*, where the murder was committed, to *Tanagra* another city of *Bœotia*. *Pisistratus* continued in *Thebes*, not fearing the deposition of men who had not been any ways privy to the crime; he was only under apprehension of being discovered by a slave who had been employed in the assassination by *Zeuxippus* his master; he therefore wrote to *Zeuxippus* at *Tanagra*, desiring him to dispatch the slave, as one more fit to be employed in a bad action than to keep it a secret. The messenger was ordered to deliver the letter into *Zeuxippus*'s own hands; but he, thinking the slave faithful and affectionate to his master, trusted it with him. The slave read it, and finding it contained sentence of death against himself, left his master that instant, and repaired to *Thebes*, where he discovered the whole affair. *Pisistratus* was apprehended and put to death, but the odium of the murder fell entirely on the *Romans*. *Zeuxippus* retired to *Athens*, and lived there without any apprehension, being recommended to the magistrates of that city by his protectors the *Romans*.

The *Bœotians* were inclined to take up arms, but having no officer of experience to head them, and *Philip* refusing to lend them any assistance, they contented themselves with a private revenge, murdering all the *Romans* they found straggling about the fields; insomuch that they could no longer cross the country but in large bodies. At last *Flaminius* being informed that many of his men were missing, and that there were just grounds to suspect they had been murdered by the *Bœotians*, sent officers with troops to enquire into the matter, and apprehend the authors of such treacherous proceedings. The officers upon their return acquainted him that great numbers of *Romans* had been murdered, and their bodies, to prevent discovery, thrown into the lake of *Copias* (G). He was at the same time assured that the cities of *Coronæa* and *Acræphia* (H) had on that occasion signalized their hatred to the *Romans*. Upon this information the proconsul ordered the murderers to be delivered up to him, and as he had lost five hundred men, the *Bœotians* were condemned to pay five hundred talents; troops were likewise sent to ravage the fields of *Acræphia*, and lay siege to *Coronæa*. The *Bœotians*, who were conscious to themselves that they deserved severe punishment, seeing the proconsul drawing together his troops with a design to treat them as they deserved, had recourse to

(G) This lake, which is the same with the lake called by *Pausanias* (15) the lake of *Cephisus*, took its name from the city of *Copæ*. It was in former times, as *Strabo* tells us (16), three hundred and seventy-one furlongs in compass; but is now much less. It is fed by the river *Cephisus*, and the poets tell us, that *Hercules* made it by turning the *Cephisus* into the plain of *Orchomenos*. The people of this neighbourhood are said to have been the first inventors of oars, whence the city next to the lake was called *Copæ* from the *Greek* word κώπη.

(H) *Coronæa*, a city of *Bœotia*, stood on the river *Cephisus*, where it discharges itself into the lake *Copias*, not far from mount *Helicon* (17). It is famous on account of the victory which *Agesilaus* gained there over the *Thebans* and *Athenians*. The city of *Acræphia* stood between the springs of the *Ismenus* and the *Asopus*.

(15) *Pausan. in Bœot.* (16) *Strabo l.* xiii. (17) *Strabo l.* ix.

the

the *Athenians* and *Achæans*, whose mediation was of such weight with *Flaminius*, that he immediately ordered the siege of *Coronæa* to be raised, and remitted four hundred and seventy talents of the fine he had laid upon the treacherous cities of *Bœotia*. He insisted only on their delivering up to him the murderers, who were accordingly apprehended and carried to the *Roman* camp, where they were brought to condign punishment. This mixture of mildness and severity was highly extolled and applauded by the *Bœotians*, who ever afterwards continued faithful to the *Romans*. But as some of their leading men joined *Perses* king of *Macedon* in his wars against the *Romans*, the whole country was on that score treated with great severity.
b *Rome* being at that time under no apprehension of an invasion from *Antiochus*, as she was when *Flaminius* suffered himself to be so easily appeased. At the dissolution of the *Achæan* league *Bœotia* with the rest of *Greece* was reduced to a *Roman* province [q].

*Acarnania* lay between *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, was a free state, and governed by a prætor, a general assembly, and other subordinate magistrates of the same nature and authority as those of the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*. The *Acarnanians* were above all the other *Greeks* addicted to the kings of *Macedon*, and chiefly to *Philip*, the father of *Perses*. They alone adhered to him after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*, valuing themselves upon an inviolable fidelity in the observation of treaties. However *Lucius Flaminius*, brother to *Titus Flaminius*, took upon him to bring them
c over to the *Romans*, and deprive *Philip* of this his only support. With this view he engaged the chief men of the nation to meet him in the island of *Corcyra*, whither they resorted according to their appointment; but the result of this conference was to appoint another in the city of *Leucas*, the capital of *Acarnania* (I). In this second interview the leading men of the nation, after warm disputes, drew up the plan of a confederacy with the *Romans*, and were inclined to desert *Philip*. But some, who had been bribed by the king, leaving the assembly with indignation, filled all the city with their complaints; the people joined them, and as they were generally inclined to the princes of *Macedon*, who had often protected them against the *Ætolians*, the whole city was in an uproar. During this general commotion,
d *Philip* sent *Echedemus* and *Androcles* two *Acarnanians*, greatly esteemed in their own country, and steady friends to *Macedon*. These declaimed with great virulency against their slavish countrymen, who without any regard to the faith of treaties were betraying the interest of their country, in order to deliver up the whole nation to the mercy of an imperious republic. The people, already prepossessed against the *Romans*, backed the remonstrances of the two deputies, and openly protested that they would not enter into any engagements prejudicial to the interest of *Philip*. Thus the decree, which had been drawn up in favour of the *Romans*, was unanimously rejected in the assembly, and *Archelaus* and *Bianor*, who were the authors of it, declared enemies to their country, and guilty of the blackest treachery.
e *Zeuxidas*, their prætor, was deposed, for no other reason, but because he had proposed the affair in the assembly. However, upon more mature deliberation, the sentence passed against these three was disannulled, and they restored to their former honours. But at the same time their alliance with the king of *Macedon* was renewed, and the treaty, made by some private men with the *Romans*, rejected with indignation. *Lucius*, who had in the beginning of the tumult retired from *Leucas*, resolved to reduce the *Arcananians* by force; and accordingly having made the necessary preparations, he sailed from *Corcyra* with a design to lay siege to *Leucas*. He thought that the very sight of the *Roman* troops would frighten the citizens into a compliance with his request; but he was disappointed; the *Leucadians* appeared on the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous resistance. Whereupon the *Roman* general began

Acarnania.

q Liv. l. xxxii. c. 7.

(I) *Leucas* was the capital of *Acarnania*, where the general assembly of the *Acarnanians* used to meet. The city gave its name to the whole island, which was called *Leucadia*, but is now known by the name of *Santa Maura*. It lies in the *Ionian* sea, and is now divided from the continent by a strait, which is not above fifty paces over. The *Carthaginians* are said to have settled a colony here, and to have formed this strait or canal; for *Leucadia* was formerly a peninsula, being joined to *Acarnania* by a neck of land. Near this city stood in ancient times a stately temple consecrated to *Apollo*, and the famous rock, whence despairing lovers leaped into the sea. During the feast of *Apollo* the *Leucadians* yearly threw down from the top of this rock a criminal, who had been sentenced to die, imagining that the gods would load the criminal with all the evils that threatened the city. They fastened a great many birds and feathers to his body, believing they would make his fall less violent. If he happened not to be killed by the fall, his life was spared, but he was banished for ever.

his approaches, being resolved to take the place by storm. *Leucadia*, or the territory of *Leucas*, was at that time a peninsula, being joined to the western part of *Acarnania* by a neck of land, about five hundred paces in length, and a hundred and twenty in breadth; in after ages this isthmus being dug through, *Leucadia* became an island. *Lucius* having viewed the situation of the place, resolved to attack it on that side which was washed by the sea, and on that account the least fortified; the water being very low near the walls, the earth was easily removed, and the wall without much trouble undermined, and thrown down. But the besieged made such a vigorous resistance, that the *Romans* were repulsed in three successive attacks, which obliged the general to allow them some rest; and in the mean time the *Leucadians* raised a new wall stronger than the former. The siege would have been protracted to a great length, had not some *Italian* exiles, who were well acquainted with the place, brought a great many *Romans* privately into the city. These, uniting themselves into one body, marched strait to the market-place, and while the inhabitants were engaged with them there, the rest of the army scaled the walls, and marched in good order to the relief of their companions. The *Acarnanians* were surrounded, and those, who refused to submit, put to the sword. The reduction of the capital struck such terror into the whole nation, that they deserted *Philip*, and submitted to the *Romans*, under whose protection they lived according to their own laws, till the destruction of *Corinth*, when *Acarnania* became part of the province of *Achaia* [r].

*Epirus.* *Epirus* was bounded on the east by *Ætolia*, on the west by the *Adriatic*, on the north by *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, and on the south by the *Ionian* sea. This country was anciently governed by its own princes, in which state it made no small figure, as we shall see in a more proper place. *Deidamia*, great grand-daughter to the famous *Pyrrhus*, having no issue, gave the *Epirots* their liberty, who formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by magistrates annually elected in a general assembly of the whole nation. Their neighbourhood to *Macedon* obliged them to be continually on their guard against those princes, who made frequent incursions into their country, took and pillaged their cities, and forced them to contribute, as if they had been their subjects, to all the charges of the wars they carried on with the other states of *Greece*. The *Romans*, after having conquered *Philip*, restored them to their ancient liberty; but they, forgetful of this favour, took up arms against their friends and benefactors and joined *Perseus*, which so provoked the *Roman* senate, that they dispatched peremptory orders to *Paulus Æmilius*, after the reduction of *Macedon*, commanding him to plunder the cities of this ungrateful people, and level them with the ground. This decree drew tears from the eyes of *Æmilius*, but he could not decline the execution of it. He therefore set out at the head of his victorious army, and arriving on the confines of *Epirus*, sent small bodies of troops into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garisons that the *Epirots* might enjoy the same liberty which *Rome* had granted to *Macedon*. The *Romans* were received in all the cities of *Epirus* with great demonstrations of joy; for *Æmilius* had not communicated his orders to any one for fear of terrifying the *Epirots*, who would not have failed to defend themselves and their country, with their usual bravery. In the mean time *Paulus Æmilius* sent orders to the ten chiefs who were dispersed in the different provinces, and governed all *Epirus*, enjoining them to bring to his camp all the gold and silver they had in their respective districts. The chiefs with great reluctance complied with his order, and by this means what was most valuable in *Epirus* was saved out of the hands of the greedy soldiers, and delivered to the quæstors to be laid up in the publick treasury. All the rest was given up as a prey to the soldiery. Though the consular troops were cantoned in different places, the execution was made the same day and hour, the *Roman* soldiers falling every where with incredible fury on the houses, which were abandoned to their mercy. The whole booty was sold, and of the money raised by the sale each foot soldier had two hundred denarii, that is 6 l. 9 s. 2 d. and each of the horse the double of this sum. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and sold to the best bidder for the benefit of the republic. Nor did the vengeance of *Rome* stop here; all the cities of *Epirus* to the number of seventy, were dismantled, and the chief men of the country carried to *Rome*, where

[r] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 4.

they

a they were tried, and most of them condemned to perpetual imprisonment [s]. After this fatal blow, *Epirus* never afterwards recovered its ancient splendor. Upon the dissolution of the *Achean* league, it was made part of the province of *Macedon*; but when *Macedon* became a diocese, *Epirus* was made a province of itself, called the province of *Old Epirus*, to distinguish it from *New Epirus*, another province lying to the east of it. On the division of the empire, it fell to the emperors of the east, and continued under them till the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, when *Michael Angelus*, a prince nearly related to the *Greek* emperor, seized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, of which he declared himself despote or prince, and was succeeded by his brother *Theodorus*, who took several towns from the *Latins*, and so far b enlarged his dominions, that disdaining the title of despote, he assumed that of emperor, and was crowned by *Demetrius* archbishop of *Bulgaria*. *Charles*, the last prince of this family, dying without lawful issue, bequeathed *Epirus* and *Acarnania* to his natural sons, who were driven out, as we have related above, by *Amurath* the second. Great part of *Epirus* was afterwards held by the noble family of the *Castriots*, who, though they were masters of all *Albania*, yet stiled themselves princes of *Epirus*. Upon the death of the famous *George Castriot*, *Epirus* fell to the *Venetians*, who were soon dispossessed of it by the *Turks*, in whose hands it still continues, being now known by the name of *Albania*, which comprehends the *Albania* of the ancients, all *Epirus*, and that part of *Dalmatia* which is subject to the c *Turks*.

THUS we have seen, through a series of many ages, the rise, progress, declension, and lastly the final ruin of the several states of *Greece*. The first form of government introduced among them was monarchichal, which, as *Plato* observes, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exercise over their families. But as power, when lodged in one person, becomes often haughty, unjust and oppressive, especially if it is herditary, the several states of *Greece*, in process of time, began to be weary of a kingly government, and to put the administration of public affairs into many hands; so that monarchy every-where, except in *Macedon*, gave way to a republican govern- d ment, which was diversified into as many various forms as there had been different kingdoms, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However they had all liberty for their fundamental principal, but this liberty was prevented from degenerating into licentiousness by wise laws, which awed the people, and kept them to their duty. As every individual, at least in the early times of *Greece*, was capable of attaining the chief honours of his republic, he considered his country as his inheritance. The children were taught from their infancy to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents, and not as private persons, who regard nothing but their own interest, and have no sense of the misfortunes of the state, but as e they affect themselves. They studied above all things to maintain among the citizens and members of the state a great equality without pride, luxury, or ostentation. Magistrates, who had bore a great sway during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. Those who had commanded armies one year, served perhaps the very next as subalterns, and were not ashamed to perform the most common functions either in the armies or fleets. The principles, which prevailed in all the states of *Greece*, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, concern for the public good, desire of glory, love for their country, and above all such a zeal for liberty as no danger could intimidate. So long as they adhered to these principles, they f were invincible; we have seen them not only making head with a handful of men, against the innumerable armies of the *Persians*, but putting them to flight, and obliging the most powerful monarch then upon earth to submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as they were glorious to the conquerors. But as soon as luxury and the love of riches prevailed among them, they began to degenerate, and in a short time became a quite different people. The *Persians* soon perceived this alteration, and by bribing those, who had the greatest share in the government, found means to make them turn their arms against themselves. These intestine divisions carefully fomented by the *Persians* so weakened them, that *Philip*

[s] Liv. l. xlv. c. 33, 34. [t] PLATO, l. iii. de Legibus, p. 680.

of

of *Macedon* and his son *Alexander* met with no great opposition in reducing a people a that had for so many ages maintained their liberty against the whole power of the *Persian* monarchy. They made several attempts to reinstate themselves in their antient condition; but these efforts were ill concerted, and only served to increase their slavery. They were therefore at last obliged to have recourse to the *Romans*, who after having gained them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and made use of them to destroy the *Macedonian* power, at last turned their arms against those they were come to assist, and reduced to slavery the nations which they pretended to deliver. *Greece*, thus deprived of its antient power, still retained another sovereignty, to which the *Romans* themselves could not help paying homage. *Athens* continued to be the school of polite arts, and the center of b refined taste in all the productions of the mind. *Rome*, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire, and sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in *Greece*. *Cicero*, already the admiration of the bar, did not think it below him to become the disciple of the great masters *Greece* then produced. The emperors themselves, who were by more weighty affairs prevented from going into *Greece*, brought *Greece* in a manner home to themselves by receiving into their palaces the most celebrated philosophers for the education of their children, and their own improvement. Thus by a new kind of victory *Greece* triumphed over *Rome*, and made the conquerors of the world submit to her laws.

## SECT. IV.

## *The History of the* Grecian States *in* Asia Minor.

### *The History of* Ionia.

*Name and division of* Ionia.

*IONIA*, so called from the *Ionians*, who inhabited this part of *Asia Minor*, was bounded on the north by *Æolia*, on the west by the *Ægean* and *Icarian* seas; a on the south by *Caria*; on the east by *Lydia* and part of *Caria*. It lies between the 37th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among others, as to the boundaries of the inland country.

*Cities of* Ionia.

The most remarkable cities of *Ionia* were, *Phocæa*, now *Foggia*, built according to *Vellerius* [a], by the *Ionians*, according to *Pausanias* [b], by the *Phocænses* of *Greece*, and according to *Strabo* [c] by the *Athenians*. Some writers tell us, that while the foundations of this city were laying there appeared near the shore a great shole of sea-calves, whence it was called *Phocæa*, the word *Phoca* signifying in *Greek* a sea-calf. *Ptolemy*, who makes the river *Hermus* the boundary between b *Æolia* and *Ionia*, places *Phocæa* in *Æolis*, but all other geographers [d] reckon it among the cities of *Ionia*. It stood on the sea-coast between *Cuma* to the north, and *Smyrna* to the south, not far from the *Hermus*, and was in former times one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of all *Asia*, but is now a poor beggarly village, though the see of a bishop. The *Phocæans* were, as *Herodotus* [e] informs us, expert mariners, and the first among the *Greeks* that undertook long voyages, which they performed in gallies of fifty oars. As they applied themselves to trade and navigation they became acquainted pretty early with the coasts and islands of *Europe*, where they are said to have founded several cities, namely *Velia* in *Italy*, *Alalia* or rather *Aleria* in *Corsica*, *Marseilles* in *Gaul* [f], &c. Neither were they c unacquainted with *Spain*; for *Herodotus* tells us [g], that in the time of *Cyrus the Great*, the *Phocæans* arriving at *Sartessus* a city in the bay of *Cadiz*, were treated with extraordinary kindness by *Arganthonius* king of that country, who hearing that they were under no small apprehension of the growing power of *Cyrus*, invited them to leave *Ionia*, and settle in what part of his kingdom they pleased. The

Phocæa.

a Vellerius. l. 1. b Pausan. l. 7. c Strab. l. 14. d Pomp. Mela. l. 1. c. 17. Plin. l. 5. c. 29. Strab. l. 14. Herodot. l. 1. c. 142. e Herodot. l. 1. f Idem, ibid. Marcellin. l. 15. Justin. l. 43. g Idem, ibid.

*Phocæans*

a *Phocæans* could not be prevailed upon to forsake their country; but accepted of a large sum of money, which that prince generously presented them with to defray the expence of building a strong wall round their city. The wall they built on their return, but it stood them in no stead against the mighty power of *Cyrus*, whose general *Harpagus* investing the city with a numerous army, soon reduced it to the utmost extremities. The *Phocæans* having no hopes of any succour began to capitulate, but the conditions offered by *Harpagus*, seeming somewhat hard, they begged he would allow them three days to deliberate, and in the mean time withdraw his forces. *Harpagus*, though not ignorant of their design, complyed with their request, and the *Phocæans* taking advantage of this condescension put their wives, b children and all their most valuable effects on board several vessels which they had ready equipt, and conveyed them safe to the island of *Chios*, leaving the *Persians* in possession of empty walls. Their design was to purchase the *Œnessian* islands, which belonged to the *Chians*, and settle there: but the *Chians* not caring to have them so near, lest they should engross all the trade to themselves as they were a sea-faring people, they put to sea again, and having taken *Phocæa* their native country by surprize, put all the *Persians* they found in it to the sword. As they were well apprised that the *Persians* would resent such inhuman proceedings, they re-imbarked with all expedition, steering their course towards *Cyrnus* now *Corsica*, where twenty years before they had built the city of *Alaria* or *Calaris*. Before they left *Phocæa* c the second time they uttered most dreadful imprecations against such as should stay behind, binding themselves by a solemn oath never to return till a red-hot ball of iron, which on that occasion they threw into the sea, should appear again unextinguished. However, above half the fleet broke through all these engagements, and returned soon to *Phocæa*, the *Persians*, who were desirous the city should be re-peopled, offering a general pardon to such as had been concerned in the massacre. The remaining part arrived safe at *Alaria*, where they continued five years, infesting the neighbouring seas with piracies, and ravaging the coasts of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Carthage*. Hereupon the *Tyrrhenians* and *Carthaginians* entering into an alliance against them, fitted out a fleet of 120 sail, with a design to drive them from d *Cyrnus*. The *Phocæans* not at all dismayed at the sight of so powerful a fleet, engaged them in the sea of *Sardinia* with half their number, and after a bloody engagement put them to flight. But the victory cost them dear, forty of their ships being sunk, and most of the rest quite disabled (A). Whereupon not finding themselves in a condition to stand a second shock, (and the enemies were preparing to attack them anew) they resolved to abandon the island, and retire with their wives and children to *Rhegium*; which they did accordingly, but soon left that place, and settled in *Œnotria*, now *Ponza*, a small island in the *Tyrrhenian* sea over-against *Velia* in *Lucania*, which their ancestors had founded. Those who returned home, lived in subjection either to the *Persians* or tyrants of their own. Among e the latter we find mention made [h] of *Laodamas*, who attended *Darius Hystaspis* in his expedition against the *Scythians*, and of *Dionysius*, who joining *Aristagoras*, tyrant of *Miletus*, and chief author of the *Ionian* rebellion, retired after the defeat of his country-men first to *Phœnicea*, where he made an immense booty, seizing on all the ships he met with trading to that country. From *Phœnicia* he sailed with immense riches to *Sicily*, where he committed great depredations on the *Carthaginians* and *Tuscans*; but is said never to have molested the *Greeks* [i]. In the *Roman* times the city of *Phocæa* sided with *Antiochus the Great*; whereupon it was besieged, taken and plundered by the *Roman* general, but allowed to live according to its own laws.

[h] Herodot. l. 4. & 6. [i] Idem. ibid.

(A) *Herodotus* tells us, that such of the *Phocæans* as had lost their ships in the engagement fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians* and *Tyrrhenians*, who attacked them as they came ashore in their small boats, and put them all to death. As this happened in the territory of *Argilla* in *Tuscia*, both the inhabitants and cattle of that district were seized with a dreadful distemper, which obliged the *Argyllians* to have recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, being desirous to atone for the crime they had committed in what manner the god of that place should direct. The oracle enjoined them to commemorate yearly the death of the *Phocæans*, with great magnificence and gymnastic combats; which they did accordingly, beginning as soon as their deputies returned from *Delphos*, and were immediately delivered from the raging distemper. Our author adds, that they continued even in his time the same combats, and performed all the other rites which the oracle had prescribed on that occasion (1).

(1) *Herodot.* l. 1.

In the war, which *Aristonicus*, brother to *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, stirred up against the *Romans*, they assisted the former to the utmost of their power, which so displeased the senate, that they commanded the town to be demolished, and the whole race of the *Phocæans* utterly rooted out. This severe sentence had been put in execution had not the *Massilienses*, a *Phocæan* colony interposed, and with much ado assuaged the anger of the senate [k]. *Pompey* declared *Phocæa* a free city, and restored the inhabitants to all the privileges they had ever enjoyed; whence under the first emperors it was reckoned one of the most flourishing cities of all *Asia Minor*. This is all we have been able to gather from the antients, touching the particular history of *Phocæa*.

Smyrna. *Smyrna*, called by the *Turks Ismyr*, is situated on the isthmus of the *Ionian* peninsula, at the bottom of a bay, to which it gives name, and is reckoned one of the largest and richest cities of the *Levant*. *Smyrna* was not at first one of the twelve cities of the *Ionian* league, so often mentioned by the antients, but was in process of time admitted into that confederacy by means of the *Ephesians*, who lived, as *Strabo* [l] informs us, for many years in the same district with the *Smyrnæans*. And hence it is that *Ephesus* is sometimes called *Smyrna*. *Velleius Paterculus* [m] reckons it among the cities of *Æolus*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus* [n], who tells us that *Smyrna* was built by the *Æolians*, but afterwards destroyed by the *Ionians*, who claimed the ground on which the city stood, and all the neighbouring country. Be that as it will, it must have been soon after rebuilt; for the same *Herodotus*, or whoever else is the author of *Homer's* life, describes it as a famous empory in that poet's time, whither merchants resorted from all parts. *Pliny* [o] is of opinion that it was founded by an *Amazon* named *Smyrna*; and adds, that it was many ages after rebuilt and embellished by *Alexander*. What he says of the *Amazon* is commonly looked upon as quite fabulous, though the present inhabitants pretend that it borrowed its name of an *Amazon*, who coming into *Asia* at the head of a female army, possessed herself of this city. Neither was it rebuilt by *Alexander*, for *Strabo*, a writer far more exact, informs us [p], that *Smyrna* four hundred years after it had been destroyed by the *Lydians*, during which time the *Smyrnæans* lived in villages was begun to be rebuilt by *Antigonus*, but that *Lysimachus* put the last hand to the work. This new city was built, according to the same writer, twenty furlongs distance from the place where the old city stood; between the castle on the shore, and the present city, as our best modern travellers conjecture [q] from the many ruins of edifices, that are still to be seen in that place (B). This new city, as it was most conveniently situated for trade, became in a short time one of the most populous and wealthy of all *Asia*, as is plain from several inscriptions, in which it is stiled *The metropolis, The first and chief city of* Asia, *The ornament of* Ionia, *&c* [r]. But nothing can give us a greater idea of the magnificence of antient *Smyrna*, than the description of it we read in *Strabo* [s]. "It is at present, says he, the finest "city in *Asia*. One part of it is built on a hill, but the finest edifices stand on a "plain not far from the sea, over-against the temple of *Cybele*. The streets are "the most beautiful that can be, strait, wide, and paved with fine stone. It has "many stately buildings, magnificent portico's, majestic temples, a public library, "and a convenient harbour, which may be shut up at pleasure". There are still to be seen many vestigies of the antient grandeur of *Smyrna*, namely of a marble theatre, which was reckoned the finest in *Asia*, of a circus, of baths, temples, *&c.* for the description of which we refer our readers to *Le Bruyn*, *Tournefort*, *Spon*, and other modern travellers. Neither the circus, nor the theatre were built, it seems, in *Strabo's* time, else he would have mentioned them among the other edifices that

[k] Liv. Decad. 4. l. 7. & seq. Justin. l. 37. [l] Strabo l. 14. sub. init. [m] Vell. Paterculus l. 1. c. 4. [n] Herodot. l. 1. c. 194. [o] Plin. l. 5. c. 29. [p] Strabo l. 14. p. 444. [q] Spon. Le Bruyn. Tournefort. Voyage au Levant, &c. [r] Vide Marmor. Oxon. apud. Prideaux. [s] Strabo. l. 14.

(B) A modern traveller (2) tells us, that many valuable pieces of antiquity have been found there, and mentions four antient statues that were dug up in that place, while he was at *Constantinople*, and are still to be seen at *Versailles*. Our author adds, that in 1671. an urn was discovered in the same place with this inscription Marcus Fabius, *the son of* Marcus Fabius, *of the* Galerian *family surnamed* Junius, *one and twenty years old*. Upon opening the urn they discovered the bodies, both of the father and son, lying together in their armour which was still entire.

(2) *Le Bruyn voyage au Levant, &c.*

embellished

a embellished the city. The walls of *Smyrna* were washed by the *Meles*, a river of great note in the republic of letters, for *Homer* is said to have been born near its banks; whence, as the name of his father was unknown, he was called *Melesigena*. Some writers add [t], that he composed his inimitable poem in a cave near the spring of this river (C). Under the *Roman* emperors the city of *Smyrna* was at the height of its grandeur, and ever courted by them, as it was the finest harbour in *Asia*, and distinguished with titles, exemptions and privileges above all the cities of *Asia*, *Ephesus* alone excepted. *Tiberius* shewed on all occasions a great esteem for the *Smyrnæans*, and *Marcus Aurelius* rebuilt their city after it had been almost quite ruin-
b ed by an earth-quake, and the succeeding emperors heaped such favours on them as raised no small jealousy among the other *Greeks* of *Asia*. The *Smyrnæans* on the other hand continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, and are said to have been the first in *Asia* that honoured *Rome*, under the title of *Rome the Goddess*, with a temple, priests and sacrifices; which they did while *Carthage* was at the highest pitch of its glory, and *Asia* in great part possessed by powerful princes, who had not yet experienced the *Roman* valour.

As to the present city, it is situated on the shore at the foot of a hill which commands the port, and may be justly stiled the centre of trade to the *Levant*. Its convenient harbour and situation have saved it from undergoing the same fate
c which most cities in *Asia*, though formerly of great note, have suffered. The great cities of *Sardis* so famous in the *Greek* history, of *Pergamus*, the capital of a rich kingdom of *Ephesus*, the metropolis of all *Asia* are at present but small villages: *Thyatira*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, *&c.* are known only by some antient inscriptions; whereas *Smyrna*, tho' often destroyed by earth-quakes (D), is still one of the richest and most populous cities in the east, being resorted to by all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. They reckon in the city fifteen thousand *Turks*, ten thousand *Greeks*, eighteen hundred *Jews*, two hundred *Armenians*, and as many *Franks*. Its territory is very fertile and pleasant, abounding chiefly in vines and olive-trees; but the air is not reckoned very wholesome. *Smyrna* was one of the
d seven churches mentioned in the revelations, and is the only one that still remains in any reputation.

As for the particular history of the *Smyrnæans*; their city at first belonged to the *Æolians*, as we have hinted above, but was taken from them by the *Ionians* in the following manner. A great many of the inhabitants of *Colophon*, an *Ionian* city, being driven out on account of a sedition they had raised at home, fled to the *Smyrnæans*, who received them with great kindness, which they requited with the utmost ingratitude. For not long after, while the inhabitants were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of *Bacchus* without the walls, they shut the gates, and seized on the city. This alarmed all the *Æolians*, who hastened to
e the assistance of their countrymen with what forces they could raise; but the *Colophonians* being supported by the other cities of *Ionia*, both parties came to an agreement, whereby it was stipulated, that the *Ionians* should restore to the *Smyrnæans* all their effects, and the *Æolians* on their part should quit their claim to the city. The *Smyrnæans* consenting to these conditions were distributed among the other eleven *Ionian* cities, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges. The *Colophonians* continued in possessing of *Smyrna*, which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve *Ionian* cities [u]. It was afterwards taken by *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, and continued subject to the *Lydians* till the time of *Cyrus*, by whose general *Harpagus* it was brought under the *Persian* yoke, with the other cities
f of *Ionia*. The *Smyrnæans*, according to the character *Aristides* gives them [w], followed their pleasures and lived in great luxury, but, what seldom happens, were at

[t] Pausan. Achaic. c. 5. [u] Herodot. l. 1. [w] Aristid. in Smyrnæ Encomio.

(C) To this alluded *Statius* (3) when he said in commending *Lucan* born near the *Bætis*, that the *Bætis* would be one day more famous than the *Meles* itself, *Græio nobilior Melete Bætis*; and *Tibullus* (4), when he stiled *Homer*'s poem *Meletæus Chartas*.

(D) The *Greeks* of the country count six dreadful Earthquakes, which destroyed the greatest part of the town; and they have a tradition, that it is to be utterly ruined by the seventh, and never after rebuilt (5).

(3) *Stat. 2. Syl. carm. 7. vers.* 34. (4) *Tibull. l. 4. Eleg. 1. vers.* 200. (5) *Le Bruyn, ubi supra.*

the

the same time ready to exert themselves, when called upon, and behaved with a great gallantry (E).

Clazomenæ. *Clazomenæ*, now *Vourla* as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, and of great note in the flourishing times of *Greece*. The antient city, as *Pausanias* [x] informs us, stood on the continent, and was by the *Ionians* fortified at a vast expence in order to put a stop to the *Persian* conquests. But the inhabitants were so terrified after the defeat of *Cræsus*, and surrender of *Sardis*, that they abandoned the city on the continent, and withdrew with all their effects to one of the neighbouring islands, where they built the city of *Clazomenæ*, so often mentioned in the *Roman* history. *Alexander* joined it to the continent by a causway two hundred and fifty paces long [y]; whence *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny* and most of the b antient geographers count it among the cities on the continent. The *Romans* always treated the inhabitants with great kindness, knowing of what importance their city was for carrying on of their conquests in *Asia*; for they not only declared them a free people, but moreover put them in possession of the island of *Drymusa*, and often quarrelled with the princes of *Asia* on their account [z]. *Augustus* repaired and embellished their city with many stately buildings, whence on some medals he is stiled the founder of *Clazomenæ* (E), though this city was without all doubt founded by the *Ionians*, and from the very beginning one of the *Ionian* confederacy. Some antiquaries take *Clazomenæ* for the antient city of *Grynium*, which gave the epithet of *Grynæus* to *Apollo*; for there was in antient times a famous temple of *Apollo* in the c neighbourhood of *Clazomenæ*; *Cybele* likewise was one of their chief deities, and also *Diana*, as we gather from several antient medals and inscriptions. The *Clazomenians* held out against the *Lydians*, after most of the other cities of *Ionia* were reduced by *Alyattes*, who besieged but could not master *Clazomenæ*. The *Persians* got possession of it in the time of *Cyrus*, who carried all before him, and thought it of such consequence, that they could not be induced to part with it at the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. *Alexander* reinstated them in their antient liberty and privileges; which were rather enlarged than diminished by the *Romans*, whom they assisted on all occasions with great fidelity.

Erithræ. *Erithræ*, one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, is placed by some on the shore over- d against the island of *Chios*, but by *Strabo* [a] on the peninsula at the foot of mount *Mimas*, over-against the islands called by the antients *Hippi*. *Erithræ* was the seat of *Herophilæ*, one of the *Sybils*, thence called the *Erethræan* [b]. It had a spacious harbour called *Cyssus*, and a temple of *Hercules*, which was reckoned one of the most stately edifices of all *Asia*. *Erithræ* sided on all occasions with the *Romans*, who rewarded their fidelity with ample privileges, and considerably enlarged their territory [c].

Teos. *Teos*, situated on the south side of the *Ionian* peninsula, was likewise one of the twelve cities. *Anacreon* was born here, and also *Hecataeus* the historian. The inhabitants abandoning in *Anacreon's* time their native country, where they were e grievously oppressed by the *Persians*, retired to *Thrace*, and settled in the city of *Abdera* [d], which *Timesius* of *Clazomenæ* had founded (F). They were the only among the *Ionians*, as *Herodotus* observes [e], who preferred banishment to slavery, and are therefore greatly commended by that writer. Some of them returned afterwards to their antient habitation, for in the *Roman* times the city of *Teos* was of some note, and well peopled [f]. *Augustus* in several medals is called the founder, which title he may have deserved by repairing and embellishing that as he did most

x Pausan. Achaic. c. 3. y Idem, ibid. z Liv. l. 38. c. 39. a Strabo l. 14. p. 443.
b Pausan. in Phoc. c. 12. c Liv. l. 35. c. 39. d Strabo l. 14. p. 443. e Herodot. l. 3. c. 168. f Liv. l. 37. c. 27.

(E) This gave rise to the proverb Σμυρναῖος πόνος mentioned by *Aristides*, and apply'd to such as live luxuriously, but at the same time are brave and couragious.

(E) Mr. *Tournefort* makes mention of a medal in the king of *Prussia*'s cabinet, with the head of *Augustus*, and the inscription, *Founder of Clazomenæ*. Another is to be seen in the *French* king's cabinet, with the head of *Augustus*, and on the reverse ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ *the Goddess Livia*, round the head of *Augustus* is wrote ΚΛΑΖΟΜ.

(F) And hence the saying, Ἄβδηρα κλεὶς Τείων ἀποικία, *Abdera a free colony of the* Teians, signifying that brave men will chuse to live any where rather than suffer oppression and servitude (6). To this saying some think *Tully* alludes in his epistles to *Atticus* (7).

(6) *Vide Eras. Chiliad.* (7) *Cic. ad Attic. l. 7. & 4.*

other

a other cities of *Asia*. *Pliny* [g] counts *Teos* among the islands, wherein he is contradicted by all the ancient geographers. The small towns of *Erae* and *Myonnesus* between *Teos* and *Lebedus* were formerly subject to the *Teians*, who enjoyed a large territory extending from their city to the neighbourhood of *Lebedus*

*Lebedus*, counted by *Mela*, *Strabo* and *Herodotus* among the twelve *Ionian* cities, stood on the isthmus of the *Ionian* peninsula over-against *Smyrna*, and was famous in ancient times for the sports that were there yearly performed in honour of *Bacchus*. *Lysimachus* utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to *Ephesus* [h]. Upon his death they left *Ephesus* and rebuilt *Lebedus*, which however never afterwards made any figure, being a village rather than a city [i]. Lebedus.

b *Colophon*, now *Altobosco*, or as others will have it *Belvedere*, was one of the chief cities of the *Ionian* League, seated on the coast, and not an inland city, as *Pliny* [k] calls it. It was destroyed by *Lysimachus*, and the inhabitants sent to people *Ephesus*; but after his death rebuilt in a more convenient situation. The *Colophonians* were so skilled in horsemanship, that those they sided with were always sure of the victory, which gave rise to the trite proverb [l] (G). *Colophon* was the birth-place of *Nicander*, and one of the seven cities that claimed *Homer*, who lived there some time as *Herodotus* informs in the life of that great poet [m]. The ancients mention a famous grove and temple of *Apollo Clarius* in the neighbourhood of this city [n]. Whence that fabulous deity borrowed the epithet of *Clarius* is uncertain, some pretending that his c temple stood in a small town near *Colophon* called *Claros*, and others maintaining that he was so called from a mountain bearing that name. The small town of *Notium* on the same coast often mentioned by *Livy*, belonged to the *Colophonians*, and was by the *Romans* allowed to enjoy the same privileges as *Colophon* itself [o]. Colophon.

*Ephesus*, called by the present inhabitants *Aiasaloue*, was in former times the metropolis of all *Asia*. *Stephanus* gives it the title of *Epiphanestate*, or most illustrious, *Pliny* stiles it the ornament of *Asia*, and *Strabo* the greatest and most frequented empory of that continent. How different was the ancient *Ephesus* from the modern, which is but a sorry village inhabited by thirty or forty *Greek* families, who are not capable, as *Spon* observes, to understand the epistle St. *Paul* wrote to them! Ephesus.

d The ancient city stood about fifty miles south of *Smyrna* near the mouth of the river *Cayster*, and the shore of the *Icarian* sea, which is a bay of the *Ægean*; but as it has been so often destroyed and rebuilt, 'tis no easy matter to determine the precise place; most of our modern travellers are of opinion that the ancient city stood more to the south than the present, which they argue from the ruins that still remain. *Ephesus* was in ancient times known by the names of *Alopes*, *Ortygia*, *Morges*, *Smyrna*, *Trachæa*, *Samornion* and *Ptela* [p]; it was called *Ephesus*, according to *Heraclides* [q] from the *Greek* word *Ephesus*, signifying permission, because *Hercules*, says he, permitted the *Amazons* to live and build a city in that place; others tell us that *Ephesus* was the name of the *Amazon* that founded the c city, for *Pliny* [r], *Justin* [s], and *Orosius* [t] unanimously affirm that it was built by an *Amazon*, while others bestow this honour upon *Androclus*, son of *Codrus*, king of *Athens*, who was the chief of the *Ionians* that settled in *Asia*. But in matters of so early a date, it is impossible to come at the truth, and therefore not worth our while to dwell on such fruitless enquiries. What we know for certain is, that the city, which in the *Roman* times was the metropolis of all *Asia*, acknowledged *Lysimachus* for its founder; for that prince having caused the ancient city to be entirely demolished, rebuilt at a vast expence a new one in a place more convenient and nearer the temple. *Strabo* tells us, that as the inhabitants shewed a great f reluctance to quit their ancient habitations, *Lysimachus* caused all the drains that conveyed the water into the neighbouring fens and the *Cayster*, to be privately stopt up; whereby the city being on the first violent rains in great part laid under water, and many of the inhabitants drowned, they were glad to abandon the ancient, and retire to the new city. This new *Ephesus* was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of *Tiberius*, but by that emperor repaired and embellished with several

g Plin. l. v. c. 31. h Pausan. Attic. c. 9. i Vide Horatium, l. i. epist. 11. k Plin. l. v. c. 29. l Strabo l. xiv. p. 442. m Herodot. vita Homeri, c. 8. n Plin. l. v. c. 29 Strab. l. xiv. c. 442. o Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 39. p Plin. l. v. c. 29. q Heraclid. de Polit. r Plin. ubi supra. s Justin. l. ii. t Orosius, l. i. c. 15.

(G) Τὸν κολοφῶνα ἐπέθηκεν, *Colophonem addere*, that is to put the last hand to a work, to end it with success.

stately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be seen, and scarce any a
thing worthy of ancient *Ephesus*. The aqueduct, part of which is still standing, is generally believed to have been the work of the *Greek* emperors; the pillars, which support the arches, are of fine marble, and higher or lower as the level of the water required. This aqueduct served to convey water into the city from the spring of *Halitee* mentioned by *Pausanias*. The gate, now called by the inhabitants, for what reason we know not, the gate of persecution, is remarkable for three bas-reliefs on the mould of an exquisite taste. The port, of which so many medals have been struck, is at present but an open road, and not much frequented. The *Cayster* was formerly navigable, and afforded a safe place for ships to ride in, but is now almost choked up with sand. b

*The temple of* Diana.

But the chief ornament of *Ephesus* was the so much celebrated temple of *Diana*, built at the common charge of all the states in *Asia*, and for its structure, size and furniture, accounted among the wonders of the world. This great edifice was situate at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marsh, which place they chose, if we believe *Pliny*, as less subject to earthquakes. This doubled the charges, for they were obliged to be at a vast expence in making drains to convey the water that came down the hill, into the morass and the *Cayster*. *Philo Byzantius* tells us, that in this work they used such a quantity of stone, as almost emptied all the quarries in the country; and these drains or vaults are what the present inhabitants take for a labyrinth. To secure the foundation of the conduits or sewers, which were to c
bear a building of such a prodigious weight, they laid beds of charcoal, says *Pliny*, well rammed, and upon them others of wool. Two hundred and twenty years, *Pliny* says four hundred [p], were spent in building this wonderful temple by all *Asia*. It was four hundred and twenty-five feet in length, and two hundred in breadth, supported by a hundred and twenty-seven marble pillars seventy feet high, of which twenty-seven were most curiously carved, and the rest polished. These pillars were the works of so many kings, and the bas-reliefs of one were done by *Scopas* the most famous sculptor of antiquity; the altar was almost wholly the work of *Praxiteles*. *Cheiromocrates*, who built the city of *Alexandria*, and offered to form mount *Athos* into a statue of *Alexander*, was the architect employed on this occasion. The d
temple enjoyed the privilege of an asylum, which at first extended to a furlong, was afterwards enlarged by *Mithridates* to a bow-shot, and doubled by *Marc Anthony*, so that it took in part of the city; but *Tiberius*, to put a stop to the many abuses and disorders that attend privileges of this kind, recalled them all, and declared that no man guilty of any wicked or dishonest action should escape justice, though he fled to the altar itself (H). A great many medals are to be seen with the heads of divers emperors, and on the reverse the temple with a frontispiece of two, four, six, and even of eight pillars.

The priests, who officiated in this temple, were had in great esteem, and trusted with the care of sacred virgins or priestesses, but not till they were made eunuchs. e
They were called *Estiatores* and *Essenæ*, had a particular diet, and were not allowed by their constitutions to go into any private house. They were maintained with the profits accruing from the lake *Selinusius*, and another that fell into it, which must have been very considerable, since they erected a golden statue to one *Artemidorus*, who being sent to *Rome* recovered them, after they had been seized by the farmers of the public revenues [q]. All the *Ionians* resorted yearly to *Ephesus* with their wives and children, where they solemnized the festival of *Diana* with great pomp and magnificence [r], making on that occasion rich offerings to the goddess, and not forgetting her priests. The *Asiarchæ* mentioned by St. *Luke* [s] were, according to *Beza* [t], those priests, whose peculiar province it was to regulate the public sports f

[p] Plin. l. xvi. c. 40. [q] Strab. ubi supra. [r] Thucyd. l. iii. [s] Luke Act. 16. [t] Anno. ad Acta.

(H) Pope *Pius* II. in relating this observes, that the many sanctuaries of *Rome* open to ruffians, and all offenders without distinction have changed that city, otherwise quiet, into a den of thieves (8). Thus he wrote before he was raised to the papal chair; but that dignity inspired him, it seems, with different sentiments, for he was the whole time of his pontificate a most strenuous asserter of what they call the *Ecclesiastical immunity*.

(8) *Pius secundus in Asia.*

that

a that were annually performed at *Ephesus* in honour of *Diana*; they were maintained with the gatherings that were made during the sports, for all *Asia* flocked to see them. *The great* Diana *of the* Ephesians, as she was stiled by her blind adorers [u], was according to *Pliny* [w] a small statue of ebony, made by one *Canetia*, though commonly believed to have been sent down from heaven by *Jupiter*. This statue was at first placed in a niche, which, as we are told, the *Amazons* caused to be made in the trunk of an elm. Such was the first rise of the veneration that was paid to *Diana* in this place. In process of time the veneration for the goddess daily encreasing among the inhabitants of *Asia*, a most stately and magnificent temple was built near the place where the elm stood, and the statue of the goddess placed b in it. This was the first temple, but not quite so sumptuous as that which we have described, though reckoned as well as the second among the wonders of the world. The second was still remaining in *Pliny*'s time, and in *Strabo*'s, and is supposed to have been destroyed in the reign of *Constantine*, pursuant to the edict by which that emperor commanded all the temples of the heathens to be thrown down and demolished; the former was burnt, the same day that *Alexander* was born, by one *Erostratus*, who owned on the rack that the only thing which had prompted him to destroy so excellent a work was the desire of transmitting his name to future ages. Whereupon the common council of *Asia* made a decree forbidding any one to name him; but this prohibition served only to make his name more memorable, such c a remarkable extravagance or rather madness being taken notice of by all the historians who have wrote of those times. *Alexander* offered to rebuild the temple at his own expence, provided the *Ephesians* would agree to put his name on the front; but they rejected his offer in such a manner as was no ways taken amiss by that vain prince, telling him, *that it was not fit one god should build a temple to another* [x]. The pillars and other materials that had been saved out of the flames were sold, and also the jewels of the *Ephesian* women, who on that occasion willingly parted with them, and the sum raised from thence served for the carrying on of the work till other contributions came in, which in a short time amounted to an immense trea- d sure. And this is the temple which *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other *Roman* writers speak of. It stood between the city and the port, and was built, or rather finished, as *Livy* [y] tells us, in the reign of king *Servius*. Of this wonderful structure there is nothing at present remaining but some ruins, and a few broken pillars.

THE *Ionians* first settled at *Ephesus* under the conduct of *Androclus*, who drove out the *Carians* and *Leleges*, by whom those places were possessed at his arrival. The city, whether built by him, as *Strabo* affirms, or by one *Cræsus* or *Ephesus* long before the *Ionic* migration, as others maintain, became soon the metropolis of *Ionia*. It was at first governed by *Androclus*, and his descendants, who assumed the royal title, and exercised regal authority over the new colony; whence even in *Strabo*'s e time the posterity of *Androclus* were stiled kings, and allowed to wear a scarlet robe, a sceptre, and all the ensigns of the royal dignity. In process of time a new form of government was introduced, and a senate established, but when or on what occasion this change happened we know not. This kind of government continued till the time of *Pythagoras*, who lived before *Cyrus the Great*, and was one of the most cruel and inhuman tyrants we read of in history; for having driven out the senate, and taken all the power into his own hands, he filled the city with blood and rapines, not sparing even those who fled to the temple of *Diana* for shelter [z]. *Pythagoras* was succeeded by *Pindarus*, who bore the same sway in the city, but treated the citizens with more humanity. In his time *Ephesus* being besieged f by *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, he advised the inhabitants to devote their city to *Diana*, and fasten the wall by a rope to the pillars of her temple. They followed his advice, and were in regard of the goddess not only treated with great kindness by *Cræsus*, but restored to their former liberty [a]. *Pindarus* being obliged to resign his power, retired to *Peloponnesus*. He was, according to *Ælian* [b], grandson to *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, and *Cræsus*'s nephew. The other tyrants of *Ephesus* mentioned in history are *Athenagoras*, *Comas*, *Aristarchus*, and *Hegesias*, of which the last was driven out by *Alexander*, who coming to *Ephesus* after having defeated the *Persians* on the banks of the *Granicus*, bestowed upon *Diana* all the tributes which the *Ephesians* had paid

[u] Act. 19. 17, 18. [w] PLIN. l. xix. c. 4. [x] STRAB. ub supra. [y] Liv. l. i. c. 45. [z] SUIDAS. [a] HERODOT. l. i. POLYÆN. l. vii. ÆLIAN. V. H. l. iii. c. 26. [b] ÆLIAN. ubi supra.

to

to the *Persians*, and established a democracy in the city: In the war between *Mithridates* and the *Romans* they sided with the former, and by his direction massacred all the *Romans* that resided in their city; for which they were severely fined and reduced almost to beggary by *Sylla*, but afterwards treated kindly, and suffered to live according to their own laws, as is plain from several ancient inscriptions and medals (I). The *Ephesians* were mightily given to superstition, sorcery, and curious arts, as the scripture stiles them [e], whence came the proverb *Ephesian letters*, signifying all sorts of spells or charms (K). a

Priene. *Priene* was one of the ancient cities of *Ionia*, and the birth-place of *Bias* one of the seven wise men. *Ptolemy* places it at a great distance from the sea, but all other geographers count it among the maritime towns of *Ionia*. b

Miletus. *Miletus*, now *Palatschia*, was formerly a city of great note, being stiled by *Pliny* [d] and *Pomponius Mela* [e], the first city and metropolis of all *Ionia*. The same *Pliny* [f] mentions the ancient and new *Miletus*, the former he calls *Lelegeis*, *Pithyusa*, and *Anactoria*, and *Strabo* tells us that it was built by the inhabitants of *Crete* [g]. The latter was founded according to *Strabo* [h], by *Neleus* the son of *Codrus* king of *Athens*, when he first settled on that part of *Asia*. This great city stood on the south side of the river *Mæander* near the sea-coast. The inhabitants applied themselves very early to navigation, having founded according to *Pliny* [i] eighty, according to *Seneca* [k] three hundred and eighty colonies in different parts of the world. The city itself was no less famous for a temple and oracle of *Apollo* sirnamed *Didymæus*, than for the wealth and number of its citizens. This temple was burnt by *Xerxes*, but rebuilt by the *Milesians* to such an immense size, that it was accounted the greatest in the world, being equal in compass, as *Strabo* attests [l], to a village; whence it remained uncovered, but was surrounded with a thick grove, in which the priests dwelt who served the temple. *Pliny* places this temple and grove at a hundred and fifty-eight furlongs distance from the city, but *Strabo* says that it stood near the walls [m]. Our modern travellers tell us, that there are still large ruins of the temple to be seen, but that the town is reduced to a few shepherds cottages. Near *Miletus* stood mount *Lathmus*, where the moon, as the poets feigned, made her private visits to *Endymion*. *Thales*, one of the seven wise men of *Greece*, and the first that foretold an eclipse of the sun, was born in this city, and thence surnamed the *Milesian*, to distinguish him from a famous *Lyric* poet bearing the same name. c d

*Miletus* was in a most flourishing condition in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*, and accounted the ornament of *Ionia*, as *Herodotus* informs us [n], though it had been strangely afflicted with domestic troubles for two generations before, and almost reduced to the last extremities. Their differences were at last composed, as the same writer informs us [o], by the *Parians*, whom they had chosen from among all the *Greeks* for that purpose. These arriving at *Miletus*, and observing that the fields round the city lay in great part uncultivated, told the *Milesians* that they designed to survey their whole country; which they did accordingly, writing down the name of the owner where-ever they saw in that desolate country any portion of land well cultivated. After they had thus viewed the whole territory, and found but a very small part of it well kept, they returned to the city, and having called an assembly, put the government into the hands of those whose lands they had found in good condition; not doubting but they would administer the public affairs with the same care which they had taken of their own. They strictly enjoined the e

[e] Act xix. 19. [d] Plin. l. v. 29. [e] Mela, l. i. c. 17. [f] Plin. ibid. [g] Strab. l xii. & xiv. [h] Strab. ubi supra. [i] Plin. ibid. [k] Seneca de Consol. ad Albinam. [l] Strab. ubi supra. [m] Plin. & Strab. ubi supra. [n] Herodot. l. v. [o] Idem, ibid.

(I) Among others we find one of *Vespasian* with this remarkable inscription: ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

(K) By the *Ephesian letters* were meant certain obscure words, and incoherent sentences, which superstitious bigots used to write on their girdles, and even imprint on their feet, and other parts of their bodies. To this purpose *Suidas* tells us, that a famous wrestler of *Miletus* having for a long time struggled with an *Ephesian* without being able to conquer him, observed at last that his adversary, who had already got the better of thirty robust and expert wrestlers, was armed with the *Ephesian* letters, which he was no sooner deprived of than he fell to the ground owning himself conquered (9).

(9) *Vide Erasmi Chil.*

rest

a rest of the *Milesians*, who till that time had been rent into parties and factions, to obey the magistrates they had appointed, and in this manner reformed the state of the city [p], which thenceforth daily increased in wealth and power. In the time of *Psammiticus*, king of *Egypt*, a colony of *Milesians* settled in that country, and built a wall, as *Strabo* tells us, called by the *Egyptians* the *Milesian* wall [q]. We may judge of the wealth, power, and flourishing condition of *Miletus* in those days, from the long and expensive war which they maintained against *Gyges*, *Ardyes*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes*, kings of *Lydia*, without being assisted by any of the *Ionians*, except the *Chians*, whom they had supported against the *Erythræans*. In what manner this war was carried on, and how *Halyattes* was at last obliged to sue for peace, we have b already related in the history of *Lydia* [r]. After the defeat of *Cræsus*, and taking of *Sardis*, all the *Ionians* sent embassadors to *Cyrus*, offering to submit to him on the same terms which had been granted them by *Cræsus*; but that prince rejecting the proposals of the others, admitted the *Milesians* alone on the foot of their former agreement with the *Lydians*. By this indulgence of *Cyrus*, *Miletus* flourished above all the cities of *Ionia*, till it fell into the hands of *Hystiæus* and *Aristagoras*, who brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all *Ionia*; for *Miletus* was besieged, taken, and laid in ashes by the *Persians*, whom they had provoked, and the inhabitants transferred first to *Susa*, and thence to *Ampe*, a city on the red sea, not far from the mouth of the *Tigris*. The *Athenians* were so grieved at their c misfortune, that they mourned and shed tears when they first heard it, no otherwise than if the like calamity had happened to *Athens* itself; and some time after, one *Phrynicus*, a dramatic poet, having wrote a tragedy on the destruction of *Miletus*, the whole theatre burst out into tears when it was exhibited, and the magistrate fined the author in a thousand drachmas for renewing the memory of a misfortune, which they looked upon as their own, ordering at the same time that the piece should never more be acted [s]. The *Persians* having thus utterly ruined *Miletus*, and transplanted the inhabitants, the lands about the town and level country they reserved for themselves, but bestowed the hilly and less fruitful parts on the *Carians* of *Pedaeis*. This misfortune befel *Miletus* six years after the revolt of *Aristagoras*, d in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, and had been long before foretold, if we believe *Herodotus*, by the oracle of *Apollo Didymæus* (L). However, the *Milesians* were suffered afterwards to return and rebuild their city, which they did in a different place from that of the former, as we conjecture from the prediction of *Thales*, related by *Plutarch* [t]; for that philosopher desired his body might be buried in an abandoned and solitary place at some distance from the city, saying that it would one day become the market-place of the *Milesians*. The inhabitants never afterwards recovered their former power; for we find them eight years before the *Peloponnesian* war contending with the *Samians* for the sovereignty of *Priene*, and obliged to call in the *Athenians* to their assistance, for which piece of service they sided with them in the e *Peloponnesian* war, till they were persuaded by *Alcibiades*, then in banishment, to join the *Lacedæmonians* [u]. In the time of *Cyrus* the younger, they attempted to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and join that prince against his brother *Artaxerxes*; but *Tissaphernes*, governor of that province, having timely notice of their design, put some of the chief conspirators to death, banished others, and reduced the city to a miserable state of slavery. At the famous peace of *Antalcidas*, it was given up to the *Persians*, and remained subject to them till the time of *Alexander*, who restored them to their ancient liberty, notwithstanding they had shut their gates against him, and did not submit till reduced to the last extremities [w]. By the *Romans* they were treated very kindly, and suffered to enjoy their liberty, especially under the emperors.

p Idem ibid. q Strabo l. xvii. r Vol. II. s Herodot. l. vi. t Plutarch. in Solon. u Thucyd. l. i. iv. viii. w Strab. l. xiv. & Plut. in Alexandro.

(L) That author tells us (10), that the *Argians* having consulted the oracle touching the fate of their city, received a double answer partly concerning themselves, and partly the *Milesians*; the answer relating to the *Milesians* was uttered in the following terms; "*Miletus*, source of evils, thy stores "and wealth shall serve to feast and enrich a mul-"titude; men with long hair shall sit and have "their feet washed by thy virgins; *Didyma* shall "see her altars transferred to another place." What the oracle is said to have foretold was fulfilled; for the greater part of the men were put to the sword by the *Persians*, who wore long hair; the women and children were made slaves, and the temple in *Didyma* with the grove and oracle reduced to ashes.

(10) *Herodot. l. vi.*

The *Milesians*, like the other states of *Ionia*, when free from a foreign yoke, were often reduced to a miserable state of slavery by tyrants of their own, who governed them with an arbitrary sway, and made them feel all the evils of a foreign subjection. The first, who usurped this power over their fellow-citizens, were *Thoas* and *Damasenor*, who, as *Plutarch* informs us[x], filled the city with blood and slaughter, and spared none but such as submitted to their usurped authority. These being destroyed or driven out, *Thrasybulus* usurped the sovereignty, which he maintained to his death. In his time and by his means an end was put to the war, which had been for many years carried on between the *Lydians* and *Milesians*, as we have related at length in the history of *Lydia*[y]. He was so famous for his prudence in the administration of public affairs, that most of the petty tyrants of *Greece* courted his friendship, and governed themselves in their unjust usurpations by his advice. Among these, *Periander*, tyrant of *Corinth*, is said to have dispatched a messenger to him, to inquire what methods he had pursued in so settling his authority among the *Milesians*, that none of the citizens entertained any thoughts of shaking off the yoke which he had imposed upon them. *Thrasybulus*, unwilling to send an answer either in writing or by word of mouth, took the slave into a corn-field, and there, as it were by way of amusement, struck off all the ears of corn that overtopped the rest. Then he sent back the messenger without any answer. *Periander* understood the hint, put all those to death whose overgrown power gave him any umbrage, and thereby enjoyed without disturbance, the authority he had usurped[z]. Upon the death of *Thrasybulus*, several other tyrants rose up, mentioned by *Herodotus*[a], *Plutarch*[b], and other writers[c]. Among these the most famous in history, are *Hystiæus* and *Aristagoras*, who in attempting to shake off the yoke of the *Persian* kings, by whom they were supported, brought utter destruction upon all the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*, as we have related at length in the history of *Persia*[d]. In the time of *Antiochus* II. king of *Syria*, we read of one *Timarchus*, reigning in *Miletus*, and practising great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince, who was on that account honoured by the *Milesians* with the surname of *Theos* or *God*[e]. *Miletus* gave birth to the celebrated philosophers, *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, and *Thales*. The islands of *Chios* and *Samos* were likewise inhabited by the *Ionians*, and belonged to their confederacy; but we shall have occasion to speak of them in the following chapter, containing the history of the *Greek* islands.

*Description of Æolis.*

*Æolis*, so called from the *Æolians*, who settled in this part of *Asia*, extended, according to *Strabo*[f], from the promontory *Lectus* to the river *Hermus*, and contained the following cities, *Cyme*, *Larissa*, *Neontichus*, *Tenus*, *Cylla*, *Notion*, *Ægiræssa*, *Pitane*, *Ægæa*, *Myrina*, and in more ancient times *Smyrna*, which, as we have related above, was taken from the *Æolians* by the *Ionians*. These are the eleven ancient cities of *Æolis*, mentioned by *Herodotus*[g]. *Cyme* stood on the sea-coast, and was the last of the maritime cities of *Æolis* towards *Ionia*. *Larissa* belongs properly to *Troas*, and is placed by *Strabo*[h] between *Achæum* and *Colonæ*. In former times *Æolis* comprehended all *Troas*, and extended along the coast from *Ionia* to the *Propontis*. *Neontichos*, or *Neon-Tichos*, is mentioned by *Thucydides*[i] as situate in the country of the *Apodoti*, who were a peculiar tribe of *Æolians*, inhabiting the sea-coast[k]. *Tenus*, called also *Temnos*, is placed by *Pliny* at the mouth of the *Hermus*, but by all other geographers in the inland parts of *Æolis*. *Cylla* was a colony of the *Æolians* on the sea-coast of *Mysia*. *Notium* stood on the sea-side about two miles from *Cilophon*[l], and was in after-ages subject to the *Colophonians*. Authors do not agree about the precise situation of *Ægiroessa*, some placing it on the coast, and others at a great distance from the sea. *Pitane* was a considerable town not far from the mouth of the *Caicus*[m]. The inhabitants of this city are said to have had the art of making bricks that floated, like wood, upon the water. *Ægæa* or *Ægæ*, bordered on the territory of *Cyme*, and is counted by *Strabo*[n] among the mediterranean cities of *Æolis*. *Myrina*, the most ancient city of all *Æolis*, stood on the coast, and had a very safe and capacious harbour. It was in after-ages called *Sebastopolis* in honour of *Augustus*. To these *Pliny*, *Strabo*,

[x] Plut. in Prolem. [y] Hist. Univer. p. 334. [z] Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 10. Polyæn. l. vi. Zonar. tom. 2. Frontinus, l. ii. c. 15. [a] Herodot. l. iv, v, vi. [b] Plut. in Sympos. [c] Polyæn. l. i. Tzetzes Chiliad. 3 & 9. Probus in Miltiad. [d] Vide, p. 107, 108, 109. [e] Appian. in Syriac. Prolog. in Trogum, l. xxvi. [f] Strab. l. xiii. [g] Herodot. l. i. c. 149. [h] Strab. l. xiii. Herodot. l. i. [i] Thucyd. l. viii. [k] Idem, l. iii. [l] Liv. l. xxxvii. [m] Strab. l. xiii. [n] Idem, ibid.

and

a and *Pomponius Mela*, add *Grynium* and *Elea*; the former was about forty furlongs distant from *Myrina*, and famous for a temple and grove consecrated to *Apollo*, whence the surname of *Grynæus* is often given by the poets to that deity [o]; the latter which was the port of *Pergamus*, and the birth-place of *Zeno* the philosopher, stood near the mouth of the *Caicus* [p]. *Cyme*, or as others write it, *Cuma*, was the metropolis of all *Æolis*.

*Doris*, properly so called, was that large promontory of *Caria*, which runs into the sea over-against the island of *Telos*. The chief cities of *Doris* were; *Halicarnassus* formerly the capital of *Caria*, and famous for the *Mausoleum* or tomb built by queen *Artemisia*, in honour of her husband *Mausolus*, which was of so noble a b structure, that the ancients looked upon it as one of the wonders of the world. This city gave birth to the two celebrated historians, *Herodotus* and *Dionysius*, and to the poets *Heraclitus* and *Callimachus*. It stood between the *Cemaric* and *Jasian* bays, and was reckoned one of the strongest cities of *Asia* [q]. It is now a heap of ruins, and known by the name of *Nesi*, *Cnidus* stood on the sea called *Triopium* [r], having on the north the *Ceramic*, or as others call it, the *Ceraunian* bay, and on the south the *Rhodian* sea. This city was formerly famous for the *Venus* of *Praxiteles*; and as *Venus* was the tutelar goddess of the place, she is thence often stiled by the poets, the *Cnidian* goddess [s]. *Lindus*, *Jalissus*, and *Camirus*, were likewise cities of the *Dorians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, but we find nothing relating to them c worth mentioning [t]. Doris.

THAT the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*, who settled in *Asia Minor*, were *Greek* nations, is not to be doubted. Profane writers give us the following account of their origin, and first settling on the coast of *Asia*. *Deucalion*, say they, who reigned in *Thessaly*, and is famous for the flood that happened in his Time, had by his wife *Pyrrha* two sons, *Helenus* and *Amphictyon*. *Helenus*, who is supposed to have given the name of *Helenes* to the *Greeks*, had three sons, *Æolus*, *Dorus*, and *Xuthus*. *Æolus*, who was the eldest, succeeded his father, and besides *Thessaly* had for his share *Locris* and *Bœotia*. Many of his descendants went into *Peloponnesus*, with *Pelops* the son of *Tantalus*, king of *Phrygia*, and settled in *Laconia*. The country d in the neighbourhood of mount *Parnassus* fell to *Dorus*, and was from him called *Doris*. *Xuthus* being obliged by his brothers to quit his native country for appropriating part of his father's effects to himself without their knowledge, retired to *Attica*, where he married the daughter of *Erectheus*, king of *Athens*, by whom he had two sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. *Origin of the* Ionians, Dorians, *and* Æolians.

AN involuntary murder committed by *Achæus*, obliged him to retire to *Peloponnesus*, which was then called *Ægialea*, or *Ægialos*; but the country, where he settled, ever after bore the name of *Achaia*. Some writers tell us, that he afterwards left *Achaia*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom in *Thessaly*. *Ion* commanded the *Athenian* forces against *Eumolpus* the *Thracian*, who had invaded *Attica*, and so distin- e guished himself on that occasion, that the *Athenians* intrusted him with the government of their city, and were from that time called also *Ionians*. Though in process of time they thought fit to lay aside this name, yet it was not altogether out of use in the time of *Theseus*, as appears from the pillar erected by him in the *Isthmus*, to shew the bounds of the *Athenians* on one side, and the *Peloponnesians* on the other; on the east side of the pillar was this inscription; *This is not* Peloponnesus, *but* Ionia, and on the south side; *This is not* Ionia, *but* Peloponnesus [u]. In the time that *Ion* governed *Athens*, the citizens increased to such a degree, that their country, being not only unfruitful, but confined within narrow bounds, was no longer able to furnish them with necessary provisions. This forced them to contrive some means to disburden it, and f therefore they sent colonies to settle in *Peloponnesus*, and these gave the name of *Ionia* to that part which they possessed. Thus all the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus*, though composed of different nations, were blended under the general names of *Achæans* and *Ionians* [x].

ABOUT fourscore years after the taking of *Troy*, the *Heraclidæ*, or descendants of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, with a design to recover that country, which of right belonged to them. They were conducted in this enterprize by three chief leaders,

o Vide Virgil eclog. 6. & l. 4. Æneid. vers. 345. p STRABO, l. 13. q ARRIAN. l. 1. expedit. Alexandr. r HORAT. l. 3. ode 28. s HERODOT. l. 1. t PLUT. in Thes. u PAUSAN. init. Lacon. & Eliac. 1. ERATOST. apud CLEM. ALEX. strom. Apoll. l. 2.

the

the sons of *Aristomachus*, namely *Timenes*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*; the last dying a
before the reduction of the country, his two sons *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, succeeded him. The expedition proved successful, and the *Heraclidæ*, having recovered the possession of their ancient dominions, divided them among themselves; in which division *Argos* fell to *Timenes*, *Messenia* to *Cresphontes*, and *Laconia* to the two sons of *Aristodemus* [v].

Such of the *Achæans* as were descended from *Æolus*, and had inhabited *Laconia*, being driven from thence by the *Dorians*, who attended the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, settled in that part of *Asia Minor*, which from them took the name of *Æolis*, and built there *Smyrna*, with eleven other cities; but *Smyrna*, as we have related above, was afterwards seized by the *Ionians*. From *Æolis* they sent colonies to the island of *Lesbos*, and there founded several cities. The *Achæans* of *Mycenæ* and *Argos* b
being expelled by the *Heraclidæ*, seized upon that part of *Peloponnesus*, which was held by the *Ionians*. The latter at first returned to *Athens*, their original country, and soon after departed from thence under the conduct of *Nileus* and *Androcles*, the two sons of *Codrus*, and possessed themselves of the western coast of *Asia Minor*, lying between *Caria* and *Lydia*, which from them was named *Ionia*. There they built the cities, which we have described above [x].

The power of the *Athenians*, who were then governed by *Codrus*, increasing daily, the *Heraclidæ* thought proper to oppose their progress, but were defeated in a general engagement. Notwithstanding this overthrow they maintained themselves in possession of *Megaris*, where they built the city of *Megara*, placing there the c
*Dorians*, who had assisted them, in the room of the *Ionians*, whom they had driven out [y]. Of these *Dorians* some continued in *Megara*, after the death of *Codrus*, others passed over into *Crete*; but the greatest part, being perpetually harassed by the *Athenians*, abandoning their country, settled in that part of *Asia Minor*, which was from them called *Doris*, and built there *Halicarnassus*, *Cnidus*, and the other cities mentioned above [z]. The *Ionic* migration is said by all chronologers, except *Eusebius* and his followers, to have happened an hundred and forty years after the taking of *Troy*, and sixty after the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, that is, about seven hundred and ninety four before the *Christian æra*. The *Æolic* migration proceeded the *Ionic* about fifty-two years, and that of the *Dorians* was posterior d
to the *Ionic* near seventy.

This is the account, which profane writers give us of these migrations; but their authority in matter of so remote a date, is not much to be depended on. There were scarce any records in those rude and illiterate ages, even among the *Greeks*; whence they have obscured their origin with idle tales, and poetical fictions, there being scarce any thing related by their historians, concerning their origin that deserves credit, or carries in it the least appearance of truth. Others, perhaps upon better grounds, take the *Ionians* to be descended from *Javan*, the fourth son of *Japhet*; and indeed the *Greek* translators of the holy scripture instead of *Javan*, read *Jevan*, and those who are by other writers called *Iones*, are by *Homer* named e
*Iaones*. Now *Javan* and *Jaon* sound so like each other, that one may conclude they were the same. This opinion receives no small confirmation from holy writ, where the name of *Javan* is used for *Greece* (M). *Javan* is said to have come into *Greece* after the confusion of *Babel*, and to have settled in *Attica*, whence the *Attics* were named *Iaones* and *Iones*. This name the inhabitants of *Attica*, as we have observed above, laid aside, but those who passed into *Asia* retained the same appellation. According to this opinion the *Ionians* were a colony from *Attica*; but *Hecataeus*, as quoted by *Strabo* [a], tells us, that the *Athenians* or *Iones* of *Greece* were a colony

[v] Strabo l. 8. 383. &c. Pausan. l. 7. p. 396. &c. Pausan. in Achaic. [y] Strabo ubi supra, p. 393. 206. Ælian. l. 8. Var. c. 5. [z] Strabo l. 13. [x] Ælian. Var. Histor. l. 1. c. 5. Pausan. [a] Idem ibid. p. 653. Pausan. Achaic. p.

(M) Two instances we have in *Daniel*: *And when I am gone forth, behold the prince of* Grecia *shall come* (11). And again, *He shall stir up all against the realm of* Grecia (12). Where though the vulgar translators do not render it *Javan*, yet that is the word in the original. And in *Isaiah*: *And I will send those that escape of them to the nations in the sea, in* Italy *and in* Greece. Where the *Tigurine* version and that of *Geneva* retain the *Hebrew* words, using the names of *Tubal* and *Javan*, instead of *Italy* and *Greece*.

(11) *Daniel c. x. ver. 20.* (12) Idem c. xi. v. 2.

of

a of those in *Asia*. As the parts of *Asia* possessed by the *Greeks* lye directly in the way from the valley of *Shinaar* into *Greece*, it is not without foundation that some have believed *Javan* to have first settled in *Asia*, and from thence, not having room enough on the coast, to have sent colonies into *Greece*, at that time uninhabited, under the conduct of his eldest son *Elisha*, who founded, according to them, the city of *Elis*, in *Peloponnesus*. From *Elisha Josephus* supposes the *Æolians* to be descended, and therefore calls them *Elisæi* [b].

*Their Government.*

The *Ionians*, *Æolians* and *Dorians* were at first governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms, the monarchical form of government prevailing, at the time of their migration, all over *Greece*. Besides, *Herodotus* tells us in express b terms, that some of the *Ionians* chose only *Lycian* kings of the race of *Glaucus*, others such only as were sprung from *Codrus*, and that some indifferently raised to the throne princes of either of these families [c]. But the actions and very names of their kings are buried in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was settled in almost all the *Greek* cities of *Asia Minor*, each of them being governed by their own laws, and no ways dependent on one another. However in most of these states some private citizens, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election, endeavoured to advance themselves to it by cabal, treachery and violence, sacrificing to their own security all those, whom merit, rank and zeal for their liberty or love of their country rendered obnoxious to them. It was this c cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered these usurpers so odious to the people, and furnished such ample matter for the declamation of orators, and the tragical representations of the theatre.

The *Ionians* on their arrival in *Asia*, divided themselves into twelve small states or cantons, having been thus divided, while they inhabited *Peloponnesus*, as were afterwards the *Achæans* who drove them out. Of these twelve states consisted the *Ionian* confederacy so often mentioned by the ancients. The chief and most powerful city of the whole confederacy was *Miletus*. To those we have already described, *Thucydides* adds the cities of the islands of *Lemnos* and *Imbros* [d], and *Velleius* [e], those of *Delos*, *Paros*, *Andros*, *Tenos*, which were all, according to that writer, d peopled by the *Ionians*. Some of the cities we have mentioned were built by the *Ionians*, others they possessed themselves of after driving out the ancient proprietors. As they brought no women with them out of *Greece*, they forced those of *Caria* away from their parents, putting to death such of their relations as opposed them; in revenge of which violence and cruelty the *Carian* women bound themselves by an oath, which they transmitted as sacred to their daughters, never to take any repast with their husbands, or call them by their names [f]. The *Ionians* being thus established in the most fruitful and pleasant part of all *Asia*, their number soon increased, new adventurers joining them from other countries of *Greece*; the *Abantes* from *Eubœa*, who had nothing in common with the *Ionians*, were no inconsiderable e part of this colony; the *Mynian Orchomenians*, the *Cadmæans*, *Dryopians*, and *Molossians*, with the *Pelasgians* of *Arcadia*, the *Dorians*, *Epidaurians*, and many others of the several states of *Greece* were, as *Herodotus* informs us [g], intermixed with the *Athenians*, who were sent by the *Prytanæan* council. The latter who were true and genuine *Ionians*, as deriving their original from *Athens*, built a temple, which from themselves they called the *Pan-Ionium* (N). The privileges of this place they communicated to no other *Ionians*; neither did others, as we read in *Herodotus* [g], ever desire to be admitted, except the *Smyrnæans*, most of them being of the name of *Ionians*, that people having soon degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, and given themselves up to all manner of vice. The *Pan-Ionium* was a sacred place f on the promontory of *Mycale*, dedicated by the *Ionian* confederacy to *Neptune*, sirnamed *Heliconius*. Here the *Ionians* met to perform solemn exercises in honour of that deity, and to hold their general assemblies. This festival was peculiar to

b Joseph. Antiquit. l. 1. c Herodot. l. 1. d Thucyd. l. 7. e Vellei. l. 2. f Herodot. l. 1. g Idem, ibid.

(N) The temple was called *Pan Ionium*, from the concourse of people that flocked thither, from all the cities of *Ionia*. A festival was kept here by all the *Ionians* in honour of *Neptune*, sirnamed *Heliconius* from *Helice* a city of *Achaia*, which afterwards perished by an earthquake. One thing was remarkable in this sacrifice, *viz.* that if the bull offered, happened to bellow, it was accounted a good omen, because that sound was thought to be acceptable to *Neptune*.

the *Athenian Ionians*; but the *Apaturian* solemnity (O) was common to all those of the *Ionian* name, except the *Ephesians* and *Colophonians*, who were excluded under pretence of a murder committed in their cities [h]. a

The *Dorians* on their arrival in *Asia*, formed themselves into six independent states or small republics, which were confined within the narrow bounds of so many cities; these were *Lindus*, *Jalissus*, *Camirus*, *Cos*, *Cnidus*, and *Halicarnassus*. Other cities in that tract, which was from them called *Doris*, belonged to their confederacy; but the inhabitants of these alone, as true and genuine *Dorians*, were admitted into their temple at *Triope*, where they exhibited solemn games in honour of *Apollo Triopus*. The prizes were tripods of brass, which the victors were obliged to consecrate to *Apollo*, and leave in the temple on an altar of gold. When *Agasicles* of *Halicarnassus* b
won the prize, he transgressed this custom, and carried the tripos to his own house: Wherefore the city of *Halicarnassus* was ever afterwards excluded from the *Dorian* confederacy; so that the *Dorians* were from that time known by the name of the five cities [i].

The *Æolians* were divided, like the *Ionians* and *Dorians*, into several small states or cantons, independent of each other, but united in one common confederacy or league. They possessed at first twelve cities; but *Smyrna*, as we have related above, was taken from them by the *Ionians* of *Colophon*. Their country was of greater extent than that of the *Ionians*, but far inferior to it in all other respects, *Ionia* being, in the opinion of *Herodotus* [k], the most fruitful and agreeable region of all *Asia*. The c
*Dorians*, besides the cities, which belonged to them on the continent, possessed five in the island of *Lesbos*, one in *Tenedos*, and another in the *hundred islands*, which we shall have occasion to speak of in a more proper place. Thus the *Greek* states in *Asia* were governed much after the same manner as those in *Europe*, forming three different confederacies of which the cities were governed by their own laws, and the three different confederacies by their respective general assemblies or diets.

*Their Religion, Laws, &c.*

The religion and laws of the *Greek* colonies in *Asia* were much the same with those of *Greece*. Their principal deities were *Ceres*, *Apollo*, *Diana* and *Neptune*. The *Ionians*, who came from *Athens*, celebrated every fifth year, the mysteries of *Ceres Eleusina*, which we have already described [l]. The *Milesians* worshipped d
*Apollo Didymæus* as their tutelary god, whence he was likewise called *Apollo Milesius*. Near the city of *Miletus* was a famous oracle of *Apollo*, called the oracle of *Apollo Didymæus*, and also the oracle of the *Branchidæ*; the former denomination it had from *Apollo* or the sun, who was sirnamed *Didymæus*, as *Macrobius* informs us [m], from the double light imparted by him to mankind; the one directly from his own body, and the other by reflection from the moon; the latter appellation was given both to the oracle and to *Apollo* himself, who was called *Branchides*, from one *Branchus* the reputed son of *Macareus*, but begotten, as was believed, by *Apollo* (P). This Oracle was, as we are assured by *Herodotus*, very antient, and the best e

h Herodot. ibid. i Idem, ibid. k Idem, ibid. l p. 731. m Ammon. l. 1.

(O) This festival was first instituted at *Athens*, and from thence derived to the *Asiatic Ionians*. It was so called from the *Greek* word ἀπάτη signifying deceit, having been first instituted in memory of a stratagem by which *Melanthius*, king of *Athens*, overcame *Xanthus* king of *Bœotia*. For a controversy arising between the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* about a piece of ground lying on the confines of *Attica* and *Bœotia*, *Xanthus*, proposed that an end should be put to the dispute by a single combat between himself and the *Athenian* king. *Thymates*, at that time king of *Athens*, declined the fight, and was deposed. In his room was chosen one *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, who having accepted the challenge, met his enemy at the appointed place. But before they began the fight, *Melanthius* pretending to see one behind *Xanthus*, habited in a black goat's skin, cried out that the articles were violated. Upon this, *Xanthus* looking back, was treacherously slain by his adversary. In memory of this success, *Jupiter* was sirnamed Ἀπατούρης, that is deceiver. Others tell us, that the *Apaturian* festival was so called from the *Greek* word ἀπατόρια, because upon that solemnity children accompanied their fathers, to have their names entered into the public register. Some are of opinion, that the *Apaturian* festival had its name from the *Greek* word ἀπάτορες, that is, without fathers, in a civil sense, it not being till that solemnity publicly recorded, to whom they belonged. The *Apaturia* was celebrated in the month *Pyanepsion*, and lasted three days (14).

(P) *Varro* tells us, that the mother of *Branchus* being with child, dreamed that the sun entering into her mouth penetrated to her womb; and that from thence the child was called *Branchus* from βρόγχος, the throat, through which the god passed. *Branchus* received, when he grew up, a crown and sceptre from *Apollo*, and began to prophesy, but soon disappeared. Whereupon a magnificent temple was dedicated to him and *Apollo Philesius*, so called from

(14) *Athenæus l.* 4.

a best of all the *Grecian* oracles except that of *Delphos* m. In the time of the *Persian* war the temple was burnt down to the ground, being betrayed to the *Barbarians* by the *Branchidæ* or priests who had care of it. *Xerxes* in requital of their service allowed them to settle and build a city in a remote part of *Asia*, where they thought themselves out of the reach of their angry countrymen. But for all this, their treachery did not escape condign punishment; for *Alexander* having conquered *Darius*, and possessed himself of all *Asia*, utterly demolished their city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, revenging on the children the treachery of their forefathers n.

An annual feast was celebrated by the *Ionians* in honour of *Diana Triclaria*, to ap-
b pease whose wrath for an incest committed in her temple, men and women used to walk bare-footed to it. This solemnity was instituted by the *Athenians*, who till after the *Trojan* war used annually to sacrifice to the angry goddess a male and a female child.

Their trade we can only guess at from their situation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and abounded in all things necessary for life. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. Besides, we know that they were very power-
c ful by sea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies not only in the neighbouring islands, but even in *Gaul*, and beyond the pillars of *Hercules*. *Trade.*

They soon degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, and became a most superstitious, effeminate, and voluptuous people; insomuch that the *Ionians*, in the time of *Herodotus*, were looked upon as quite unfit for any military service o. They are said to have been the first who introduced the use of perfumes and garlands at banquets, and also of sweet-meats or deserts p. *Maximus Tyrius*, speaking of the different affections and inclinations of the various *Greek* nations and colonies, tells us, that the *Crotoniates* loved the *Olympic* sports, the *Spartiates* fine armour, the *Cretans* hunting, the *Sybarites* pompous dress, and the *Ionians* lascivious dances q. The
d *Æolians* and *Dorians*, being planted in a less fruitful country, were not so soon debauched by the soft climate of *Asia*; they were accounted no ways inferior to the *European Greeks*, till they were subdued by the *Persians*. But having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to idleness, and in a short time became quite unfit for action, and no less effeminate than the other *Asiatics*. *Character.*

The *Greek* colonies settled in *Asia* enjoyed their liberties, and lived according to their own laws from the time of their migration to the reign of *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*, to whose superior power they were forced to submit after having baffled all the attempts of his predecessors. They paid him a yearly tribute, furnished him with ships and mariners in time of war, and sent their respective quotas of land-forces
c when required; but at the same time were free from all oppression, and suffered to enjoy a profound tranquillity under his mild government r. This made them oppose *Cyrus* when he first invaded *Lydia*, and reject the advantageous proposals of that prince. But after the defeat of *Crœsus*, and taking of *Sardis*, they sent embassadors to the conqueror, offering to submit to him upon the same terms which had been formerly granted to them by *Crœsus*. *Cyrus* having heard them with attention, returned an answer in the following apologue: A piper seeing numerous sholes of fish in the sea, and imagining he might entice them ashore by his music, began to play; but finding his hopes disappointed, he threw a net into the water, and drew
f a great many of them to the land. When he saw the fish leaping on the ground, since you would not dance, said he, to my pipe before, you may now forbear dance- *Their history. Year of the flood. 2441. Before Christ 562.*

m Herodot. l. i. n Strab. l. xiv. o Herodot. l. i. p Valer. Max. l. ii. Rer. memorabil. q Maxim. Tyrius in Dissert. Quis sit philosophiæ finis. r Herodot. l. i.

from φαλεῖν to kiss, because he was supposed to have imparted the spirit of prophecy to *Branchus* by a kiss. This temple was burnt by the *Persians*, but afterwards rebuilt with such magnificence, that it surpassed all the other *Greek* temples in bigness, being raised to such a bulk, that they were forced to let it remain uncovered, for it was no less than five furlongs in compass (15).

(15) *Strab. l. xiv.*

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ing at all. With this answer the *Greek* embassadors returned home, and having a communicated it to their countrymen, they resolved in a general assembly to fortify their cities against any sudden attack, and send embassadors to sollicit succours from the *Lacedæmonians*. *Pythermus*, a *Phocæan*, was sent in the name of all the *Greeks* in *Asia*; but the *Spartans* could by no means be prevailed upon to lend them any assistance. However they dispatched by sea some of their chief men to observe the motions of *Cyrus*, and interpose their good offices with him in behalf of their countrymen. These putting in at *Phocæa*, sent *Lacrines*, the most considerable person among them, to *Sardis*, with instructions to acquaint *Cyrus*, that if he committed any hostilities against the *Grecian* cities, the republic of *Lacedæmon* would resent them as offered to herself. *Cyrus* hearing them speak in this stile, inquired b of the *Greeks* about him, who the *Lacedæmonians* were, and what number of men they could bring into the field? Being informed of these particulars, he answered the deputy, that he was no ways afraid of a people, who in the midst of their cities had a place of public resort, where they met to impose on each other by mutual oaths; and that if the gods preserved his life, they should have sufficient cause to be concerned for their own calamities instead of troubling themselves about those of the *Asiatics*. These words were levelled at the *Greeks* in general, who had in their cities large squares, where they met to trade, a custom unknown to the *Persians* [s].

*Year of the flood* 2455. *Before Christ* 544.

*Cyrus* having dismissed the *Lacedæmonian* embassador with this answer, left *Sardis*, c and setting out for *Ecbatan*, charged *Mazares* one of his lieutenants, with the reduction of *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*. *Mazares* pursuant to his commission entering *Ionia*, took and destroyed the city of *Priene*, laid waste the fertile plains that were watered by the *Mæander*, and advancing to *Magnesia*, laid that city likewise in ashes. From *Magnesia* he marched to *Phocæa*, but before he made any attempts upon that important place, he fell sick and died. Upon his death *Harpagus*, being appointed to command the army in *Ionia*, laid close siege to *Phocæa*. The *Phocæans*, detesting slavery, chose rather to abandon their native country, than submit to the *Persian* yoke; and accordingly having put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects on board their vessels, they set sail for the island of d *Chios*, leaving the *Persians* in possession of an empty city. The example of the *Phocæans* was followed by the *Teians*, who after *Harpagus* had made himself master of their walls, went on board their ships, and conveyed themselves and their families to *Thrace*, where they settled in the city of *Abdera*, which had been founded by the *Greeks* of the *Ionian* confederacy under the conduct of *Timesius*, a native of *Clazomene*. The other cities of *Ionia* were all reduced by *Harpagus*, and likewise the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, and all the inhabitants of the upper *Asia*, except the *Milesians*, who distrusting their own strength, and that of the *Ionians*, had made a separate peace with *Cyrus*, and by a timely submission obtained the same terms, which had been formerly granted them by *Cræsus*. The rapidity of these conquests e struck the islanders with such terror, that they all submitted of their own accord. Thus all the *Greek* states both in the islands and on the continent of *Asia* were a second time conquered, and forced to live, under the *Persian* monarchs, in a state of greater subjection and dependency than they had ever proved before [t]. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis* they made an attempt towards the recovery of their ancient liberty, and maintained a war against the whole power of the *Persian* monarchy for the space of six years; but were again in spite of their utmost efforts brought under subjection, and punished with great severity by the haughty conqueror, for endeavouring to ascertain the rights which they had been unjustly deprived of. But of this war, and the many calamities which it drew upon the *Greek* states in *Asia Minor*, we have al- f ready given a particular and distinct account in the history of *Persia* [u], to which we refer the reader.

The *Ionians* assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Athens* with an hundred ships; but as the king had undertaken this for no other end but to be revenged on the *Athenians* for having sent some ships to the assistance of the *Ionians* when they attempted to shake of the *Persian* yoke, *Themistocles*, who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, imagined that the *Ionians* served in this expedition against their will, and might

s Idem, ibid. t Idem, ibid. u p. 107, 108, 109, 110.

there-

a therefore be easily prevailed upon to desert the *Persians*, and join their ancient allies and countrymen. But as no opportunity offered of conferring with them, or sending messengers, he sailed in person to the place where they used to take in fresh water, and there engraved on the rocks the following words: "Men of *Ionia*, "you are guilty of a heinous crime in fighting against your fathers, and helping to "enslave *Greece*. Resolve therefore to come over to us; or if you cannot do that, "withdraw your forces from the enemy, and persuade the *Carians* to imitate your "example. But if both these ways are impracticable, and you find yourselves, "under an absolute necessity of continuing in the *Persian* fleet, favour us at least "when we come to an engagement; and remember that you are not only descended b "from us, but are the original cause of the *Barbarians* enmity against us". *Themistocles* had in so doing a double view; he believed that this invitation, if not discovered to the king, would induce the *Ionians* to come over to the *Greeks*; and on the other hand, if it should come to the king's ears, he hoped it would make him distrust the *Ionians*, and dismiss them. The *Ionians* coming ashore the next day, as usual, read on the rocks the invitation of *Themistocles*, and resolved to comply with it; pursuant to which resolution when the two fleets engaged, the *Ionians* instead of falling upon the *Athenians* tacked about and made to sea. Their flight, which was soon followed by that of the *Phænicians*, contributed not a little to the famous victory gained by the *Athenians* at *Salamis* [w]. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ionians* by means of a certain *Samian* gave private notice to the *Athenians* of all that passed in c the enemy's fleet, assuring them that as soon as the battle was joined they would desert the *Barbarians* [x]. This, according to our author, so encouraged the *Greeks*, before disheartened, that they attacked the *Persian* fleet contrary to their former determinations, and gained that victory which is so famous in history [y].

The same stratagem was used by *Leutychides*, commander of the *Greek* fleet, before the battle of *Mycale*. The *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, and the inhabitants of the islands made no small part of the *Persian* army, which was drawn up along the shore in order to prevent the *Greeks* from making a descent into the country. *Leutychides* therefore standing in to the shore as near as he could, ordered a herald to d speak thus to the *Ionians* in his name: "Men of *Ionia*, hearken with attention to "my words, for the *Persians* will not understand the advice I give you; when the "battle begins, every one of you ought in the first place to remember liberty; "and the next, that the word agreed upon is *Hebe*, if any of you hear me not, "let those who hear inform him". These words had such an effect on the *Greeks*, that in the heat of the engagement they deserted the *Persians*, and joined their countrymen, which occasioned the total overthrow of the *Persian* army. Before the engagement, the *Persian* generals had appointed the *Milesians* to guard the passes leading to the eminences of *Mycale*, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and guides to conduct them over the mountains, the *Milesians* e being well acquainted with the country. But they acting quite contrary to their orders, brought back by other ways to the enemy such as fled; by which means few *Persians* escaped the general slaughter of that day [z]. Thus the *Asiatic Greeks* revolted a second time from the *Persians*, and their behaviour on this occasion was so pleasing to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they were for transplanting them out of *Asia* into *Greece*. For they were well apprised, that if the *Ionians* continued in *Asia*, they would be in perpetual alarms from an enemy that far excelled them in strength, and was near to them; whereas their friends, who were at a great distance, could not be assistant to them so opportunely and at such seasons as their necessity might require. The *Peloponnesians* proposed to drive those nations out of *Greece*, which f had sided with the *Persians*, and to bestow their territories and estates on the *Ionians*. Upon these promises the *Ionians* and *Æolians* were preparing to convey themselves and their effects over into *Europe*. But the *Athenians* persuading them to remain in *Asia*, faithfully promising to assist them on all occasions to the utmost of their power. The *Athenians* were afraid that if the *Ionians* should settle in *Europe* by the common concurrence of the *Greeks*, they would not for the future own *Athens* as their metropolis, and place of their original. The *Peloponnesians* readily yielded to the *Athenians*, and the *Ionians* upon second thoughts determined not to remove out of *Asia* [a],

w Herodot. l. viii. x Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. c. 1. p. 251. y idem, ibid. Justin. l. ii. z Herodot. l. ix. a Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. c. 4. p. 261.

 but

but upon the conclusion of the peace between the *Greeks* and *Persians*, which happened in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, one of the articles, sworn to by both parties, was, that all the *Greek* states of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws [b]. a

The *Ionians* being thus delivered from the *Persian* yoke, entered into an alliance with the *Athenians*, who came by degrees to treat them as subjects rather than allies; obliging them to contribute to all the charges of the *Peloponnesian* war no otherwise than if they had been their vassals. Nay, *Euphemus*, who was sent in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war to draw the *Camarinæans* into an alliance with *Athens*, owned that the *Athenians* had subjected both the *Ionians* and islanders, for having joined, said he, the *Persians* against their mother city [c]. This was but a poor pretence, since the victory which the *Athenians* gained at *Salamis*, was in great measure owing to the *Ionians* and other *Greeks*, who served on board the *Persian* fleet, as we have seen above. In the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, we find them again subject to the *Persians*, and governed by *Tissaphernes*, from whom they revolted to *Cyrus* the younger. Upon the death of *Cyrus* they sent embassadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, imploring their assistance and protection against *Tissaphernes*, who was returning to his government at the head of a numerous army, with a design to punish them for their revolt. The *Lacedæmonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Persians*, and sent first *Thimbro*, after him *Dercyllidas*, and lastly *Agesilaus* their king to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing large sums among the leading men in *Greece*, found means to rekindle the war there, which obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recall their king, and conclude a peace with the *Persians* equally disadvantagious and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name. For one of the articles was, that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and besides the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomene*. Thus were all the *Greeks* settled in *Asia* with the utmost injustice and baseness given up to the *Persians* [d], whose yoke they bore till they were delivered by *Alexander*, who restored all the *Greeks* in *Asia* to the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges [e]. After the death of *Alexander*, as they had neither strength nor courage to defend themselves, they fell under the power of the kings of *Syria*, and continued subject to them till the *Romans*, after having delivered *Greece* from the oppressions of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, obliged *Antiochus* III. surnamed the great, to grant the same liberty to the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*, which they had procured for the *Greek* states in *Europe* [f]. Being thus again reinstated in their ancient rights, most of the free cities entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and enjoyed such liberty as the *Romans* used to grant, till they were again brought under subjection by the famous *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, whom they joined against the *Romans*, partly out of fear, and partly out of hatred to *Rome*. By his order they massacred, without distinction, all the *Romans* and *Italians*, whom either trade or the sweetness of the climate had drawn into *Asia*. On this occasion the *Ephesians* distinguished themselves above the rest, not suffering even their famous temple of *Diana* to be an asylum to such *Romans* as fled to it. However their ready compliance with the cruel and inhuman orders of *Mithridates* did not exempt them from the most tyrannical oppression. No wonder then that upon *Sylla*'s arrival in *Asia* they abandoned *Mithridates*, and declared for the *Romans*, as they had formerly deserted the *Romans* to side with *Mithridates*. *Ephesus* was the first that revolted, and the example of that metropolis was soon followed by *Smyrna*, *Colophon*, *Sardis*, *Trallis*, *Hypæpene* and *Mesopolis*. The revolt of these cities made the king change his conduct. In hopes of keeping the *Greek* cities steady in his interest, and supporting his faction on the coasts of *Asia*, he restored all the *Greeks* to the full enjoyment of their liberties, declaring that even the slaves should have their share of this universal freedom [g]. But they did not long enjoy the liberty, which the king out of a selfish policy bestowed upon them. *Sylla* having routed the several armies of *Mithridates*, and reduced all the *Lesser Asia*, revenged on the *Asiatics* the death of so many thousand *Romans*, b c d e f

[b] Diodor. ibid. p. 74. Thucyd. l. i. [c] Thucyd. l. vi. [d] Xenoph. ἀναβασ. l. i. Diodor. l. xiv. Plut. in Agesilao. [e] Herodot. l. xvii. c. 2. Arrian. l. iii. [f] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 16. [g] Appian. in Mithridat.

whom

a whom they had inhumanly murdered, by depriving them of their liberty, and laying ſuch heavy taxes and fines on their cities as reduced them to beggary. The city of *Epheſus* was treated with moſt ſeverity, *Sylla* having ſuffered his ſoldiers to live there at diſcretion, and obliged the inhabitants to pay every officer fifty drachmas, and every ſoldier ſixteen denarii a day. The whole ſum, which the revolted cities of *Aſia* paid *Sylla*, amounted to twenty thouſand talents, that is, 3875000 l. ſterling, for the raiſing of which they were forced to ſell not only their moveables, but even a great part of their lands [h]. This was the moſt fatal blow *Aſia* ever received, nor did the inhabitants ever after recover their ancient ſplendor, notwithſtanding the favour ſhewn them by many of the emperors, under whoſe pro-
b tection they enjoyed for many years, at leaſt, ſome ſhew of liberty.

[h] Idem, ibid. & PLUT. in Sylla.

*The End of the Second Volume.*

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